Introduction

Locating the Fans

WILLIAM W. KELLY

Who are the fans among the viewers, listeners, and readers of today's mass culture? To many nonfans, especially among the professional and upper middle classes, they are either the "obsessed individuals" or the "hysterical crowd" (Jensen 1992). They are condescendingly dismissed as incapable of discriminating admiration, prone instead to abject adulation. They are the "cultural dopes" of consumer capitalism (a phrase from Grossberg 1992), the most duped and ignorant of the already co-opted audiences of Culture Industry spectacles.

A deeper and more charitable appreciation of fandom has come only recently from some scholars within cultural studies. Fans, as Joli Jensen, Lawrence Grossberg, Henry Jenkins, and others have shown us, are those segments of mass culture audiences who most actively select from and engage with the performers, players, products, and productions of commodified culture. Their focused attentions are reworked into what John Fiske (1992) calls "an intensely pleasurable, intensely signifying" subculture that both shares with and is distinct from the experiences of more 'normal' audiences. Harlequin Romance reading circles, (Star) Trekkie conventions, Deadhead caravans, Madonna and Elvis fans, midnight audiences of *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, *Dallas* viewers around the world, and diehard Chicago Cubs fans are all examples of the process, at once derivative and creative, of finding significance and taking pleasure from among the vast output of mass culture—in certain comic book heroes, film stars, B-grade movies, musicians, sports stars (or colorful failures), pulp fiction, and so forth.

Put simply, then, fans emerge out of mass culture audiences in search of intensified meanings and pleasures. They selectively appropriate from among this mass culture, and creatively rework their selections into a stylized matrix of practices

and identities. They consume mass culture, but in their voracious and determined consumption, they produce both social communities and cultural artifacts. Fans' relations to the persons and products they "fan-tasize," to the Culture Industry itself and to the normal audience, are variously dependent and autonomous, even antagonistic. They, and the small worlds of "fandom" they create and inhabit in contemporary Japan, are the subjects of this collection.

Consumers and Fans in Contemporary Japan

The significance and the inherent fascination of the exuberant and commercialized popular culture of Japan need little justification. Since the 1980s, the mass cultural formations of media, leisure, and entertainment—and those who produce and consume their products—have been among the most vibrant areas of Japan studies, especially anthropology and literary studies. We now recognize that the forms and practices of music, sports, comics, film, fashion, and other areas of leisure and consumer culture are just as essential to fully understanding Japan as its factories, schools, and politics.

Thus, this volume does not allege to be a pioneer of dangerous and uncharted academic territory. To the contrary, we have drawn much inspiration from and we hope to make a distinctive contribution to a rich, emerging body of analysis. Within anthropology, Joseph Tobin's 1992 edited collection *Re-made in Japan: Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society* and Marilyn Ivy's 1993 essay "Formations of Mass Culture" were especially influential in spurring this past decade of research and publication. Jennifer Robertson's book on the Takarazuka Review (1998), Aviad Raz's book on Tokyo Disneyland (1999), Joy Hendry's study of Japanese theme parks (2000), works by Brian Moeran (1996, cf. 1989) and John McCreery (2000) on advertising agencies, John Clammer's book of essays on consumption patterns (1997), and the dissertations by Andrew Painter on daytime television production (1991, cf. 1996) and by Hiroshi Aoyagi on the production of "idols" (1999) are among a growing list of ethnographic monographs of Japanese mass culture sites (which also includes books new and forthcoming from this volume's authors).

Beyond anthropology, important publications abound. Richard Powers and Kato Hidetoshi's *Handbook of Japanese Popular Culture* (1989) has been a stimulating compendium. Frederick Schodt's entertaining and informative overviews of *manga* (comic art magazines and books) and *anime* (film, video, and digital animations) (1986, 1996), Sharon Kinsella's detailed study of the manga industry (2000), and Susan Napier's literary analysis of Japanese animation (2001) are book-length studies of that sector of Japanese popular culture that is the most commercially profitable, best known, and globally influential. Mark Schilling's *The Encyclopedia of Japanese Pop Culture* (1997) and Robert Whiting's books on

Japanese baseball (1977, 1989) are representative of many nonacademic works by commentators long involved with and deeply familiar with particular areas of Japanese entertainment and leisure.

Even broader arrays of perspectives, analysts, and topics have been introduced through a number of recent valuable scholarly collections, including those edited by Sepp Linhart and Sabine Frühstück (*The Culture of Japan as Seen Through Its Leisure*; 1998), by D. P. Martinez (*The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture*; 1998), by John Whittier Treat (*Contemporary Japan and Popular Culture*; 1996), by Lise Skov and Brian Moeran (*Women, Media and Consumption in Japan*; 1995), by Tōro Mitsui and Shuhei Hosokawa (*Karaoke Around the World*; 1998), by Tim Craig (*Japan Pop!*; 2000), by James Lent (*Asian Popular Culture*; 1995), and by Joy Hendry and Massimo Raveri (*Japan at Play*; 2002). In short, even the titles alone catalogue the explosion of critical interest in the cultural politics and social patterns of producing and consuming leisure and entertainment in Japan.

Our own claim to a distinctive contribution to this new direction in Japan studies is our shared perspective and focus. We are all fieldworkers and ethnographers who have worked closely with the people and sites about which we write, and we aim to communicate with intensity and critical empathy the particularities (and often peculiarities) of those fan worlds. Ian Condry spent many long nights with the teenagers who frequent the small clubs and huge concerts of Japanese rap music groups and spent daytime hours in the recording studios and record shops. Christine Yano spent several years with the middle-aged women who compose fan clubs of Mori Shin'ichi, attending concerts together, sharing their lives both within and well beyond their club gatherings. Carolyn Stevens initially had a part-time job with The Alfee organization and through that came to know that subset of the band's audience who were tenacious loyalists and eager consumers of band products.

I myself spent parts of several baseball seasons in the right-field bleachers of Kōshien Stadium, amid the noisy, colorful, and irreverent fan clubs of the Hanshin Tigers. Lorie Brau accompanied *rakugo* (traditional comic storytelling) aficionados to countless performances and group meetings, discussing with fans and performers alike the nuances of rakugo performance. R. Kenji Tierney, whose dissertation fieldwork was based in one of the sumo world's wrestling stables, had sustained interactions with the patrons and supporter clubs of this and other stables. Matthew Thorn, himself both an academic and a professional translator of Japanese manga, joined the massive throngs at the Comic Market conventions that featured displays and sales of amateur manga artists and the "aisle theater" of costumed attendees acting out their favorite characters. And Shuhei Hosokawa and Hideaki Matsuoka, both with long-standing interest and knowledge of the jazz scene in Tokyo, pursued the aims and strategies of dedicated collectors of jazz records through long interviews and extended observations.

For us, however, ethnographic representation is not a matter of mere picaresque detail, but of deliberate and illuminating specificity. Within more literary cultural

studies, for instance, there are many fine textual studies and many important analyses of broad sectors of popular culture. Neither is our objective here, which is rather a direct engagement with those people—the fans—who stand at the very heart of popular culture, between the performers and productions, on the one hand, and the more passive spectators and consumers, on the other hand. Theirs is an activity, a way of being-in-the-world, the fair representation of which requires close encounters of the extended kind. The volume's juxtaposition of different kinds of fans in music, sports, visual media, and theater is a strategy to tease out some of the commonalities and distinctions of these lifeways.

Culture, Consumption, and Cultural Studies

Our perspective on fans can be located not just within Japan studies but within a broader scholarly orientation toward modern consumption and mass culture that extends over many disciplines, from anthropology and sociology to history, literary studies, and communication and media studies. It is an orientation most frequently known as "cultural studies," a broad term that signifies to adherents capaciousness and eclecticism and, to detractors, flabbiness and pretentiousness. Perhaps most neutrally stated, the rubric has come to cover the critical analysis of the production, transmission, and consumption of mass culture in the modern era. Clearly, fans are to be found here, and their small lifeworlds are suspended within the lineaments of power and meaning of this mass culture.[1]

The present state of cultural studies seems to me to be an increasingly transnational hodgepodge of what were previously more distinct—and more distinctly national—fields of debate. Its German origins were in the Frankfurt School of Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Walter Benjamin, and others—and now Jürgen Habermas and his critics. French strains were theorists like Roland Barthes, Jean Baudrillard, Pierre Bourdieu, Michel de Certeau, and Michel Foucault. Its English roots were with Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, and the Birmingham Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies' crowd of Stuart Hall, Paul Willis, and a host of others. And in post–World War II America, it was anticipated by critics from Dwight Mcdonald, Paul Riesman, and Herbert Gans through to Michael Schudson, John Fiske, Janice Radway, and many more.

Name-dropping and intellectual lineages aside, the current thrust of much of this work fuses two rather different perspectives on the nature and status of popular and mass culture, themselves composite positions. The first perspective is shared by American and German theorists. Much early postwar American criticism conceived of cultural productions in highbrow, lowbrow, and later middlebrow forms. Cultural production to them reflected class-stratified tastes, and consumption was the passive expression of these tastes, which ranged from the critical, contemplative, and refined to the crude, the raucous, and the sensational.

Popular culture, by this interpretation, was the popularly cultured. Depending on the analyst, it was lamented or celebrated as mindless or spirited, vulgar or vivacious. By either view, however, it was irreverent but derivative and dependent on highbrow sources, and formulated and fed by highbrow interests.

This dependency of the popular on established interests and elite tastes was shared by German theorists of the Frankfurt School, who elaborated a critique of the central organs of culture production and transmission, the "culture industry," which manufactured diversions and entertainments for the masses as the bread and circuses of modern society. In Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's famous phrase, "the might of industrial society is lodged in men's minds" (1972:127). Cultural production to them was deceptive and manipulative, and consumption was its passive and regressive reception by a disempowered and helpless population. Popular culture, in this scheme, was subsumed by hegemonic culture as the propaganda of the culture industry; no genuine popular culture could exist beyond the industry's pale.

A second perspective, rather different from American and German viewpoints, was shared by British and some French critics, despite their disagreements about much else. Stuart Hall, in part from his socialist political stance, rejected the Frankfurt School notion that a consumer public would necessarily be cowed into acquiescence; he explored instead the manifold popular responses by subordinate classes to the mass culture produced by dominant interests. Indeed, for Hall and for his colleagues at the Birmingham Center for Cultural Studies (from which the current rubric took its name), popular culture was to be distinguished from mass culture. The latter was formed of the products generated by the media and entertainment industries, while the former was the terrain of class struggles over meanings of that mass culture. Mass culture "encoded" establishment interests as implicit messages in books, magazines, music, sports, and so on, while popular culture "decoded" and "recoded" those messages. One of Hall's (1980) influential formulations was to identify three broad patterns of such decoding; "dominant" responses were those which accepted the intended messages of mass products and productions; "negotiated" responses, he proposed, were those that accepted the broad framework while rejecting certain parts of the message; and "oppositional" responses more radically reject the messages and that which produces them.

In France, Roland Barthes's significant contribution was the extension of semiotic analysis to the imagery and forms of popular culture (including photography, boxing, cycling, wrestling, and food). The structures that Barthes uncovered were not those of the political-economic forces of production but the linguistic systems of signification. The elements of a "fashion system" (1983) or a sporting event like a wrestling match (1972:15–25) are not objects produced, by forces whose interests determined its meanings, but signs to be understood, whose meanings were determined by their placement in converging semiotic grids (e.g., the cloth of fashion, the images of fashion, and the writing of fashion).

To the degree that there is any present consensus formulation of popular culture, it combines, in effect, the critiques of Culture Industry theorists and highbrow critics with the more populist celebrants of the lowbrow. It represents, one might argue, French and British operations upon the American and German debates. The production of mass cultural forms is judged to be intrusive and insistent in intent, but unpredictable and incomplete in its effects. Consumption is active, evasive, and resistant to complete co-optation. Popular responses to mass culture, therefore, cannot be collapsed into the interests of culture producers, but lie both beyond and within the reach of media and commodity capitalism, like a guerilla band operating furtively within a state. [For cultural studies in Japan, see Yoshimi 2001.]

Indeed, the guerilla is a favorite metaphor of popular culture theorists, no doubt because, as John Fiske notes, the essence of the guerilla is in not being defeatable (1989b:19). It has been used to particular effect by Michel de Certeau, for whom popular culture is "an art of being in between":

> Thus a North African living in Paris or Roubaix insinuates *into* the system imposed upon him by the construction of a low-income housing development or of the French language the ways of "dwelling" (in a house or language) peculiar to his native Kabylia. He super-imposes them and, by that combination, creates for himself a space in which he can find *ways of using* the constraining order of the place or the language. Without leaving the place where he has no choice but to live and which lays down its law for him, he establishes within it a degree of *plurality* and creativity. By an art of being in between, he draws unexpected results from his situation. [1984:30]

John Fiske has described, for instance, how Australian shopping malls are appropriated by joggers, poor and homeless, inveterate browsers, thrill-seeking shoplifters, and other mall rats who borrow and consume the space, heat, and goods of the malls while evading the hegemonic demand to consume through purchase (1989a:13–42). Janice Radway's group of women readers of Harlequin romances (1984) and Angela McRobbie's teenage girl dancers (1984) offer other examples of the creativity and liveliness of counterhegemonic readings of mass entertainment.

In short, cultural studies now give us a model of people seeking to make meanings out of the commodity system. Seldom are they merely duped or coerced into the meanings made for them. As Lawrence Grossberg puts it:

> For the most part, the relationship between the audience and popular texts is an active and productive one. . . . People are constantly struggling, not merely to figure out what a text means, but to make it mean something that connects to their own lives, experiences, needs, and desires. [1992:52]

Fans as Consummate Consumers

This new view of active reception and even agitated consumption that has come to define much of cultural studies both facilitates and complicates our challenge of locating fans. What is to specify fans amid the mass of consumers? Most simply and obviously, fans are excessive consumers. In disposition and behavior, they exceed the mass of ordinary spectators, viewers, and readers of mass culture in a number of ways: in focus, time, and energy and in the intensity of meaning they make and intimacy that they establish with their objects of attention. The television series, sports teams, celebrity singers, and vinyl recordings that are commodified forms of entertainment for most of us become vortexes of self-fashioning for fans. And of equal importance to their relation of excess to the object of consumption are the communities of mutual concern and shared commitment that fans form. Fans are inseparable from "fandoms," the small worlds of practice whose exchanges validate and intensify fan identity.

The chapters in this volume, individually and collectively, speak to these distinctive features of fans as identity and activity. By way of introduction, rather than summarize each contribution, I think it is more analytically useful to discuss how the studies variously support six propositions about fans that help us specify fans as social agents and fandoms as communities of meaning making.

1. *Fans are the most aggressive appropriators and the most brazen producers among consumers.* Certainly the kids who crowd into the small downtown hip-hop clubs that Ian Condry frequented quickly inhabit and animate them, creating a place of raucous vibrancy from a space of sparse dankness and pressing the barely definable stage with their pulsating bodies. Even more choreographed are the percussive routines of thousands of bleacher-seat fans at Kōshien, ignoring the "official" prompts of the stadium scoreboard and public address announcer for their own chanting rhythms throughout the game. The amateur manga artists who display their wares at the giant Comic Markets have gone even further in parodying the characters and story lines of their ostensible published sources, destabilizing the conventional norms of "straight" masculinity and standardized femininity. Like the "filking," or fan music making, and "slash" fan writings that Henry Jenkins (1992) and others have described for the United States, amateur manga art in Japan is an elaborate and ingenious response by inspired and enthused fans.

Viewing, hearing, reading, and buying may always require some degree of active "recoding." The cultural studies scholar Laura Mumford, for instance, proposed a continuum of soap opera viewers that ranged from the inexperienced (incompetent) viewer, the novice, the casual, the irregular, the competent, and the expert (1995:5). But fans, here and elsewhere, really are the guerilla vanguard of consumption, turning their "reception" of commercial entertainment into a resourceful, often irreverent, "production."

2. *Fans both know more and care more*. It is not just what they know but how they feel that sets fans apart from the rest of the audience. The Alfee fans rely on word-of-mouth, newsletters, and electronic communications to circulate fulsome reports of concerts, the smallest details of the band's routines, and tidbits of band members' private lives, but it is more the passion of commitment rather than depth of knowledge that identifies oneself or others as true Alfee fans. Rakugo aficionados can display tremendous erudition about the stories, allusions, and word play, but tend to measure their own sense of following by an ability to savor the rhythms of performance. The welling up of collective energy in the place and moment of performance (a concert, a game, an event like Comic Market) that is termed *moriagaru* (audience excitement) is often cited by fans as their ultimate satisfaction and standard.

Importantly, though, the intersection of knowledge and passion is unstable among fans; the proportions of objective detail and affective feeling vary widely. For example, I learned from the eighty or so games I have watched from the right-field bleachers of Kōshien that it is not easy to follow the details of the game from such a distance (300 feet) and in the midst of such frenetic activity. In fact it is quite impossible to attend closely to the game and to participate fully in the cheering at the same time. The chanting and clapping so necessary to sustaining the mood can be quite a distraction to the concentration required of appreciating the finer points of the action.

On the other hand, the pursuit and retention and display of ever more arcane knowledge can become a quite passionately *dis*passionate objective. Among those watching sumo, for instance, those who have the deepest appreciation for the strategic and technical dimensions of the sport are not the patrons but the reporters, some of whom have been studying sumo for decades, appreciating finesse and success but seldom exuding the partisan passions of the patrons and other fans. Thus, what and how much fans know and should know, and what and how much fans feel and should feel, are nervous issues even for the fans themselves.

3. *Fandom is serious play; it is about one's personal identity, not leisured entertainment.* Professional baseball plays to tens of millions of stadium spectators each year but very few of them come to an entire season of a team's 65 home games. The Alfee and Mori Shin'ichi have been selling out music halls for decades, but few in the audience follow their stars from concert to concert over the years. Jazz record sales have been substantial for three-quarters of a century, but those who "collect" records are but a fraction of those who "buy" records. Sports and music are consumed by a very large proportion of the national population—for entertainment. The fans among whom we have done our research seek much more than entertainment and they invest this "leisure" with much more drive and dedication.

Fans, we may say, are those who take leisure seriously. It becomes their arena for shaping meaning and organizing the routines of everyday life. The normal

divide between work and play is abrogated. Indeed, the sharp division of work and play instigated by capitalist economic discipline has always been less compelling for children, students, housewives, and others outside the wage workforce, which may suggest that they are more likely than the office and factory workers to find identity in such pursuits.

Every chapter testifies to the centrality of identity construction. "Supporting Mori gives my life meaning," wrote one middle-aged woman, and Yano draws out the fans' self-fashioning as surrogate mothers to Mori. Tierney argues that the dense nexus of gifts that binds sumo patrons, stables, and wrestlers affirms the patrons' social presence and overcomes the impersonal transience of simple commodity exchanges like buying tickets and handing out calendars. Vinyl record collectors, Hosokawa and Matsuoka learned, spend years of their lives and considerable money to assemble complete sets of a particular artist or obscure label in part for the thrill of pursuit and a love of that particular sound but also to assert certain personal qualities of expertise, acumen, commitment, and taste. Takie Lebra suggested to us that the determination to fashion one's identity as fan could be a kind of social "time-out" for discovering and shaping an other in oneself; that is, for some, it is a way of taking a break from one's usual role-bound self, for a more self-indulgent, creative, playful identity.

4. *Fans seek intimacy with the object of their attention—a personality, a program, a genre, a team.* Christine Yano notes that fans of Mori Shin'ichi sometimes use the term *ittaikan* (feeling as if of the same body) to describe their sensation of physical–spiritual commingling with the star. This is an important opening into understanding just how fans' identities might be fashioned.

Fans are not satisfied with the formal performances, with the mediated and staged glimpses of stars. They seek to get behind the curtain, to know more about the performers, to "possess" them through tokens like autographs and handprints and bootleg tapes. Jazz record collectors do not just like listening to jazz; they want ownership, physical possession of the very material objects of jazz performance. They want the visual and tactile intimacies of ownership, beyond—and sometimes quite apart from—the pleasures of hearing the music. Thus, intimacy can inhere in the physicality of a momentary handshake and the materiality of vinyl and the unique tremolo of a voice but also in the more ephemeral and virtual. A Kōshien fan club that waves the banner of a certain Hanshin player when he is at bat feels a special intimacy and a distinctive identity by virtue of this role, but the felt connection is to a player, a persona, not a person.

Clearly, fans are set apart from others in seeking intimacy—and paradoxically, seeking intimacy in highly commodified settings. But how is intimacy possible with a baseball team, or a rock star, or a cult film? Or rather, what kind of intimacies can be fashioned out of such engagements? This is at the core of several of the chapters, especially those by Yano, Stevens, and Brau. Yano is most

explicit in relating the feelings of intimacy to the charismatic powers of the star. The letters of her fan-informants communicated the intense feelings of pathos and sympathy they experienced toward Mori at his concerts.

Fandom, then, is a gesture of intimacy toward commodified culture, but our studies also show clearly that such intimacy is not to be confused with identity. For several reasons, fans are often involved in an intense play between identifying and distancing. For instance, keeping a certain social and physical distance is sometimes an acknowledgment of propriety. Stevens shows that The Alfee fans may well know the "rules of engagement" with stars even more than the casual audience—and may have even negotiated them through their previous behavior. Keeping one's distance may also be necessary for creative fantasy. As Merry White noted at our conference, intimacy may need proximity, but other fans—the manga costume players and amateur manga artists, for example—may be able to give play to their imagination only by maintaining a gap with the source of inspiration.

A third reason why intimacy does not collapse into identity is skepticism. By their very knowledge and passion, fans can be the most ardent of supporters but, equally, the most arch critics. Rakugo aficionados are not beyond criticizing performances that fall short of their expectations, and the fickleness of Tiger baseball fan clubs toward the team and its management is well-known (and feared by the team owners). Amateur manga artists adore the artists and characters they seek to imitate, but are unabashed in recoding the originals in quite unexpected and unconventional ways. We might say that fans emerge out of audiences by establishing their own—sometimes individual, sometimes collective—terms for what Albert Hirschman (1970) called, in a different context, "exit, voice, and loyalty."

5. *Being a fan can be a solitary, private pursuit—or a richly collective sociality.* Intimacy, then, may be sought and gained as a fan among fans as well as a fan toward the object of adulation. Producing meanings and pleasures through acts of both social and aesthetic discriminations, fans often create and sustain communities of shared practices.

The circles of Mori fans, the cheerleading clubs at Kōshien, the *ren* (networks of amateurs) rakugo fans, the patron associations of sumo stables, and the manga-writing groups are all manifestations of the social and intensely sociable nexus that forms around a shared passion. Fans are not class fractions or demographic niches or market segments; indeed, it is surprising just how diverse the composition of the fandoms is in most of these cases. It is only the hip-hop club goers and the sumo patrons who seem homogenous by gender or class or age.

Of course, we realize that to emphasize the group orientation of fans—the sociality of fandom—is to risk reinforcing some powerful popular imagery about Japan as a collectivist society, a population inclined to self-negation, seeking identity through empathetic and indulgent merging with others. Are not Japanese

inclined to be fans by national character? If they are, then the obvious and strik-ing parallels of Japanese fan group dynamics with those in Euro-American mass cultures would require similar inferences about those societies. Fans emerge out of commodified entertainment genres, not out of national gene pools.

To be sure, there may well be certain historical and contemporary features of social practices in Japan that give impetus and form to certain fan patterns. Ted Bestor reminded us at our conference of some of them: that consumption has produced elaborated aesthetics of fine discriminations and gradations of taste for a millennium from Heian to Harajuku; that modern Japan as a self-anointed "information society" has placed a premium on data gathering, processing, and examination that may well support the pursuit of the arcane and the data tech-nologies of fandoms; that the long-standing centrality of *kata* (explicit forms) as learning-frame devices may promote the fixed routines of fan display; and that the importance accorded to uniforms and other role markers may predispose some styles of fan identification.

But those styles are not necessarily collective because at the other end of the spectrum, fans can also be among the most solitary, the most "self-consumed" of consumers. Hosokawa and Matsuoka note one obvious reason: a strong sense of competition. Fellow record collectors may be the only ones who can really appreciate and acknowledge one's collecting accomplishments, but they can also be one's most dangerous competitors for the same records. They are both one's essential reference group (and thus the more one shares with fellow collectors, the richer the mutual support) and one's bitterest rivals (thus the less information shared with them, the greater one's odds of success). In that sense, of course, solitary fans may not sustain a sociable community, but even they comprise a social network.

Thus, competition as well as the absorbing demands of knowing ever more and caring ever more lead some fans to an "externalizing" project of attaching them-selves to a performer or a performance mood or a like-minded circle. The same motivations, though, draw others to internalize a persona or a genre into a some-times quite claustrophobic world of one's own. This leads to my final proposition about the fan's condition.

6. *Fans test the limits of the excessive and the obsessive. They tread a fine line be-tween the pleasures of fan-tasy and the pathology of fan-aticism.* One of the most nox-ious and notorious criminals of Japan's recent past was the serial child-killer Miyazaki Tsutomu. The 26-year-old worker was arrested in 1989 for the savage mu-tilations and murders of four girls. Police searching his house uncovered caches of girls' comics, pornographic movies, and animation video. Miyazaki was labeled an *otaku*, the term that had been adopted within manga fans and amateur artists to identify the weirdos among them but which had less dysfunctional and sometimes

even endearing connotations in other fandoms. As several chapters attest, otaku were and are nerds and geeks and loners, perhaps a bit more "into" something than other fans, but not necessarily psychologically unstable and criminally inclined.

The Miyazaki arrest changed public use of the term. Sharon Kinsella (1998) astutely analyzed the Miyazaki case in the broader contexts of establishment fears about youth and of the amateur manga movement of the1980s. She recognized the public uproar around the arrest and trial as a media-generated "moral panic," galvanizing public concerns about societal directions (e.g., family decline leading to directionless and isolated individuals) and public fears about an unlicensed and licentious mass culture. All the meanings of otaku were elided into a condemnation of the extremes by the nervous and outraged public: lonely individual meets lurid mass culture and civil order is under attack.

The criminal zealotry of Miyazaki thus created its own panic backlash, but his case and others of the recent past do raise a more general anxiety about fans: Just when and how does intimacy become idolatry? What is the line beyond which passion becomes pathological and participation becomes illegal? These are serious questions, but most difficult to resolve. It is easy to identify and condemn the criminal perversity of an obsessed individual like Miyazaki (one can easily cite fan crimes in the West, like the physical attacks on tennis star Steffi Graf and figure skater Nancy Kerrigan by self-declared "fans" of their rivals, or the collective violence of English soccer hooligans). But just where is the line to be drawn, beyond which the excessive becomes the obsessive? The issue is rendered even more complex because society's official agents, the mainstream population, and the fans themselves may have incommensurate standards of normalcy and morality.

It is, in any case, a question that we do not address here, in part because we seldom encountered those who seemed clearly obsessed beyond absorbed. Normalcy is certainly tested, often deliberately, by fan behavior and belief, but the fans, in these chapters at least, seldom exceed the unconscionable and the socially sanctioned. Their purposes may be narrowly conceived, their enthusiasms may be one-dimensional, and their investments of time, money, and energy may flaunt the conventionally rational. But it is not clear to me that their excesses are different in intensity or effect from the excesses of dedicated corporate workers or exam-driven students—except perhaps in their pleasures.

The powerful structures that produce the mass culture of our time, the multimedia of its transmission, its manifold content, and the consumption of that mass culture, both at the instant of reception and in its ensuing intrusions into daily life—these ramifying processes must be grasped as separately patterned and as mutually conditioning. It is no surprise that so many disciplines have brought their own methodologies to bear on this problem. Anthropology has no privileged insight over other disciplines, but we hope that the studies in this volume demonstrate that our sustained encounters of fieldwork and our attention to ethnographic

representation create a distinctive and essential perspective from which to identify, engage, and interpret the fans and their fandoms within mass culture.

These chapters help to explicate why it is that fandom is the unstable core of commodified culture (and its cultural commodities): because fans are dangerously poised between the forces of production and the sites of reception, inclined both to disrupt with rude distortion and to comply with exemplary consumption. Fans represent the fondest hopes and worst fears of a culture capitalist. And what all of our studies show too is just how paradoxical is the life of the fan, who seeks both detailed knowledge and intense feeling about the object of his or her obsession. Within the larger population of spectators, fans are the most unreflectively passionate yet most analytically critical, both avid consumers and often irreverent producers of mass culture. Their excesses reveal to us the nature of the hold that mass culture has over the Japanese and ourselves. Let us now encounter some of them in the worlds they have fashioned.

References Cited

Adorno, Theodor W., and Max Horkheimer
    1972   The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception. *In* Dialectic of Enlightenment. John Cumming, trans. Pp. 120–167. New York: Herder and Herder.

Aoyagi, Hiroshi
    1999   Islands of Eight Million Smiles: Pop-Idol Performances and the Field of Symbolic Production. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.

Barthes, Roland
    1972   Mythologies. Annette Lavers, trans. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
    1983   The Fashion System. Richard Howard, trans. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Clammer, John
    1997   Contemporary Urban Japan: A Sociology of Consumption. Oxford: Blackwell.

Craig, Timothy J., ed.
    2000   Japanese Pop! Inside the World of Japanese Popular Culture. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

de Certeau, Michel
    1984   The Practice of Everyday Life. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fiske, John
    1989a   Reading the Popular. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
    1989b   Understanding Popular Culture. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
    1992   The Cultural Economy of Fandom. *In* The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media. Lisa A. Lewis, ed. Pp. 30–49. London: Routledge.

Grossberg, Lawrence
    1992   Is There a Fan in the House? The Affective Sensibility of Fandom. *In* The Ador-ing Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media. Lisa A. Lewis, ed. Pp. 50–68. London: Routledge.

Hall, Stuart
    1980   Encoding/Decoding. *In* Culture Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–1979. Stuart Hall, David Hobson, A. Lowe, and Paul E. Willis, eds. Pp. 128–139. London: Hutchinson.

Hendry, Joy
    2000   The Orient Strikes Back: A Global View of Cultural Display. Oxford: Berg.

Hendry, Joy, and Massimo Raveri, eds.
    2002   Japan at Play: The Ludic and the Logic of Power. London: Routledge.

Hirschman, Albert O.
    1970   Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ivy, Marilyn
    1993   Formations of Mass Culture. *In* Postwar Japan as History. Andrew Gordon, ed. Pp. 239–258. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jenkins, Henry
    1992   Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture. London: Routledge.

Jensen, Joli
    1992   Fandom as Pathology: The Consequences of Characterization. *In* The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media. Lisa A. Lewis, ed. Pp. 9–29. London: Routledge.

Kinsella, Sharon
    1998   Japanese Subculture in the 1990s: Otaku and the Amateur Manga Movement. Journal of Japanese Studies 24(2):289–316.
    2000   Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.

Lent, James A., ed.
    1995   Asian Popular Culture. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Linhart, Sepp, and Sabine Frühstück, eds.
    1998   The Culture of Japan as Seen through Its Leisure. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Martinez, D. P., ed.
    1998   The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture: Gender, Shifting Boundaries and Global Cultures. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCreery, John
    2000   Japanese Consumer Behavior: From Worker Bees to Wary Shoppers. Hon-olulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

McRobbie, Angela
    1984   Dances and Social Fantasy. *In* Gender and Generation. Angela McRobbie and Mica Nava, eds. Pp. 130–161. London: Macmillan.

Mitsui Tōro, and Hosokawa Shuhei, eds.
    1998   Karaoke Around the World: Global Technology, Local Singing. London: Routledge.

Moeran, Brian
    1989   Language and Popular Culture in Japan. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
    1996   A Japanese Advertising Agency: An Anthropology of Media and Markets. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.

Mumford, Laura Stempel
    1995   Love and Ideology in the Afternoon: Soap Opera, Women, and Television Genre. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Napier, Susan J.
    2001   Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation. New York: Palgrave Press.

Painter, Andrew A.
    1991   The Creation of Japanese Television and Culture. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan.
    1996   Japanese Daytime Television, Popular Culture, and Ideology. *In* Contemporary Japan and Popular Culture. John Whittier Treat, ed. Pp. 197–234. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Powers, Richard Gid, and Kato Hidetoshi, eds.
    1989   Handbook of Japanese Popular Culture. Bruce Stronach, associate ed. New York: Greenwood Press.

Radway, Janice
    1984   Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Raz, Aviad E.
    1999   Riding the Black Ship: Japan and Tokyo Disneyland. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Robertson, Jennifer E.
    1998   Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schilling, Mark
    1997   The Encyclopedia of Japanese Pop Culture. New York: Weatherhill.

Schodt, Frederik L.
    1986   Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics. Tokyo: Kodansha International.
    1996   Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern Manga. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press.

Skov, Lise, and Brian Moeran, eds.
    1995   Women, Media and Consumption in Japan. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Tobin, Joseph J., ed.
    1992   Re-made in Japan: Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Treat, John Whittier, ed.
    1996   Contemporary Japan and Popular Culture. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i
             Press.

Whiting, Robert
    1977   The Chrysanthemum and the Bat: Baseball Samurai Style. New York: Dodd
             Mead and Company.
    1989   You've Gotta Have Wa: When Two Cultures Collide on the Baseball Diamond.
             New York: Macmillan.

Yoshimi Shun'ya
    2001   The Condition of Cultural Studies in Japan. *In* Cultural Studies and Japan.
             Steffi Richter and Annette Schad-Seifert, eds. Pp. 41–49. Leipzig: Leipziger
             Universitätsverlag.

Note

1. *Fan* may be derived from *fanatic* but fanaticism is hardly limited to fans. Fans share an intensity of commitment and taste with fanciers and the faithful, with connoisseurs and true believers. Indeed, can we say that one is a fan of Shakespeare? Is it useful to talk of fans of the Bible? A fan of Thanksgiving? A fan of one's Uncle Charlie? A fan of roast beef and Yorkshire pudding? Probably not, unless we are Lewis Carroll's White Queen. Fans, to us and to most analysts, are to be related to those leisure and entertainment pursuits that are mass in scale and commercialized in form. In short, fans are to be found among modern consumption practices.