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# Japanese City Pop Abroad

Findings from an online music community survey

Executive summary



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# Research topic and questions

City Pop is a loosely defined musical genre that first emerged in Japan in the late 1970s. It combines various styles of Western popular music, such as funk, soul, disco, fusion, boogie, or rock, with Japanese-language lyrics and a set of visual and textual motifs that reflects the rise of a transnational, urban consumer and leisure culture in 1980s Japan. Having undergone several recontextualizations and revivals in its country of origin (Sommet 2020, Katō 2020), the genre has recently gained an international following among young Internet users. Notably, various YouTube uploads of Mariya Takeuchi's<sup>1</sup> disco tune *Plastic Love* (1985) have accumulated many millions of views among them between 2016 and 2021 (Calkins 2019), and Miki Matsubara's debut single *Mayonaka no Door - Stay With Me* (1979) has climbed to the top of the viral charts of music streaming service Spotify in late 2020 (Matsunaga 2020).

The most enthusiastic of City Pop's new fans meet in social media groups and online forums to exchange listening recommendations, to share pictures of collectors' items, and to discuss the genre in general. As of late 2020, a dozen fan communities on Facebook and Reddit have amassed a combined following of over 60,000 members. At first sight, the community make-up, the aesthetic themes and the listening practices prevalent among City Pop fans appear to share some similarities with other recently emerged Internet-mediated music genres, such as Vaporwave (Schembri/Tichbon 2017), or Lo-fi Hip Hop (Winston/Saywood 2019). Yet we know little about this community. Who are these fans? How do they engage with the music, and with each other? Given the contested definition of City Pop in Japan proper, how do foreign fans characterize City Pop? What does the music mean to them, and how do they engage with Japanese culture?

As a first step towards answering these questions, we conducted an online survey among members of the largest Internet-based City Pop fan communities. In spite of their culturally and geographically diverse backgrounds, respondents (n = 575) share a clearly defined image of the genre that diverges in some aspects from common Japanese definitions of 'City Pop'. Based on the results of the survey, we affirm that (1) the international City Pop community skews young and male but has strong transnational characteristics, (2) City Pop in this context is an Internet-based genre largely focused on online activities while allowing for a wide range of musical tastes and activities, and (3) the community overlaps with other international fandoms based on Japanese popular culture. Results also show that (4) City Pop is strongly identified with themes of nostalgia and escapism. Through City Pop's reconceptualization as the soundtrack to an idealized image of 1980s Japan, these themes appear to find a more specific and clearly defined expression in this community than in adjacent Internet-based genres.

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<sup>1</sup> To avoid confusion, all Japanese names are written in the order of English names, i.e. the given name comes first and the surname second. The transliteration follows the Hepburn system, except in cases where there exists an established idiosyncratic way to spell an artist's name (e.g., Eiichi Ohtaki).

# Survey outline

The online survey was conducted between December 6 and December 23, 2020. It was advertised in the most prominent City Pop fan forums on Facebook and Reddit. Most participants were a self-selected sample of members of these communities. Overall, 575 respondents participated in the survey (398 full and 177 partial responses).

Platform	Group name	Total membership*
Facebook	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• C i t y P o p / シティ・ポップ</li><li>• CITYPOP - Japanese 70s / 80s Disco &amp; Pop</li><li>• City Pop / Japanese Synth / Jazz Fusion / Funk / Soul</li><li>• others</li></ul>	Ca. 30,000
Reddit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Japanese City Pop: 1980s urban driving music</li><li>• True CityPop -- Just mellow music</li></ul>	Ca. 30,000

\* as of December 2020

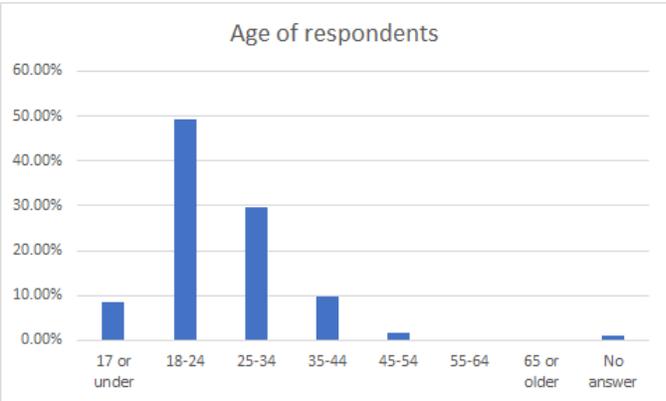
## Methodological limitations

- Online community surveys typically suffer from self-selection bias. The survey is not representative of City Pop listeners in general, but likely overrepresents the most engaged and enthusiastic part of that audience: people who are active participants in online communities about the genre and feel more deeply about it than casual listeners.
- The questionnaire was in English, and the survey was only advertised in online groups that have English as their main language. There are several City Pop online fan groups on e.g. Facebook that use languages such as Thai or Indonesian; speakers of these languages are likely not adequately represented in survey results.
- Our survey tries to capture an online community that is both still young and highly dynamic. The biggest Facebook group on City Pop went from a few hundred to almost 20,000 members in the space of two years. Results should be considered a snapshot of the Internet-based community as it existed in late 2020.

# Main findings

## Demographics

### City Pop fans skew young and male



Among all respondents, men outnumber women 3:1. Half of the respondents are students, the rest mostly young professionals with a college or university degree. The young age of most respondents contrasts with Japan, where many City Pop fans are in the over-50 age group and remember the music from their youth. In the context of the international online scene, City Pop is a recent genre: almost one quarter of survey respondents first encountered

City Pop in 2020, and another 57% over the last 2 to 5 years. Only 0.5% of respondents know of the music since the 1980s or earlier.

### Memories of City Pop among Asian respondents

Several respondents from Asian countries, however, told us that they remembered City Pop or similar musical styles from their childhood. “Indonesian City Pop” is used by these respondents as a modern umbrella term for Pop Kreatif (Creative Pop), a musical style that originally incorporated elements of Progressive Rock and Jazz Fusion and was first popularized in the late 1970s and early 1980s by young members of the Jakarta upper class, and Pop Urban, a contemporary stream of Indonesian pop music with an urban feeling.<sup>2</sup> While these musical styles do not stand in a genealogical relationship with Japanese City

“I realise I’ve been listening to Indonesian City Pop since the 80s”

“City pop is a music in my country [Indonesia] known as urban pop or creative pop”

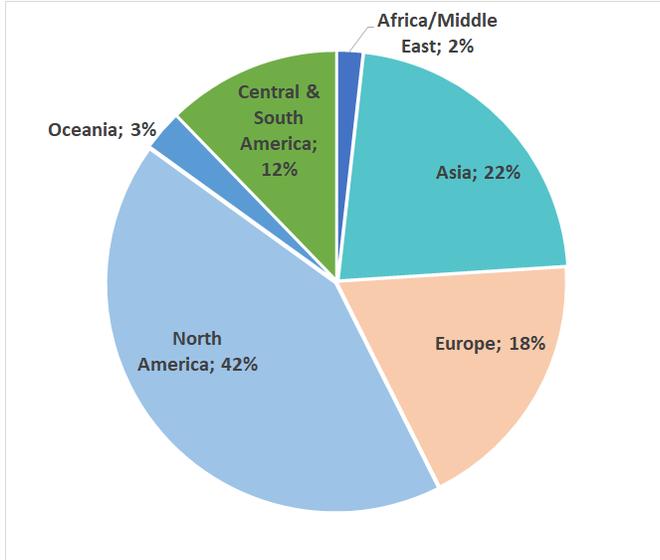
“My mom was playing it every day since I was born, we lived in hk [Hong Kong]”

Pop, the answers cited above point to parallel developments in the reception of Western popular music across Asia in the 20th century that may play a role in the reception of City Pop today. Meanwhile, Hong Kong’s ‘Cantopop’ music industry has had a long history of covering Japanese hit songs in Cantonese, a trend that peaked during the second half of the 1980s; the Hong Kong audience was also directly exposed to the Japanese pop when Japanese musicians toured the city during the early 1980s (cf. Yau

<sup>2</sup> The authors would like to express their gratitude to Yūjin Kim (Research Fellow, National Museum of Ethnology) for his advice on the topic of Indonesian pop music.

2012: 331-338, Chu/Leung 2013: 67-69). While Hong Kongers listened not just to 'City Pop', but to a wide variety of 1980s Japanese pop melodies, this history explains some respondents' familiarity with the genre.

### The community is both internationally diverse and transnational



Although the questionnaire was in English and advertised only in anglophone web communities, more than half of respondents were from non-English speaking countries. The most strongly represented regions are North America, Asia and Europe. The most strongly represented country is the USA (35%), followed by the Philippines (9%), Canada (6%), Indonesia (4%), Mexico (4%), and the UK (4%). While Southeast Asian countries are well represented, East Asian nations are much less so. 1% of respondents live in Japan, 0.75% in Viet Nam, 0.5% in Taiwan, 0.5% in Mongolia, 0.25% in Mainland China, none in South Korea.

Interestingly, in spite of the diverse backgrounds of respondents, the data shows few region-dependent differences in answer patterns. Asian fans are just as fond of singer Tatsurō Yamashita as North American ones, and just as likely to use YouTube, watch anime, or listen to Vaporwave.

# Listening patterns and modes of musical engagement

## The community is heavily Internet-based



“I was introduced to City Pop through Youtube's Recommendation algorithm. I was really into vaporwave and it's danceable subgenre, Future Funk, which relies on sampling from City Pop. One day, Youtube recommended Plastic Love and the rest is history.”

More than two thirds of respondents first encountered City Pop through YouTube. 44% list Mariya Takeuchi as the first City Pop artist they ever encountered, and not a few respondents specified unprompted that *Plastic Love* was the first City Pop song they ever listened to. These

results appear to confirm the already common media narrative that a quirk in YouTube's recommendation algorithm triggered the recent City Pop boom by exposing Western audiences to a remix of Mariya Takeuchi's *Plastic Love*. Although less important than Takeuchi, Tatsurō Yamashita (15%) and Anri (6%) are other artists that have caused fans to discover City Pop. Another gateway to City Pop specified by some respondents are Future Funk or Vaporwave mixes. More than half of respondents indicated that they listen to music from one or both of these genres.

Answers to questions on listening habits and fan activity indicate little spillover into offline spaces. Respondents overwhelmingly use YouTube (90%), music streaming services (65%) or downloaded music files (49%) to listen to City Pop. Only 6% have ever attended an offline City Pop event, and only 2% have ever seen a City Pop artist live in concert.

There is, however, a core of dedicated fans who identify as collectors of physical media such as vinyl (12%) or who are part of an offline fan community (2.5%). One respondent from the USA told us:

[...] I ran a monthly City Pop party at a little bar [...], for 3 months before the pandemic. It basically attracted twice as many people each month, and on the third month I had around 75 folks. An entire crew of people that run a Vaporwave and Future Funk party about 2 hours away came by, and several local Japanese-Americans came by to check it out as well. We were about to blow it up into a collaborative effort when the quarantine hit. I think if things go back to "normal" again, City Pop has a bright future in Western society.

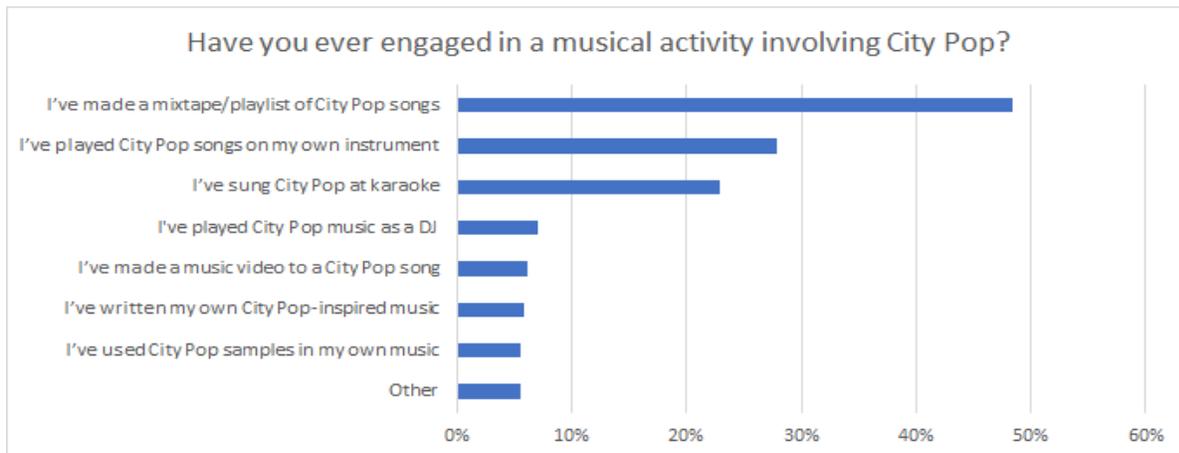
The most important online platforms for fan communities are Reddit (56% of respondents are part of a Reddit City Pop fan community) and Facebook (50%). YouTube channels (35%) and Discord (14%) also play a role. Most fans are relatively passive within these online communities. 20% use them either daily or several times a week, while 38% are “just lurking.” City Pop-themed Internet memes are very popular on these forums. 59% of respondents like memes, while 7% have created one or more themselves. Only 4% told us that they dislike them.

## City Pop fans listen to a wide variety of music

On average, respondents say that their music consumption consists of 40% City Pop and 60% other musical styles. Many other Japanese genres besides City Pop are popular: Out of the 70% of fans who are interested in other music from Japan, most listen to mainstream J-Pop (54%), Japanese Jazz/Fusion (55%), Indie (43%), or J-Rock (34%). A still remarkable 12% told us that they listen to traditional styles such as *min'yō* or *gagaku*. As for non-Japanese or transnational genres, 83% of respondents indicated that they listen to 1970s/80s music from Western countries that is similar to City Pop. As mentioned above, Internet-based microgenres Vaporwave (53%) and Future Funk (54%) are also popular. Retro music from other Asian countries (33%) is slightly more popular than contemporary K-Pop (31%).

“Listening to my first City Pop song got me into the world of Japanese music as well, a whirlwind of a journey that has expanded my tastes considerably, and not just in Japanese either. From City Pop, I also explored the Western music that inspired it, the music it was imitating, such as French chansons, the Motown sound, and the 60s British pop/rock music. It's difficult to imagine how my musical tastes would look without City Pop.”

Many respondents cited the high musical quality of City Pop – melodic sophistication, technical musicianship or high production values – as reasons why they liked the genre. Several people also wrote that City Pop has served them as a gateway to discovering other music. Fans also actively engage in a variety of musical activities. 28% have played City Pop songs themselves, while 6% have composed music inspired by City Pop, or used City Pop samples in their own music.



## Popular City Pop artists

When asked about their three favorite City Pop artists and bands, respondents named 140 different acts. The table below lists the 20 most frequently cited artists and bands and the percentage of the overall vote they received:

#	Name	% of votes
1	Tatsurō Yamashita	17.57%
2	Anri	12.15%
3	Mariya Takeuchi	9.39%
4	Toshiki Kadomatsu	6.15%
5	Miki Matsubara	5.59%
6	Taeko Ohnuki	5.51%
7	Junko Ōhashi	4.37%
8	Momoko Kikuchi	2.51%
9	Meiko Nakahara	2.27%
10	Omega Tribe*	2.02%

#	Name	% of votes
11	Junko Yagami	1.94%
12	Akina Nakamori	1.62%
13=	Tomoko Aran	1.30%
13=	Kiyotaka Sugiyama*	1.30%
15	Yumi Matsutōya**	1.21%
16	Takako Mamiya	1.13%
17=	Casiopea	0.97%
17=	Kiyotaka Sugiyama & Omega Tribe*	0.97%
18=	Cindy	0.89%
18=	Haruomi Hosono	0.89%

\* For reasons of internal consistency, we elected not to group votes for solo artists and the bands they have been a member of. Other than Kiyotaka Sugiyama and Omega Tribe, this concerns artists such as Haruomi Hosono (Yellow Magic Orchestra, 0.40%) or Momoko Kikuchi (RAMU, 0.24%).

\*\* includes votes for Yumi Arai, Matsutōya's birth name.

### Notes on the ranking

- Female artists (61%) received significantly more votes than male ones (39%).
- 98% of votes went to Japanese artists, 2% to artists from other countries (mostly South Korea, USA).
- There was relatively little variation in voting patterns between male and female fans, or fans from different countries.

### **Shifting definitions of ‘City Pop’ between Japan and the overseas fan community**

Most artists represented in the ranking are typically associated with City Pop in Japan and have frequently been featured in the many Japanese guidebooks and music press articles on the genre that have been published since the early 2000s. There appears to be a shared basic understanding of which artists are to be considered ‘City Pop’ between Japan and the foreign fan community. The fact that more than 50% of all votes are concentrated among the five most popular artists also speaks to a clear-cut and fairly orthodox image of the genre.

Some results, however, stand out. From a Japanese perspective, the popularity of Anri, a singer who has had her biggest commercial success in Japan only from the late 1980s onward, is remarkable. Cindy is another artist who is relatively little known in Japan, but surprisingly popular abroad. Conversely, there are several prominent artists and bands who are commonly associated with City Pop in Japan but received zero votes in the survey. These include both veterans of the 1970s music scene such as Yoshitaka Minami, Chū Kosaka, and Ginji Itō; or artists who broke out during the original Japanese City Pop boom of the early 1980s, like Akira Terao, Masamichi Sugi, and Tatsuhiko Yamamoto.

Notably, the former members of the Folk-Rock band Happy End obtained relatively few votes. While Haruomi Hosono is popular, Eiichi Ohtaki received 0.24% and Shigeru Suzuki only 0.08% of the vote. With the exception of Taturō Yamashita, Taeko Ohnuki and Yumi Matsutōya, artists from the 1970s ‘City Music’ scene associated with Happy End are not very popular either. These results may appear surprising to a Japanese audience given the way that ‘City Pop’ is usually narrated in the Japanese media, where it is common to trace the origins of the genre back to the band, its former members, and a handful of artists closely linked to them (Sommet 2020: 23-29). This disconnect may have to do with the fact that international respondents overwhelmingly associate City Pop with the 1980s (89%) rather than the 1970s (5%). It is unlikely that the band and its members are simply not well known enough; there are English press articles that relate Happy End to City Pop history (cf. Arcand/Goldner 2019), and it is easy to find Facebook or Reddit posts about the band and its presumed importance. It seems more likely that Happy End’s Folk-Rock music, much like Ohtaki’s 1950s-themed American Pop, falls somewhat outside the image of the genre abroad.

Neo City Pop artists from the 1990s and later also received relatively few votes. Only 2% of respondents associate City Pop primarily with the 1990s, and another 2% with the 2010s/2020s. Notable artists in this category include Ryūsenkei, a Japanese pioneer of the revival of the genre after the turn of the millennium, Korea-based singer YUKIKA, and Mexican producer Macross 82-99 (0.32% each).

## Nostalgia, escapism, Japan: the meaning of ‘City Pop’ abroad

In order to get a clearer idea of the image of the genre among its international fans, we asked participants to “list three words that you associate with City Pop.”

#	Word	Frequency %
1	Nostalgia	11.32%
2	Funky	7.51%
3	Japan	3.70%
4=	Summer	3.48%
4=	Relaxing	3.48%
5	80s	3.03%
6	Fun	2.47%
7	Groovy	2.24%
8	Happiness	2.13%
9	Chill	1.91%

#	Word	Frequency %
10	Night	1.79%
11	Retro	1.68%
12=	Upbeat	1.57%
12=	Aesthetic	1.57%
13	Jazzy	1.23%
14=	Love	1.12%
14=	Smooth	1.12%
14=	Urban	1.12%
14=	City	1.12%
15	Driving	1.01%

Orthographical variants and semantically adjacent terms were grouped together for this frequency ranking (e.g., *nostalgia* and *nostalgic* both became *Nostalgia*). In all, the ranking includes 255 distinct terms after the semantic grouping. Some notable expressions that did not make it into the list of the 20 most frequent terms include words like Disco (0.90%), Beach (0.78%), Bubble (0.78%), Tokyo (0.56%), Melancholy (0.56%), Future (0.45%), and Luxury (0.34%).



“City Pop provides me with such vivid mental imagery. I personally don’t speak Japanese and so the artists could be singing about anything. But based on everything else, I can’t disconnect City Pop from scenes like “summertime coastline cruising in a convertible car” or “quiet late night city street cruising”. It just feels like the best music to fit those scenes. City Pop is the predominating genre I play when I drive to uni.”

As the word frequency ranking shows, City Pop is strongly associated with a specific visual “aesthetic” that reflects the genre’s album art, its lyrics, and real or imagined listening situations: driving through a Japanese city at night, or relaxing at the beach in summer. These motifs correspond to an imagery commonly associated with a set of Japanese album and music magazine covers from the 1980s that

has been linked to City Pop in Japan through a series of publications by music writers (cf. Kimura 2006, 2014). International City Pop fans adhere to this established visual canon while sometimes adding their own twist.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the visual image of the genre that emerges from these keywords appears to be more clearly defined than its musical qualities, which are alternately described as “funky”, “jazzy” and “upbeat”, or as “relaxing” and “chill”.

### **More than ‘background music’**

Another subgroup of keywords hints at the emotive impact of the genre. Many respondents told us that listening to City Pop has affected them deeply on an emotional level. Several mentioned that the music has helped them through a depression, or that it made being quarantined during the current Coronavirus pandemic more bearable. City Pop is generally associated with positive feelings such as “happiness” and “love.” But the emotion most intricately linked with the genre is a strong sense of “nostalgia” projected onto the Japan of the 1980s:

It reminds me of a time that I wasn't even alive for but wish that I had been. It makes me so nostalgic. Even though I don't speak Japanese, you can feel the emotions. It really touches my heart and soul.

Fans are aware that this nostalgia for the Japan of the past is not grounded in their own lived experience (with some exceptions in the case of respondents from Asia). Several respondents explicitly used terms like “fake” or “artificial nostalgia.” To many, these nostalgic associations of City Pop seem to serve as a means of escaping the socio-economic problems of the present. In the words of one respondent,

It is true, and this isn't an original idea but i think it applies much to all of us millennial city pop fans to some degree, that our present lacks the tools for us to really have a live that really fulfill us. It may be the shitty economy, the poor future prospects that lie ahead us, but we are enchanted by the japanese 80s, an era of freedom, personal liberty, breaking of social conventions, and opulence.

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<sup>3</sup> On the fan-made aesthetics of City Pop, see also this blog post by Van Paugam, a Chicago-based DJ who has been active in popularizing the genre in the USA: <https://www.vanpaugam.com/blog/2020/10/20/city-pop-aesthetics>.

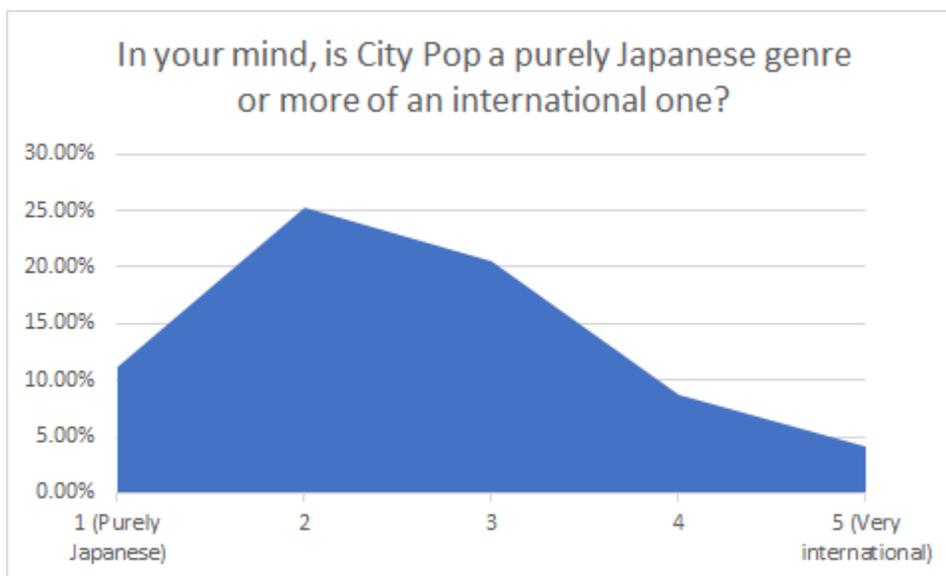
Another response also contemplates this escapist use of City Pop by Western audiences:

I've found some of my favorite music and artists because of it, so I'm thankful for that. I would say though that a lot of the fandom for citypop reinforces this false narrative of Japanese culture to western audiences that doesn't necessarily reflect it authentically. Much like how western interpretations of 'otaku,' 'kawaii' and anime culture aren't really what Japan is all about. Rose-tinted glasses for the culture during Japan's most prosperous economic era. I read somewhere recently that 'yacht rock,' the umbrella term for Adult-oriented Radio (AOR) and 'the California Sound,' was so popular during the 70's because people wanted to deliberately tune out the implications of the Vietnam War and Nixon's scandals, and that the re-emergence of Yacht Rock is because of a similar trend due to Donald Trump and the problems of the early 21st century. I think maybe citypop could be understood through this lens too, but with the added nostalgia for 'Eastern obscurity' and early computer technology. It's a weird genre. I almost wish there wasn't this emerging culture attached to it because the music itself is so incredible for the most part.

As these answers indicate, many respondents reflect their own listening practices and are interested in meta-musical narratives about the genre. The widespread interest in understanding City Pop lyrics also hints that the genre is not simply used as background or driving music among all of its foreign fans. Of those respondents who do not understand Japanese, more than 70% indicated that they at least sometimes look up translated lyrics, while only 23% told us that they “don't care all that much about the lyrics.”

### Overlap with other Japanese popular culture fandoms

The results discussed above show that City Pop is heavily associated with Japan among its foreign fans, a fact that finds confirmation in the answers to another survey question. Respondents asked to evaluate the image of the genre on a scale from 1 (purely Japanese) to 5 (very international) tended to view City Pop as a Japanese style of music (arithmetic mean = 2.56, standard deviation = 1.08).



This ‘Japaneseness’ appears to play a role in City Pop’s appeal to non-Japanese fans - which might seem ironic given that the genre originally projected a transnational, heavily Westernized image when it first emerged in Japan.



“It makes me nostalgic for the 1980’s,  
when Japanese technology was cool.”

Most respondents indicated that they are also interested in other aspects of Japanese popular culture. A solid majority of these watch anime (79%), read manga (63%), and play Japanese

video games (71%). 55% of respondents listen to *anison*, i.e. songs associated with Japanese animated films and TV series. Some respondents named products of Japanese popular culture as concrete objects of reference for their nostalgic feelings, indicating that City Pop reminded them of Japan-made toys, video games, or television series from their childhood. Fan-produced music videos with City Pop songs uploaded to YouTube and shared on social media often employ scenes from 1980s and 1990s anime franchises like *Urusei Yatsura* or *Sailor Moon*. This tendency, possibly an influence from Future Funk, contrasts with the conventional image of City Pop in Japan, which used to have few points of contact with anime fandom and so-called *otaku* culture - even if some artists in the genre have produced music that has been used in anime.

Finally, proficiency in the Japanese language is surprisingly high: one quarter of respondents indicated that they speak at least enough Japanese to understand the lyrics to City Pop songs, while another 37% said that they know “a little” Japanese. Close to one quarter of respondents has been to Japan at least once.

## Conclusions and further research

The results from the survey at hand offer a first glimpse into the international City Pop fan community. This fandom is internationally diverse, mostly male, and heavily Internet-based; most of its members are too young to have experienced the music in its original context, or even ‘music before the Internet’ in general. Similar to older forms of international J-Pop fandom, City Pop fans form a ‘cluster’ of physically dispersed people connected through the Internet and common cultural tastes rather than a tight-knit ‘virtual community’ or a localized ‘music scene’ (cf. Mōri 2014: 216-17). These fans’ definition of City Pop music and artists for the most part matches perceptions of the genre among Japanese listeners of domestic retro music, while placing less emphasis on established narratives and genealogies that trace City Pop’s origins back to the early 1970s and the band Happy End. International City Pop fans project their own image onto the music: that of an economically prosperous 1980s Japan as a semi-exotic place of nostalgic longing and a means of escaping the pressures of the present.

It is this prominent association with ‘nostalgia’ as much as fans’ listening patterns and forms of technological engagement that places City Pop on a spectrum with several other Internet-based musics of the 2010s: Chillwave, Vaporwave, Future Funk, and Lo-fi Hip Hop. City Pop intersects with these genres in genealogical terms: many Vaporwave and Future Funk artists have employed samples from old Japanese pop songs in their music, and modern City Pop fandom can partly be explained as the effect of listeners seeking out the roots of these older microgenres. At the same time, City Pop also appears to offer a more straight-forward and more tangible artificially-nostalgic image than the aforementioned musical styles. It has a clearly defined visuality, an established canon of artists, and a concrete image of an idealized ‘Japan’. It has no need for the filtering effects that Vaporwave uses to evoke irony and uncanniness (Tanner 2016, Born/Haworth 2017) or simply laughter (Harper 2017), or that Lo-fi Hip Hop applies to its samples to artificially age them in order to fictionalize the past (Winston/Saywood 2019: 44-48). Hardcore City Pop fans instead tend to hunt for the vinyl rip that most faithfully reproduces the original sound of the music, which hints at a different intersection with the ‘rare groove’ scene and offline DJ culture. It may well be that ‘Japan’ is the only filter that City Pop needs in order to function as artificial nostalgia for its modern audience. Future qualitative research could expand on our results to further clarify the function of musical nostalgia in connection with Internet technology and social media dynamics, both in the City Pop scene and across the broader spectrum of contemporary online genres.

City Pop’s obvious relation with other Japanese pop culture fandoms is another venue that might provide interesting insights. The specific retro-futuristic image of Japan that dominates the City Pop scene, associated with consumer technology, with leisure culture, and the 1980s bubble economy, warrants discussion in the context of the ongoing debate on techno-orientalism (cf. Roh/Huang/Niu 2015). At the same time, the internationally diverse nature of the fan community needs to be taken into account. While it appears that City Pop fandom forms a transnational continuum from the Asia-Pacific over the Americas to Europe, more research is needed on non-Anglophone fan communities in e.g. Thailand, Indonesia, Taiwan or South Korea, and their intersections with regional musical scenes and inter-asian cultural flows.

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