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Lure of the Intimate: Power Practices in Japanese Adolescent Friendship

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology

by

Heather Spector Hallman

Committee in charge:

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2011

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University of California, San Diego

2011

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FREQUENTLY USED JAPANESE TERMS

Amae: dependence

Futōkō: long-term absenteeism

Futōkōsei: long-term absentee

Hankōki: period of rebellion

Honne: true intention; genuine, truthful interaction

Kejime: distinction

Ki: mind/body/spirit

Ningen kankei: human relationships

Nakama: peer group

Tatemaie: public intention, superficial interaction

Tōkōkyōhi: school phobia

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PREFACE

I sought a teaching position at Kano Academy because the students were *futōkōsei*, long-term absentees. This aspect of their personal history was the lure, but soon after I arrived it became apparent that *futōkōsei* challenges were not a topic students wished to reflect upon as they were seeking to overcome their absentee pasts. Of utmost concern were their emerging and deepening friendships. Dominating their lives from the early morning hours at school to the wee hours of the night—from what I gathered of their texting habits—was the status and quality of their friend relationships. Observing them for over a year and a half, I noticed how being with friends was transformative. Among their closest mates, students glowed with positivity evocative of *medetai*, interpersonal engagement so overwhelming that self-awareness is lost. They discovered the ease and contentment of an *inshin denshin* relationship wherein intimacy yields the ability to read another's mind. Intimate friendships buttressed students' sense of self-worth and students derived strength from the mere presence of intimate others. Moreover, students with friends were attending school and engaged in school life. The experience of friendship intimacy affected students' self-regard, other-regard, and interactive-regard, but how? The following thesis is a response to this question.

I argue that through the experience of adolescent friendship, Kano students honed a healthful sense of power that inflected self-, other-, and interactive-regard. I link this sense of power to practices of ethical sociality to argue more generally that Japanese adolescent friendship is crucial for the development of a healthy sense of power, individual well-being, and interdependent sociality. Moreover, friendship promotes normative gender identities and identification with adult personhood.

In the introductory chapter, I explore themes that I reference in describing and analyzing data from fieldwork at Kano Academy: sense, power, intimacy, ethical sociality, and regard. In the first chapter, I present Kano Academy, the “problem” of futōkōsei, and the peer-relationship challenges particular to this group. I also detail the methods used to study Kano students’ friendships. In chapters two and three, I reference anthropological literature on friendship to develop the framework that I use to present friendship institutions in Japan and at Kano. After establishing the field of friend relations and demonstrating that Kano friendships are representative of the norm, in chapter four I detail how students generated intimacy through practices of *talk* and *enhanced talk*. In the first part of chapter five, I explore the evolution of a sense of power over the course of childhood and into early adulthood, and locate its intersection with friendship. In the second part, I consider how a sense of power is gendered and how this sense articulates with gender participation in the workforce. In the concluding chapter, I discuss the importance of friendship to the aims of Kano Academy and to the performance of Japanese sociality.

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Thank you to Allen Tran for reading and commenting on every chapter. I am grateful for the faith and support of my family, in particular for that of my parents. I thank Candler Hallman for his abiding patience, reassurance, understanding, insight, truth, humor, and love. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the faculty and students of Kano Academy 2006-8 for making me feel like I belonged. As your pseudonym suggests, you are a place of hope. 心の底からどうもありがとうございます。

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Lure of the Intimate: Power Practices in Japanese Adolescent Friendship

by

Heather Spector Hallman

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

In this thesis I describe intimacy-building practices in Japanese adolescent friendship and argue that participation in these hones a sense of power characterized by elaboration of the subordinate role. A sense of power informs self-, other-, and interactive-regard, and friendship experience is thus vital to Japanese individual well-being and interdependent sociality. Friend relationships encourage a construal of self that is socially relativistic (Lebra 1976), sociocentric (Rosenberger 1989), relationally defined (Kondo 1990), and interdependent (Markus and Kitayama 1991, 1994).

In the course of fieldwork at a suburban Tokyo junior high and high school for long-term absentees, I found that speaking practices, *talk* and *enhanced talk*, were means of generating intimacy among students. *Talk* was characterized by a self-disclosing speaker and empathetic listener, and *talk* indexed that peers had formed a friendship. *Enhanced talk* brought friends closer. One element of *enhanced talk* was friend *talk*, but with maximum disclosure. A second element was agonistic interaction, which entailed a

speaker telling a listener about the listener and leading the listener to correct action and perspective in a frank, emphatic manner. In students' descriptions of *talk* and *enhanced talk*, they elaborated the subordinate role in the speaking dyad. Although speakers and listeners exercised power in *talk* and *enhanced talk*, students identified with the powerful listening role.

A sense of power is derived from and informs practices of ethical sociality, morally elaborated and culturally valued interactive repertoires. In Japan these include empathy (DeVos 1973; Lebra 1976; Tobin 1989), *amae* (dependence) (Doi 1971; Lebra 1976; Yamaguchi 2004), group affiliation (White and LeVine 1986; White 1987; Tobin 1989; Fukuzawa and LeTendre 2001), and presentation of will (White 1987; LeTendre 2000; Tsuneyoshi 2001). Friend intimacy-building practices may be considered another domain of ethical sociality.

Introduction

Even academic prose veers to the sentimental when expressing the importance of friendship to cognitive, emotional, social, and even physical functioning (See Brain 1977, Bell 1981, Duck 1983, Allan 1996, and Pritchett 2007 for examples). At adolescence this association may be particularly true. Friends are a significant context of youth socialization; friendship is a site for development of self-concept; it promotes the exploration and acquisition of new skills; friends influence one another in cultural norms, behavioral standards, and goals (Bukowski 2001:95). This thesis is about the work of friendship in the lives of adolescents at Kano Academy, a private suburban Tokyo junior high and high school for futōkōsei.

Students entered Kano after absentee periods lasting from two months to two years, and the school tasked itself with the goal of transforming students into school-attending, personally responsible, and socially oriented students. *Independence* and *interdependence* written in bold calligraphic script hung framed by the teachers' lockers, a reminder each morning of who bore responsibility for carrying out this mission. Endeavoring to cultivate normative adolescent behavior, the school presented an alternative environment. Physically, it was strikingly different from students' former schools. The campus consisted of a chrome and glass edifice renovated from a pachinko gambling hall, and, in contrast to the gated entranceways and tree-lined sports fields of typical schools, Kano Academy stood adjacent to a sprawling shopping mall where students went for lunch and afterschool snacks. Uniforms were not required; students sat at tables instead of desks; they carried cell phones into class; they had the option of

foregoing class work altogether for individual self-study. The head of Kano put their educational philosophy this way: “there are many paths to the top of Mt. Fuji.”

In this thesis I consider an alternative pathway Kano faculty provided for students to overcome absenteeism and develop independence and interdependence: friendship. The faculty did not explicitly recognize that in promoting friendship they were offering students so much. They reasoned that friendship made the school a welcoming environment—students were more likely to attend if it meant they had a peer with whom they could chat between classes or a mate with whom they could play hand-held video games at lunch. This was a departure from mainstream schools where teachers would tamp down on students’ friendships as these would be considered a threat to class cohesion and group life. Mainstream students would be instructed in hiding their affection for particular peers and segregating friendships from school life. But Kano students’ friendships were encouraged alongside group life, and cultivating these was a challenge that students and faculty alike took up. Many students had histories of being bullied through exclusion, name-calling, teasing, and even violence. In most all cases it was so-called friends who perpetrated these acts. Restoring students to trusting intimate peer relations was a collective endeavor and achievement.

Teachers, staff, and administration monitored students’ friendships and coached them in attracting peers, building relationships, resolving disputes, and distancing themselves from overbearing and demanding friends. At a faculty meeting in September 2007, the school counselor presented a written description of issues pertaining to each student in the problematic third-year junior high school class. Regarding a female student he wrote: “She is a bright and sociable student. But she’s not very good at

reading cues and has lost friends because of it. As her classmates have increased, she has developed a tendency to report negative things that others have said. Even though she's been told to be careful, it goes in one ear and right out the other. Her fellow female classmates seem to be abandoning her." Faculty attributed this student's antisocial behavior to her lack of discipline: she was too impatient to read cues, and she could not control her gossiping or focus on abiding by her teachers' advice. The faculty's solution was to stay aware, monitor the student, and continue coaching her on discretion until she got the point.

Faculty and students alike recognized that friendships could subvert class solidarity, and even though Kano friendships were encouraged, students and their teachers walked a fine line between endorsing dyadic intimacies and class-wide intimacy. In an interview with two female, third-year junior high school students, they made explicit the tension between friends and *nakama* (peer group). The interview took place in their homeroom, which was covered in photographs of the class at school events and pictures of themselves that students had drawn by hand. On one wall were the class goals: attend school each day, be kind to one another, and stay healthy. Their collective calendar was pinned to the bulletin board alongside a construction paper picture of a zoo drawn by one of the students who had written her classmates' names next to animals she believed represented their personalities. All elements worked together to enforce unity, cohesion, and good relations among members of the 3B *nakama*.

The interviewees conformed to the image of a typical Japanese teenager. They had short dark hair, wore no make-up, and dressed in the uniforms from their previous schools. Walking through the city, they would be assured that no one suspected either

attended the special school for absentees. Like other interviews, this one began on an even and cautious tone, with the students providing polite responses to the warm-up questions. But shortly into the interview, as though they could not help themselves, they began finishing each others' sentences and exhibiting great enjoyment in one another's company. When I got to the question about the difference between nakama, friend, and best friend, they turned beet red and confessed that they were best friends. Thereafter they occasionally answered the interview questions in unison, checked with one another in responding to questions, and most often allowed whoever had answered first to speak for the other. "The same!" the second respondent would reply with a smile and approving nod as though the first had read her mind. I taught the 3B class twice a week and would never have suspected that these two were as intimate as they expressed in the interview. They were proficient at segregating their friendship from the class, and although I imagine their classmates were fully aware of the intimacy, they could pretend it did not exist; indeed, pretending was the rule.

Kano faculty regarded student friendships as a means of getting students to school and keeping them in school throughout the day, and in the course of fieldwork I observed that friendship worked the way they envisioned—friends made school fun, and student attendance could be credited to this equation. But friendship was doing much more for Kano students. Peer relations deemed subversive to group life at mainstream schools enhanced class cohesion at Kano Academy as these promoted group affiliation behaviors. Moreover, students' friendships supported self-esteem and orientation to others. In this thesis I argue that participation in friend relations at adolescence is vital to Japanese individual well-being and sociality. Intimacy-building practices among friends hone a

sense of power that informs Japanese self-regard, other-regard, and interactive regard. From analyzing Kano students' friendship interactions, I identify two types of intimacy-building practices, *talk* and *enhanced talk*, which serve to progress the relationship and empower individual participants in it. These are power practices insofar as friends are acting on the actions of one another, and they are empowering because they hone a sense of power derived from and contributing to practices of ethical sociality. Through friendship adolescents exercise power and are empowered in other interactive contexts.

In this introductory chapter I present the notions of *sense* and *power* and describe a Japanese sense of power. Additionally, I demonstrate how intimacy serves as a conduit for power and the development of one's sense of it. Finally, I link a sense of power to ethical practices of sociality, self-, other-, and interactive- regard, and individual well-being.

Sense, power, and intimacy

Friendship practices contribute to honing multiple adolescent senses—a sense of age identity, sense of gender, sense of intellect, and so forth. And these senses are intertwined. In chapter five I discuss how a sense of gender is linked to a sense of power.¹ Sense, as I use the term, is derived from Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) discussion of the methodological individual, the *habitus*, the site where structures, institutions, practices, values, and so forth of a sociocultural milieu are internalized and realized in individual behavior, emotion, cognition, et cetera.² In the construct of the habitus, Bourdieu seeks to collapse dichotomies between objective and subjective phenomena and between mind and body. The habitus nevertheless has been criticized for retaining these

oppositions, but where the habitus concept may fail in this respect, the methodological tool of “sense” succeeds (Csordas 1994).

In *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu offers a rich definition of habitus beginning with the proposition that “structures constitutive of a particular type of environment produce *habitus*” (1977: 72). Thus, the habitus, an abstraction of the individual, is constituted by the dominant social and cultural norms, values, and institutions of the individual’s lifeworld. Practices—individual actions—are the means through which the individual is socialized or enculturated, and through practices the individual supports societal norms, values, and institutions. Bourdieu continues his definition of habitus by adding that it consists of

durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively “regulated” and “regular” without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of the conductor. (1977: 72, emphasis in original)

The individual takes up in dispositions in quotidian practices and over time these become durable, as in resistant to change. The individual is unaware of having internalized them; dispositions are not coerced into the person, and there is no conscious effort involved in practices consistent with dispositions. As a system of dispositions, the habitus is natural to a particular environment, and it is experienced as natural to the individual.³

Bourdieu designates the term, *sense*, for the fullest expression of a disposition—a disposition inalterably embodied. When the logic of a disposition is embodied to the extent that no competing disposition could be cultivated in the individual, the disposition

has manifested as a sense. In his presentation of *Nif*, Moroccan honor, he explains how a disposition—a composite of thought, perception, posture and feeling—evolves into a sense of honor:

...the point of honour is a permanent disposition, embedded in the agents' very bodies in the form of mental dispositions, schemes of perception and thought, extremely general in their application, such as those which divide up the world in accordance with the oppositions between the male and the female, east and west ...etc., and also at a deeper level, in the form of bodily postures and stances, ways of standing, sitting, looking, speaking, or walking. What is called the *sense of honour* is nothing more than the cultivated disposition, inscribed in the body schema and in the schemes of thought which enables each agent to engender all the practices consistent with the logic of challenge and riposte, and only such practices, by means of countless inventions, which the stereotyped unfolding of a ritual would in no way demand. (1977: 15)

A sense is a “cultivated disposition” that frees the individual from the burden of having to consciously attend to one’s practices.⁴ It is the endpoint of socialization.

Various senses that the “*socially informed body*” will develop include a sense of right and wrong, sense of direction, sense of beauty, and the sense of smell (Bourdieu 1977: 124). Bourdieu (1990) compares practical sense, or common sense, to having a “feel for the game.” Guided by cultivated dispositions, athletes perform sporting maneuvers and orient attention to play on the field in ways that non-athletes cannot. Sense is embodied cultural intelligence, and by virtue of one’s senses, one can successfully maneuver a cultural milieu, just as an accomplished athlete in his chosen sport. And like the star footballer who is confounded by the cricket pitch, senses fail persons in sociocultural milieu foreign to their upbringing and experience.

Bourdieu locates power in forms of symbolic capital such as cultural capital in the form of a style of dress for example, social capital in the form of occupational prestige,

and in wealth capital. Capital is successful in exercising power when it has achieved misrecognition at the individual level of the social relationships sustaining it. Power is exercised in individual and systemic efforts to make forms of capital seem natural, and the result of power is the naturalization of an invariably unequal social order.⁵ Friendship is a rich area for considering how capital exercises power. How does having many acquaintances versus a few best friends conform to dominant notions of friendship? Does friendship conceived as a challenge to group life serve the interests of the dominant, wealth holding groups in Japan? How is a sense of power emergent in adolescence a conservative force in social relations?⁶

I aim to locate power in interpersonal interaction. In the following sections, I explore a definition of power and the relationship between power and interpersonal intimacy, and I put sense and power together to describe a Japanese sense of power.

Power and culture in interaction

I draw on the notion of power presented by Foucault (1982) in analyzing the exercise of power in interaction. Foucault describes a methodology for studying how power operates; he writes that “analysis of power relations within a society cannot be reduced to the study of a series of institutions, not even to the study of all those institutions that would merit the name ‘political.’ Power relations are rooted in the system of social networks” (224). Identifying “social networks” Foucault indicates that power is quotidian and operational in interpersonal interactions. Foucault continues in this passage to define power as the “possibility of action upon the actions of others (which is coextensive with every social relationship).” I alter the definition slightly to define power as “the ability to act on the actions of others.” The term “ability” signifies

power in the person more than the term “possibility.” To analyze power in interpersonal interaction I enhance Foucault’s definition with scholarship from the field of phenomenology that takes up the issue of how the social world becomes meaningful to individuals through interaction.

Phenomenological scholarship on intersubjectivity offers a presentation of interaction that, although not always addressing power explicitly, invites ways of considering how power operates in interaction. What I refer to as “interpersonal” in this thesis, in phenomenological scholarship is often referred to as “intersubjective.” One could also use the term “intercorporeal” depending upon the level of analysis. Csordas (2008) points out that analysis on the interpersonal level emphasizes the behavioral aspects of interaction, analysis on the intersubjective level emphasizes individuals’ interpretations of interaction, and analysis on the intercorporeal level emphasizes the fullness of the experience of interaction. Ethnographic analysis should distinguish the domain of inquiry in order not to draw conclusions about one domain with data related to another. The following discussion of interaction and power will draw from studies of the intersubjective, interpersonal, and intercorporeal, and I will use these terms consistent with the authors.⁷

I draw on Crossley (1996) and my own analysis of Foucault’s (1982) discussion of power to explicate the definition of power in this thesis.⁸ Foucault raises fundamental questions about how power operates: “by what means is it exercised and what happens when individuals exert (as they say) power over others?” (117) In response, he explains that within relationships, power “is a mode of action which does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on

existing action or on those which may arise on the present or future” (220). Power manifests indirectly and without coercive means. Consensus is a condition of power, and it is based on cultural notions of dominance and subordination.

Elaborating on the qualification that power is based in consensus, Foucault describes five cultural aspects of power relations. First, power practices rely on a structure of differences wherein certain persons by virtue of their status in society have more power than others. For example, parents can compel children to be vaccinated, and children do not have the right of refusal. Second, Foucault stipulates that power is conditioned by the culturally valued objectives pursued by actors who are acting on one another’s actions. Third, power can be deployed on another’s actions because it functions within established institutions such as the workplace. In reference to this aspect Crossley explains that:

... power is not in the hands of the one who exercises it. It is an effect of the particular structuration of an interworld or between. Indeed, it may even be the case that the power effects of particular actions are unintended, undesired or unknown to the one that exercises them, especially in cases where human relations are structured by organizational hierarchies and roles or by other relatively stable mediating factors. (1996: 142)

Institutionalized power relations confer on persons more or less power vis-à-vis one another. Fourth, power becomes instituted, but it is not an effect of institutions; rather, power invokes institutions. Power, in this respect, generates the social order. Fifth, there is a degree of rationalization in forms of power, which indicates that power is patterned by a cultural logic.

A full definition of power based on this elaboration would be that power is the ability to act on another's actions, which is immanent in relationships and operates through consensus obtained by virtue of the sociocultural milieu.

Crossley points out that there is an additional element in Foucault's approach to the analysis of power not made explicit by Foucault. In a power interaction there is recognition by an actor that he or she is acting on another "acting agent," which means that the other is fundamentally recognized as having freedom. If the power-holder is compelled to act on another's actions it is because the power-holder recognizes the object of power has the freedom to reject these actions. Crossley characterizes this condition as a "constant and consistent intransigence in the power relation" (1996: 143). Foucault references this notion in his term, *agonism*. He explains that

... the relationship between power and freedom's refusal to submit cannot therefore be separated. The crucial problem of power is not that of voluntary servitude (how could we seek to be slaves?). At the very heart of the power relationship, and constantly provoking it, are the recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom. Rather than speaking of an essential freedom, it would be better to speak of an "agonism (see footnote)"—of a relationship which is at the same time reciprocal incitation and struggle; less of a face-to-face confrontation which paralyzes both sides than a permanent provocation. (1982: 221-2) (Footnote: Foucault's neologism is based on the Greek... meaning 'a combat.' The term would hence imply a physical contest in which the opponents develop a strategy of reaction and of mutual taunting, as in a wrestling match (translator's note).

Agonism is an ever-present tension in power practices, and it is derived from shared meanings and reciprocal sentiment: to recognize the freedom of the other, the individual must empathize with the other.

Agonism's tension does not manifest in radical or violent resistance, and like the power that provokes it, agonism is based in the consent of the parties involved.

Certainly, not all power practices have the same degree of agonism. For example, a despairing friend keeping her sleep-deprived mate on the phone half of the night to discuss boy-trouble might not be a power practice wherein the agonistic tension is felt. In exchanges such as when a friend convinces another to dump said boyfriend, the interaction may be tense, combative, and quite agonistic. I use the term agonistic to describe certain Japanese friend practices such as critique and interrogation because these are elaborations of power's inherent agonism. There is an ironical and distanced aspect to these friend power practices. Critique, for example, is an activity that will impact the actions of the one being critiqued, and although it is communicated in a frank, even derisive, fashion it is done with reflexive awareness of the dominance assumed by the one giving critique. In chapter four, I describe agonistic interactions in the context of friend intimacy and how these power practices mark intimacy and bring friends closer. In the following section I consider how intimacy is a conduit for power.

Intimacy and power

Power depends on intimacy, mutual interpersonal closeness. In this section I present studies from Coles (1992) and Zaner (2002) that contribute to understanding how intimacy is a precondition for power in interaction. Coles (1992) argues that the recognition of *depth*, the essential difference between self and other, as presented by Maurice Merleau-Ponty offers a path for fostering productive intersubjective interaction, and he indicates how this path operates through intimacy.⁹ Merleau-Ponty proposes that the primal difference between self and other, coupled with the primal need for the other, makes others essential to perception as well as to aesthetic experience: he explains that “as I attempt to recognize the otherness of the others’ perceptions of the world to which

we both belong, my world attains a texture and latency that it did not have before. I realize that the world I am present to is much more than I see, far more ‘there’ than my singular vision attests” (cited in Coles 1992: 134). An individual’s world acquires objects and beauty through difference in self and other, which is the depth Coles wishes to elucidate.¹⁰

Coles argues that this depth generates empathy. It gives interpersonal interaction a productive agonism wherein citizens, for example, can perceive an incident or issue from varying positions and engage in productive discussion. Lack of depth, the denial of difference between the other and one’s objectification of the other, however, leads to communicative breakdown. Intersubjective recognition of depth can be powerful in evoking empathy and mutual understanding; ignorance of depth, on the other hand, can stave off empathy and create intersubjective distance. There is a denial of the other or, put another way, the flattening of the perceiving other, which manifests in dangerous and violent objectification.¹¹

Although Coles does not conclude that these exercises of intersubjective power would depend on the intimacy of the persons involved, his work prompts the question of how it might. How can the other recognize depth or flatten identity—power in action—in the absence of intimacy? Does the recognition of depth or flattening of the other vary in degree depending upon intimate engagement? The quality of intersubjective intimacy may be a precondition for power.

Zaner (2002) directly discusses how intimacy may provide a context for power practices. His contention comes out of discovering a contradiction in philosopher Alfred Schutz’s explanation of human motivation: Schutz, at different moments, presents

intersubjectivity and anxiety over death as motivating human action. In explaining the former, Schutz contends that people have a *thou-orientation* that is primal to experience from the moment of birth when the mother-child relationship elicits the baby's processes of objectification. The mother-child "we-relationship" thus motivates being in the lifeworld. Schutz also contends that the reality of one's death creates a "fundamental anxiety" that motivates human activity. Can a person be both motivated by the intersubjective intimacy of the we-relationship and the fundamental anxiety over death?

Perhaps, but Zaner would err on the side of intimacy. He concludes that:

I am gifted with life but with self-conscious life that doesn't really know itself, but must need ask and seek itself first of all. I am indebted for my being to the Other (mother first of all), and responsible thence for proper recognition of that and of becoming myself, which is itself always a task and chore, and even when not always accomplished, done within the nexus of our growing old together. (2002: 17)

In Zaner's critique of Schutz, primacy is given to the intimate other in motivating human activity. Although Zaner does not specify the quality of intimacy, the image of the mother and child conveys that it is one of mutual attraction. It is a kinetic and intense bond of love. And in the varying instantiations of love over the life course, intimacy acts as a lure between persons and also serves as a conduit for intersubjective power activities.

Three examples of power and intimacy in interaction

In this section I offer three contrasting examples of power in interpersonal interaction and discuss how these operate vis-à-vis a context of intimacy, even though the authors of these examples do not always explore the role of intimacy or power in these interactions.

Example #1

In *The Sacred Self*, Csordas (1994) examines processes of self-objectification in the healing rituals of a Catholic Charismatic community. The context of a healing ritual shifts interpersonal interactions—those between healer and client—to the fore of analysis. In the following example, as in many discussions of healers and clients, the dyad of is one of a dominant and subordinate. But compared to most doctor-patient encounters, the women here have a high degree of intimacy, which I would suggest is an element that facilitates self-objectification and healing.

The healing practice is an example of what Csordas terms an “imaginal performance,” and in this case it is directed at the healing of memories. During the session the healer and client address the client’s childhood memories of mother, which the client thinks might be intertwined with present familial problems. The therapist leads the client in an imaginal sequence through which the client encounters her mother and is able to “let her go.” Healer and client in this case are devoted members of the charismatic community. There is only one year of difference in age between them and they are of similar socioeconomic status, although the healer has a doctoral degree and the client only has a few years of post-secondary education. Like the healer, the client is a “spiritual leader” in the church, although Csordas reports that they meet in a “professional context.” The healer is institutionally superior to the client, but the aforementioned characteristics indicate a certain degree of intimacy between them. When the healer offers the client a new way of cognizing the relationship with mother, interactive power practices provide a context for generating this change in perception. Could it be that the trust, even friendship, between these two devotees of the church, endows the healer with greater power to affect change in the patient than a male healer or

a much younger or older female healer would have had been able to achieve? Is the potency of their interaction based in the discourses of the church, in the therapeutic processes of charismatic healing, or in synergistic bond between these women—something intercorporeal and challenging to linguistic description? Csordas leaves room for the possibility that all of these factors may be operating in the interaction.

Example #2

The second example is one that Csordas (2008) uses to distinguish intercorporeal analysis from intersubjective and interpersonal analyses. He describes two similar events from his time in Brazil. In the first instance, a Brazilian student is leaving a party hosted by the professor. As the professor and student approach the door for her exit, there is a moment of stiltedness when the student steps aside for the professor to open the door. In the second instance, the professor is leaving the office of a doctor-informant. In the course of his exit, the doctor rushes to open the door for the professor. The doctor picks up on the awkwardness of her rush to the handle and explains that it is a custom in Brazil for the host to open the door for a departing guest, or else the guest may not return.

The piqued awkwardness in these instances speak to the level of intimacy between the professor and the other parties. Were it not for emergent fellow-feeling would the student have stepped aside for the professor to facilitate her exit? Would the doctor have rushed to the door? The student and the doctor (in the role of informant) are in subordinate positions to the professor but assert their power in directing him to conform to local custom. Had he been a stranger, or someone with whom there was no intimate investment, perhaps neither would have been as assertive.

Example #3

The third example is from Lengermann and Niebrugge (1995) in their application of Schutz's work to the study of female subordination on collective and interactional levels.¹² In situating the field of intersubjectivity, Lengermann and Niebrugge demonstrate a range of outcomes in intersubjective interaction. Between persons, they explain, there is a "we-ness...each person both focuses on the common understandings that link her or him with the Other and recognizes that the Other is an independent subjectivity" (1995: 27). The intersubjective we-ness manifests in interaction at its very best as an instance of mutual and complete recognition of the other. At the other extreme, intersubjective interaction becomes a relationship of domination wherein the dominant individual does not recognize the independent subjectivity of the other. Herein the dominant party "seeks to obliterate from the relationship the consciousness of the other's independent vantage point" (1995: 28).¹³

To illustrate how domination may occur through intersubjective interaction, they present an example of a relationship between a male boss and a female administrative assistant. This is a relationship with a high degree of intimacy: the dominant party is empathic and attuned to the subordinate party—even as this is motivated by how the subordinate will contribute to furthering his aims—and the subordinate possesses an "openness" to the dominant party that she may anticipate his needs and actions (1995: 30). The subordinate is aware that the dominant party does not recognize her subjectivity, yet she accepts the dominant as an independent subjectivity. In this way the intimacy between the boss and subordinate seems to motivate the subordinate party's submission to the boss's framing of the relationship, and of the parties to it. Lengermann and Niebrugge explain that in this power maneuver the subordinate comes to "grasps, in

its unity and fullness, the project of the dominant and, despite its demands on her, commits as fully and uncritically to these goals as if they were hers (1995: 31).”

Although the authors do not speculate how intimacy motivates the power interaction, they emphasize the intimacy between these parties, which leaves room for considering how the high level of intimacy may facilitates the boss’s domination.

These examples indicate how intimacy serves as a conduit for power. In this thesis I describe how friend intimacy is an important context for Japanese adolescents to exercise power and socialize one another to a sense of it. Intimacy-building practices among friends such as *talk* and *enhanced talk*, which I describe in chapter four, are also practices of ethical sociality. Practices of ethical sociality are power practices, and not only are they dependent on a context of intimacy, but they are also generative of it.

Ethical sociality

A sense of power is a sense of one’s ability to act on the actions of others. It may be situated on a spectrum from powerfulness/absolute dominance to powerlessness/absolute subordination. A Japanese sense of power is characterized by an elaboration of power in the subordinate role, and evolves through practices of ethical sociality. By sociality I refer to “social coordination” (Ochs and Solomon 2010).¹⁴ Ochs and Solomon (2010) draw on Bourdieu to describe sociality as interactive dispositions that contribute to the production of meaning. Morally elaborated and culturally valued interactive repertoires would be practices of ethical sociality. In this thesis I focus on how five practices of ethical sociality contribute to the evolution of a sense of power: (1) empathy (DeVos 1973; Lebra 1976; Tobin 1989), (2) *amae* (dependence) (Doi 1971; Lebra 1976; Yamaguchi 2004), (3) group affiliation (White and LeVine 1986; White

1987; Tobin 1989; Fukuzawa and LeTendre 2001), (4) presentation of will (White 1987; LeTendre 2000; Tsuneyoshi 2001), and, (5) friend intimacy-building practices.

In these interactions there are dominant and subordinate positions, and the subordinate role is figured as a power holder. In empathy and dependency interactions, the object of empathy, or the dependent party, is conceived as being in control. This party elicits an empathetic action or another action on behalf of the dependent, and, in this respect, is understood the powerful party. In interactions with a group and in presentation of individual will, the individual is figured as the passive party, the one who is responsible for coordinating behavior, attitude, thinking, emotional expression, et cetera with others. The group or the interlocutor commands this action from the individual, and it is within the individual's purview to conform. He or she is thus able to act on the actions of others from the subordinate position. In chapter four I detail how in friend intimacy-building practices—*talk* and *enhanced talk*—the listening, subordinate role is figured as the power-holder. In chapter five I elaborate how these practices of ethical sociality contribute to the evolution of a sense of power over the course of childhood and into adulthood.

In the following section I address the relationship between a sense of power and self-, other-, and interactive-regard.

Self-, other-, and interactive-regard

I consider self-, other-, and interactive-regard not as objectifications of self, others, and interaction, but as individual orientations in intersubjective engagements. This moves beyond a cognitive approach to selfhood wherein the self is what the individual consciously/non-consciously understands the self to be. The latter approach

subordinates intersubjective processes to individual processes in analyzing meaning-making, and in this thesis I consider multiple individuals as constitutive of meaning-making.¹⁵ Csordas (1991, 1994) advances understanding of intersubjective meaning-making processes by establishing self and other as mutually constituted. Using his definition of self as a departure point, I offer that the triad of self-, other-, and interactive-regard may be considered individual orientations in the project of meaning-making.

Csordas presents self not as object, personality, or set of features, but as an orienting modality. His definition of self accomplishes three tasks important to understanding intersubjective meaning-making processes: first self is conceived as indeterminate and thus in the process of formation, second, self is conceived as generated through intersubjective engagement, and, third, self is oriented to the cultural milieu. Acknowledging the body as the subject and existential ground of culture, Csordas draws on Merleau-Ponty and Bordieu to describe self as

an indeterminate capacity to engage or become oriented in the world, characterized by effort and reflexivity...self occurs as a conjunction of prereflective bodily experience, culturally constituted world or milieu and situational specificity or habitus. Self processes are orientational processes in which aspects of the world are thematized, with the result that the self is objectified, most often as a person with a cultural identity or set of identities. (1994:5)

Self is constituted through the flux of experience—emotionally complex, cognitively conflicting, interpersonal, always cultural, and always in the process of change. Self's singular activity is the thematization of phenomena, which occurs vis-à-vis present and absent others through whom the world gains meaning. Self and other are carriers of culture for one another, and Csordas shows that the self is no less cultural than the objectified self. As a conceptual tool this self is useful for linking a cultural milieu of

socially shared conceptualizations, values, and practices to the individual because the individual is situated as orienting toward others and through them, toward the cultural environment.¹⁶

This conceptualization of self necessitates an analytic focus on experience with a present other such as a friend, or an absent other in the form of a memory.¹⁷ The triad of self, other, and interaction constitute elements in processes of meaning-making, and although analytically they can be disentangled, Csordas' notion of self demonstrates that experientially they overlap. Taking this as a departure point, I use the term "regard" to indicate individual orientation in these processes; regard qualifies how the individual is oriented to self, others, and the interactive moment. A sense of power might be conceived as a mood inflecting regard in experiences of meaning-making.¹⁸ In the following section I consider how self-regard is tied to other- and interactive-regard in Japanese processes of meaning making.

Self-regard in Japan

The interplay among the triad of regard is made obvious in studies of Japanese self-regard, which reflexively smuggle in other- and interactive-regard. This body of inquiry takes self-regard as objectification as well as an orientation, and has demonstrated that negative self-regard is healthful: Japanese are self-critical and tend toward low self-esteem, and these practices of negative self-regard are experienced as natural, healthy, and good.

The dominant interpretation of this form of regard situates it as an effect of Japanese being radically oriented towards obligations to others (Benedict 1946), socially relativistic (Lebra 1976), sociocentric (Rosenberger 1989), relationally defined (Kondo

1990), and interdependent (Markus and Kitayama 1991, 1994). This interdependent self-construal is a theory of personhood central to how Japanese define themselves. Explicit and implicit theories of the person inform an individual's qualities, role, expectations, responses, postures, emotional states, etc. through the property of reflexivity (Mauss 1985; Hallowell 1955). Following from a sociocentric or interdependent construal, Japanese experience themselves as dependent on others to the extent that their character, emotional states, behavior, et cetera, are determined by the status of affiliations with others such as family, friends, and co-workers.¹⁹ In contrast American construal of self would be independent or egocentric. In this conceptualization of self the person is a container of unique attributes determining character, emotional states, behavior, et cetera.

Markus and Kitayama (1991, 1994) argue that an interdependent construal is foundational to Japanese negative self-regard.²⁰ Negative self-regard entails psychological processes that motivate the individual to subordinate needs, desires, wishes, and fantasies to the preservation of relationships with others. In this way negative self-regard serves to reinforce mutual dependence, promote relationship stability, and ultimately individual well-being.²¹ Heine et al. (2001) argue that negative self-regard manifests in attention to role performance and practices of self-management such as self-critique that encourage the individual to maintain and improve relationships through a manipulation of self. They explain that Japanese are attuned to "information indicating transgressions from the standards of performance associated with their roles" because this "aids individuals by highlighting the areas in which they need to make efforts to reduce the perceived discrepancies" (2001: 435). For the Japanese "negative information about the self thus should be sought out rather than avoided" (ibid). When

Japanese engage in self-blame and self-criticism they are motivated by a desire to improve and maintain affiliations.²² Kanagawa et al. (2001) moreover demonstrate that the immediate physical presence of significant others contributes to increased negativity directed at the self. To test whether negative references for the self would change in interpersonal situations they had students report on self in the presence of a faculty member, in a group setting, or with a peer. In the presence of faculty member and peer negative self-reports were higher than when students were alone or in a large group. The intensity of the intimate dyad increased practices of negative self-regard.²³

These studies take self-regard as an objectification as well as an orientation to others, and demonstrate how self-, other-, and interactive-regard are intertwined in processes of meaning-making. Japanese self-objectification is qualitatively negative, and it might be a Western categorical imposition to criticize Japanese self-regard as psychologically unhealthy when the Japanese experience it as healthy (Obeyesekere 1985). As the aforementioned studies of self-regard in Japan indicate, practices of negative self-regard undergird sociality just as they are essential to individual processes of meaning-making. In tandem with this proposition, I suggest that a Japanese sense of power—with emphasis on subordination—supports negative self-regard, and, by extension, sociality, meaning-making, and individual well-being. Friend intimacy-building practices hone a sense of power, and likewise are crucial to the individual. Japanese categories of psychological distress emergent during the adolescent life stage are evidence of the importance to well-being of friendship and a sense of power that elaborates subordination.

Japanese adolescent-onset psychological distress

The notion that the parameters and characteristics of the adolescent life stage are cross-culturally variable was advanced by anthropologists in the formative years of the academic discipline. Indeed, cultural anthropologists, thanks to the work of Margaret Mead, are best known to most of the American public for pointing out the cultural diversity of adolescent experience based on socially shared values, practices, and conceptualizations. It is surprising, therefore, that anthropological studies of adolescence over the course of the twentieth century were relatively few. One reason anthropologists may not have taken up adolescence as frequently as other topics is that adolescence has been understood as a modern institution, which raised the question of its validity as a cross-cultural and cross-temporal construct. In the 1970s, the academic category of adolescence came under critique for being misrecognized as a taken-for-granted stage of human development, when it was, in fact, a late-modern social institution and an outcome of societal commitments to prolonged education in urban industrialized societies since the mid-nineteenth century (Bakan 1972). In response to these critiques, Schlegel and Barry (1991) established an argument for the universality of this life stage based on social institutions, which effectively halted charges of academic constructivism.²⁴

Anthropologists nevertheless continued to question if analytically they were forcing societies to conform to a biological and psychological construct by applying the term and its modern, Western characterization to non-modern, non-Western societies. Bucholtz (2002) argues that anthropologists should designate the entire period between childhood and adulthood “youth” because “adolescence” has biological connotations and age-dependent developmental implications. She explains that scholarship on adolescence “inevitably frames young people primarily as not-yet finished human beings” (Bucholtz

2002:529). In contrast, she says, “youth foregrounds age not as trajectory, but as identity, where *identity* is intended to invoke neither the familiar psychological formulation of adolescence as a prolonged “search for identity,” nor the rigid and essentialized concept that has been the target of a great deal of recent critique” (Bucholtz 2002:531). Bucholtz is rightly concerned that in past studies, adolescents have not been recognized as agentic political subjects. Fortunately recent ethnography on adolescents has sought to correct this by foregrounding the political agency of persons in their second and third decades of life (Hodkinson and Deicke 2007). Her suggested term, “youth,” may be as slippery as adolescence is rigid. If a 17-year-old identifies as a child, would he not be included in the youth category?

The Japanese have a category of adolescence comparable to the biological and psychological academic category. In Japan the three years of junior high (ages 13 through 15) and three years of high school (ages 16 through 18) constitute the adolescent period (White 1993; LeTendre and Akiba 2001).²⁵ Similar to the Euro-American concept of a stressful adolescence, the Japanese regard this stage as an intense time (*hageshi jidai*). This intensity is not a function of the hormonal imbalance of pubescent development as it is in the Euro-American model of the life stage, but a function of the educational system (LeTendre 2000). White observes that the period of junior high and high school is “the most critical, most fully mobilized time of life” (White 1993:10) because the trajectory of the individual’s life is determined by achievement at school and on exams (DeVos 1973; Rohlen 1983; White 1993; Erwin-Fukuzawa and LeTendre 2001; LeTendre 2000). By the time an adolescent reaches sixteen years of age, his or her future occupation, income, social status/class is all but decided.²⁶

Japanese adolescence is bound by educational institutions. Adolescent-onset conditions are disruptive to school, which can make these seem like forms of social resistance. I would suggest that these conditions may also be forms of resistance to friendship, even as they indicate the importance of friendship and a culturally particular sense of power to adolescent well-being.

Taijin kyōfushō (TJK), fear of interpersonal relationships, is a condition when negative self-construal becomes extreme and unhealthy. This mental illness diagnosis is native to Japan and recognized as a culture-bound syndrome akin to social anxiety syndrome. Symptoms are related to fears obtaining in interpersonal situations such as the fear of displaying an unpleasing facial expression, fear of blushing, and fear of giving off an offensive odor (Tanaka-Matsumi 1979). The less common type of TJK is “severe” and involves fear of interpersonal interaction with all persons; its manifestation has been linked to schizophrenia (Russell 1989). The more common form of TJK is the “pure” form and occurs in relationships with a certain set of persons: those who are less familiar than family and more familiar than strangers. Peers at school, teachers, and people one sees every afternoon on the train-ride home would constitute this group. In their study of Japanese psychiatric patients with diagnoses of social anxiety disorder, Sakurai et al. (2005) note that in contrast to patients from other cultural milieu, fear of interaction with *friends* was associated with the Japanese population.

Interpersonal phobia is probably the most common mental illness diagnosis among Japanese young adults (Krowner 2002). Historically, TJK has been more common among adolescent males, but recent epidemiological studies have challenged this notion by showing the prevalence of TJK among females and older adults (Ono et. al

2001).²⁷ In explaining TJK adolescent-onset, Russell (1989) links it to culturally particular “temperamental predisposition, early childhood socialization practices, family dynamics and frustrated dependency needs” (400). He also notes that the condition has been explained as common in adolescence because puberty heightens attention to self (396). I suggest that an inability to engage in peer intimacy-building, rather than being symptomatic of TJK, may be at cause. And, this inability may be linked to the expectation of power practices among friends. Persons with TJK symptoms may be reluctant to avail themselves to the intimacy of friends because friendship involves risk-taking in the form of intense self-disclosure and assertive behaviors.²⁸

Hikikomori (social withdrawal) is similar to TJK insofar as the condition is characterized by a fear of one’s peers and a lack of intimate friends. It is estimated several hundred thousand to one million young adult Japanese citizens live as shut-ins, suffering from the condition (Zieleniger 2006). Social withdrawal begins between the ages of 16 and 25 and for the younger spectrum of this group it manifests in the form of long-term absenteeism (Lancet Dispatch 2002). Reasons given by socially withdrawn youth include shame and fear of criticism from their peers. Japanese friend relations can be intense and demanding, but without friend interaction adolescents are limited in domains to exercise of power and develop a healthful sense of it. Sadly, incidents of violence in the home and at school against teachers and classmates have been associated with hikikomori (Lancet Dispatch 2002).

Kano students presented a unique perspective on the challenges of intimacy-building among friends. Most students at Kano Academy had multiple behavioral and emotional challenges including ADHD, depression, anxiety disorders, panic disorders,

eating disorders, learning disorders, et cetera. Many students had difficult home environments, and many students had been bullied by other students and neglected by teachers at their former schools. Through their own volition, and by their peers, educators, families, communities, and nation, they were situated on the periphery of mainstream adolescent social life.²⁹ Endeavoring to reform futōkōsei was a top priority for teachers, staff, and administration. Students were offered a course, Social Skills Training, and on a daily basis faculty supported students in attracting friends and negotiating their peer relationships.³⁰ Faculty and many students were overly concerned with conforming to the norms of peer sociality and friend relations. This made them excellent resources for learning about adolescent friend experience and the Japanese values, conceptualizations, and practices related to friendship

¹ Linguistic anthropologist Marjorie Goodwin (1998) uses the term “habitus of power” to describe the embodiment of linguistic practices during a game of hopscotch among elementary school girls. She writes that “in playing games such as hopscotch girls develop a repertoire of language practices that can be used to build and display themselves as social actors with specific embodied characteristics, a habitus of power” (35). While this term is not further elaborated, I would suggest that she uses it as a means of describing how girls accrue power in interactional conflict in order to argue against the notion that girls avoid conflict.

² Throop and Murphy (2002) make a strong argument that this model of personhood is “overly deterministic.” I would agree that in analyzing adult personhood it can be rigid. But it is helpful for considering the relationship between sociocultural institutions and the experience of childhood. Bourdieu (1977) emphasizes that dispositions of the habitus are “inculcated in the earliest years of life and constantly reinforces by calls to order from the group, that is to say, from the aggregate of the individuals endowed with the same dispositions, to whom each is linked by his dispositions and interests” (15). Later in the same text, Bourdieu explains that the habitus is cumulative, undergoing “restructuring to restructuring,” as the individual moves from the environment of the family to school and from school to work (87). His developmental trajectory is appealing for childhood studies.

³ In a footnote to the term disposition, Bourdieu emphasizes that disposition “expresses first the *result of an organizing action*, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a *way of being*, a *habitual state* (especially of the body) and,

in particular, a *predispositions, tendency, propensity, or inclination.*” (214 f.1, emphasis in original). I appreciate the latter italicized terms because these are used to occlude a mind-body separation inherent in his model of dispositions and senses. When Bourdieu explains that the individual, the habitus, experiences practices as a choice among various strategies, it is possible to see how the tendency toward one action would feel better than towards another; dispositions—external structures within the habitus—confer on all the choices of practices, or varying strategies, a moral valence that manifests in the feeling that one option is better than another and a tendency towards the option most aligned with one’s disposition.

⁴ Crossley (1996) criticizes the habitus because it does not represent a thinking and creative individual. It may be in line with his theory of practice to note that the individual thinks in and through dispositions and this does not preclude thinking creatively, as these scholars imply. But Bourdieu gives limited creativity to practices. He states that persons think “with the logic of challenge and riposte,” which would be sufficient to argue within an individual’s sociocultural environment.

⁵ For example, an educational system may endorse a certain linguistic style and thus invest speakers with cultural capital and non-speakers with a inferiority. The individual non-speaker, rather than recognizing the institutional imbalance or injustice, seeks to conform to the other, dominant, speaking style, or worse, to condemn his or herself to inferiority.

⁶ In this thesis I suggest that friendship is a conservative force in gender relations. Friendship may also be a site of agentic action given its voluntary dynamic (discussed in chapter two), and friend relations may be subversive to the social order. These are important questions for future research.

⁷ Access to adolescents in the context of school and the method of recording students’ perspectives of friendship has meant that observation, brief interviewing, and written survey work have been methodological tools informing this thesis. In other ethnographic studies situated at Japanese schools observation and interviewing have been the most common methods (see LeTendre and Fukuzawa 2001, LeTendre 2000, Cave 2007). In places, I will offer personal experiences of friendship interaction in Japan and interpret the event on an intercorporeal level, but when discussing adolescents I rely on observation of behavior—an interpersonal level of analysis—and on students’ reports—an intersubjective level of analysis.

⁸ Crossley takes up the issue of power in intersubjective interaction through a comparison of Habermas and Foucault. In spite of seemingly divergent models of intersubjective relations, Crossley finds complementarity in Habermas and Foucault’s views on intersubjective power, which can be useful for an exploration of power in all levels of interaction: from the public, political engagement of groups, to the private intimacy of mother-child relations. Crossley reconciles Habermas and Foucault by suggesting that Foucault’s aspects of power can be used to enhance Habermas’ notion of strategic actions wherein power is deployed.

⁹ The aim of Cole’s piece is to present an argument for the recognition, cultivation, and maintenance of difference between persons engaged in political intercourse and to this end Coles turns to Augustine, Foucault, and Merleau-Ponty. In the chapter on Augustine

Coles argues that the scholar's position on self enhances Foucault's historical argument about how the confessing self of the Middle Ages—the man who found truth within—evolved into the inward-focused self that has become the domain of modern social subjugation. Augustine who found truth within is also in contrast to Merleau-Ponty who finds truth between persons, Coles also explains. Depth for Foucault occurs in the space of interiority where the self confronts difference within its content, and has a tendency to rout out the offending difference in order to be consistent with expectations for normative action. Annihilation of difference is an annihilation of the other within oneself and antipathy toward exterior others. When selves seek to eliminate difference within we deny the depth within others and flatten their being. But, Coles argues, Foucault pointed towards the reclamation of depth when the “self-made man” regarded himself as a work in progress of aesthetic value, one that celebrated difference within and between persons.

¹⁰ Contrastive to this depth is the hallucination. The hallucination, Merleau-Ponty explains, because it is not shared by others, lacks “consummate fullness;” it is “hermetically sealed from the expressive force of the world” (139). Interpersonal interaction is necessary for objectification, the construction of reality, and the depth of expressive experience.

¹¹ For Merleau-Ponty, the most egregious power maneuver is the one that generates a situation wherein the individual comes to flatten his or herself, to deny difference within, and to conform to a one-dimensional objectification of self, others, and world.

Discussing this point further Coles quotes Merleau-Ponty again: “By taking ourselves to be—and increasingly becoming—the “manipulandum,” we increasingly close ourselves to the polymorphous character of our being and simultaneously close ourselves to the experience of different others” (1992: 138).

¹² They point out that Schutz's work lacks “any extended consideration of power, perhaps one reason support for his work has diminished since the mid-1970's (25).

¹³ Their example of domination of this type involves two people looking at a bird. The dominant party might insist the subordinate perceive a bird as a quarry not as an animal to enjoy. The subordinate thus changes her perspective to conform to the dominant party's view, and in so doing yields her right to an independent subjectivity. In this form of domination there is no reciprocity of perspectives, but only the dominant's perspective.

¹⁴ My thinking about morality and sociality benefits from Robbins (2009), who identifies the logic of Urapamin sociality and how it manifests in culturally valued interactive repertoires.

¹⁵ Weiss (1999) and Jenkins (1994) critique these approaches. White (1999) describes how conceptualizations of body type are formed through incorporation of others' perspectives. Jenkins (1994) specifically criticizes studies of emotion where there is a lack of attention to “intersubjective dimensions of culture and experience” (1994: 328). After all, the interpersonal context is where socialization—the transmission of cultural ideas of a group—occurs and persons develop a “sense of the good, the moral, and the self” (Markus and Kitayama 1994: 342 figure 1). Markus and Kitayama advocate for intersubjective studies of socialization to emotion. They argue that interaction, a site of emotional experience, is where emotion is learned and comes to serve as a form of social control (Markus and Kitayama 1994).

¹⁶ This notion of self also aims to avoid a fax model (Strauss 1992) of the relationship between the individual and culture by ensuring variability of self. This is because, Csordas reminds us, processes of meaning making are foremost embodied, and insofar as there is potentiality for variation in the embodied processes of fundamentally unique persons, self must be given the property of indeterminacy, even if cultural processes of engagement in a sociocultural environment seemingly nullify the potential of variability in the thoroughly cultural self.

¹⁷ Csordas (1994:13) emphasizes that others are like selves in the process of objectification. For example, the other responds to self in the form of gesture or expression, which becomes foundational for characterization of the self that occurs during objectification. Furthermore, the self may grasp this intersubjective data preobjectively and does not necessarily recognize the other as distinct. The other is thus implicated in self and in processes of objectification.

¹⁸ Keagan (1982) describes self as the process of meaning-making.

¹⁹ Historically, this construal may be related to Buddhist and Shinto religious aims to lose the self in relationships with others; freedom from self is the goal (Lebra 1992).

²⁰ In a related analysis, Bachnik (1994) and contributors to her volume co-edited with Quinn explore how the duality is the organizing principle of Japanese self as well as society and language. For them, *uchi/soto* is a master schema reiterated in dichotomies noted by anthropologists, psychologists and other scholars as characteristic of Japanese personhood and society including *honne/tatema*, personal intention/public face (in interpersonal interaction), *ura/omote*, back or hidden, front or visible (in decision making in business and politics), *ninjō/giri*, expressions of compassion/obligation (in interpersonal relations), and the roles of *amaeru/amayakasu*, dependency suppliant/dependency indulger (in intimate relations affirming intimacy and the hierarchical relation of participants). They note that *uchi/soto* and its recursive categories are relative to the individual, and in the act of *kejime* these are meant for prompting the individual towards prescribed sets of conduct. The individual reads a context for indexical cues signaling an *uchi* or *soto* situation such as the gender, age, and social position of other participants in relation to the self, and responds to the *uchi/soto* level of the context with the suitable language, bodily posture, and disposition.

²¹ Rosenberger (1989), however, argues that the Japanese fluctuate between egocentric and sociocentric models of the self depending on the immediate context.

²² Various studies have shown that positive emotional experiences are related to interpersonal stability and engagement in Japan, whereas in the United States, positive feelings were related to self aggrandizement and heightening of personal awareness (Kitayama and Markus 2000; Kitayama, Markus, Kurokawa 2000).

²³ Studies of self-construal indicate ways that Japanese conceptualize power—the ability to act on the actions of others. Power may be understood as the ability to act on future events. Markus and Kitayama (1994) argue that Americans have high expectations about their futures because of a “false uniqueness effect” (103-4) an element of self-construal whereby a faith in individual exceptionalism informs an orientation to controlling one’s future path. Americans, unlike the Japanese, believe in their capacity to act on future events. Analytically, I use power to describe action on the actions of others, and mean to

exclude action on the self. But power in Japan may also be understood as a manipulation of self. For example, self-criticism may be conceptualized as a tool for altering the self through conjuring feelings of shame and inadequacy. Self-discipline is another form of power toward self that is elaborated contemporarily in events such as marathon running and other feats of endurance (Kondo 1990, Rohlen and LeTendre 1999).

²⁴ They identified adolescence in 174 societies based on indicators of this life stage such as linguistic markers, entrance into institutions such as the military, greater participation in religious rituals, the claiming of autonomy by running away, patterned social deviance, visual cues such as tattoos and clothing, and mechanisms of social control over adolescent sexuality. They were also able to theorize that cross-culturally there is a cluster of adolescent concerns and concerns about adolescents such as departure from the natal home, greater peer socialization, adolescent sexuality, occupational preparation for adult life, and social pathologies such as school refusal. They also found that the duration of adolescence generally differs for females and males within societies. For females, adolescence is shorter and less challenging than for males. They explain this as the result of the longer period of time needed for men to acquire work skills to support a family and the shorter amount of time needed for women's education, which generally takes place in the home and begins prior to adolescence.

²⁵ LeTendre (2000) notes that teachers and administration at the schools where he conducted fieldwork did not have a robust conceptualization of adolescence as a delimited phase of biological human development like the American teachers he worked with.

²⁶ Compulsory education in Japan ends at graduation from junior high school, and the educational system aims to ensure that by the conclusion of junior high, age 16, all Japanese should be intellectually, mentally, and physically prepared to assume roles as *shakaijin* (members of society).

²⁷ Ono et al. (2001) conducted an epidemiological study of TJK in a small community. Nine of the one-hundred and thirty-six respondents (6.8%) reported TJK pure type. These respondents were older adults and most were female.

²⁸ At Kano Academy students were offered "Social Skills Training." Part of the training was playing the "Assertiveness Training Game" in which students role-played scenarios wherein they would be expected to demonstrate assertiveness such as when a peer had forgotten to return a video game he had borrowed. Without assertiveness, it was felt, students could not engage with peers. In "Social Skills Training" the importance of friend intimacy was not elaborated; for the creators of the program there was a straight path from social skills to interdependence.

²⁹ Historically, persons outside the norm have been critical to anthropological understanding. Their engagement with a sociocultural context amplifies the work of institutions—political, religious, economic, etc.—in individuals' lives and makes obvious the sometimes subtle rules of sociality, attitude, expression, etc. In the field of psychological anthropology, which strives to describe how cultural institutions inform individual experience, this approach has inspired seminal monographs (Spiro 1967; Obeyeskere 1984; Csordas 1994; Parish 1996). As a methodology, these pieces begin with an ethnographic exploration of the lives of those struggling with behavioral and

emotional challenges and end in understanding of culturally particular and cross-culturally shared personal processes. This study seeks to emulate their methodological arc.

³⁰ This class was offered by the counselor in order for her to collect data for her Master's Thesis in clinical psychology, and I don't think that more than ten students attended. Attendees seemed to be motivated by their affection for the counselor. Part of the training was playing the "Assertiveness Training Game" in which students role-played scenarios wherein they would be expected to demonstrate assertiveness such as when a peer had forgotten to return a video game he had borrowed. Without assertiveness, it was felt, students could not engage with peers. In "Social Skills Training" the importance of friend intimacy was not elaborated; for the creators of the program there was a straight path from social skills to interdependence.

Chapter One: Research Setting and Methodologies: Futōkōsei and Kano Academy

The cover of the 2008 Kano Academy school brochure featured thirteen high school students standing in a tight, friendly group at the main entrance of their brand new building. Characters spelling out the school name hung above them in a canopy of bright turquoise letters, and the students were surrounded by potted flowers of white, pink, purple, and yellow. Just behind them the camera captured a group of younger students, most likely in junior high school, congregated at tables in Kano's social space. Theirs was a fresh, bright, and friendly school.

On the school's website, prospective parents discovered a school for junior high school students who (1) wished to study at a different pace than others, (2) were long-term absentees, (3) did not fit in at their schools, (4) were poor communicators, (5) did poorly at school, and (6) did poorly at sports and physical activity.¹ For high school students Kano was an educational environment suited for those who were looking for a school with a free atmosphere where they could follow their dreams, enjoy school life, and find true friends.² Further into the website there were pictures of students studying math and science while seated at long, oval tables, shoulder to shoulder with their peers, students snowboarding with their friends on the winter holiday trip, students camping together during the school's summer retreat, and students playing tennis or learning calligraphy after school in blissful camaraderie. When parents visited the school, they were invited to leaf through a book of testimonials from Kano's graduating students who credited the school for changing their lives and, moreover, for being a place where they could make friends. Over and over their messages of gratitude reiterated the sentiment of one graduating high school student: "Before coming here I couldn't make friends but

gradually I started getting along really well with my classmates and now I love them all!”³

During their tour of the school prospective parents and their children were shown pictures of the most recent graduation ceremony as much for the opportunity to emphasize how many Kano students attended universities, two-year colleges, and vocational schools, as for the opportunity to emphasize the emotive tone of the ceremony as proof of the solidarity among Kano peers. In Japan commencement is celebrated in a poignant and tearful ceremony wrought from gratitude to parents and teachers and the impending separation from friends.⁴ At Kano Academy the three and a half hour exercises were considered exceptional by teachers, staff, and special guests because Kano students were different, and their intimate relationships with peers were a most spectacular achievement.

The school’s mission, listed on promotional materials and reiterated in staff meetings and on periodic messages to teachers and staff, was “to develop students’ individual aptitudes in a school environment that fosters student’s independence and interdependence in attitude in order that they may contribute to society; for our teachers to shine; for students and passion to be united as learning is put into practice.”

Independence and Interdependence in large characters of exceptional calligraphic skill hung framed next to the teacher’s lockers. Impossible to miss, they represented the atmosphere Kano educators strove to create: one where independent minds and interdependence with peers would thrive. I do not know if Kano educators encouraged students’ friendship experiences for reasons other than to promote school attendance, but student friendships nevertheless worked to perpetuate confident minds and peer sociality.

In this chapter, I present the research setting for this study of adolescent friendship, and the methodologies used to explore Kano students' values, practices, conceptualizations, and experiences of friendship. I also discuss long-term absenteeism as it is understood in Japan and at Kano Academy, and how the phenomenon intersects with friendship. Upon enrollment Kano students faced the prospect of making friendship from scratch, a process complicated by previous experiences of peer alienation common to the pattern of long-term absenteeism. This thesis aims to clarify a point in the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology's (MEXT) 2006 evaluation of the futōkōsei problem. MEXT deflects blame and responsibility for the causes of absenteeism to students and their families. In framing the problem as an individual one in the 2006 report, they figured students' friendships—understood as relations of the private sphere—as contributing to the phenomenon. According to their analysis, “friend problems unrelated to bullying” was the second most common cause of absenteeism (MEXT 2006). MEXT did not elaborate on this category. Faculty at Kano Academy offered that futōkōsei were unable to connect with peers and develop intimacy because of bad parenting, personality deficits, and mental illness, and were bullied by and/or withdrew from their classmates because of it. Unlike MEXT they situated the problem in a school environment that failed to boost students' self-esteem, provide guidance on social skills, and monitor hostility between peers. By connecting friendship to a sense of power, I suggest that a lack of intimate friendship is a factor in non-attendance, and MEXT's connection between absenteeism and friendship, although self-serving, may be on target.

I begin with an introduction to Kano Academy and presentation of the research methodologies. In part because it is socially subversive, friendship in Japan is a relationship of the private sphere. Discerning and interpreting friendship practices reported by Kano students necessitated incorporation of participant-observation as an adult friend to Japanese individuals. To this end, I used my experiences as friend of elite graduate students at The University of Tokyo—no less outliers than Kano students, as friend of Kano Academy teachers and staff, and as participant in friend relationships over the seven years of adulthood I lived in Japan. In utilizing personal experiences and students' reports, and by examining the institutional lives of a group of adolescents, I aim to provide a multidimensional perspective on intimacy-building practices in Japanese friendship.

Kano Academy

In July 2006 I sent a letter to Kano Academy introducing myself as a graduate student researcher interested in the relationship between Japanese culture and adolescent psychological development. I explained that I was seeking students with whom to interact as part of my research and volunteered to serve as an advisor to their afterschool English club, if there was one, or in whatever capacity they would permit. I chose Kano for their population of futōkōsei and because the school was located an easy seven-minute commute by train from where I was living. Moreover, I was familiar with the city: I had lived in there from December 1997 until June 2002 while I was teaching English to adults at local conversation schools. With a population of approximately 200,000, the city is a bedroom town for Tokyo workers and identifies as a typical Tokyo suburb; a popular animated series about a mischievous five-year-old boy is set in the city.

The school responded to my letter with an invitation to visit in August 2006, and we arranged to meet in the early evening on a Tuesday. Kano Academy was located in a densely built part of the city, about a five-minute walk from the station, and, according to the map on the school's website, it was down the street from the main post office and across a four-lane thoroughfare from city hall and the main city hospital. In spite of this specificity, the school was difficult to find. Situated on the second and third floors of a four-story high-rise apartment building, it was indistinguishable from the surrounding mixed-use high-rises of medical clinics, food shops, restaurants, clothing boutiques, and personal residences. It would have been generous to describe the school building as worn. There were visible cracks in the dirty, concrete exterior. It was next to a major construction site that in the following year would become a sprawling shopping mall with movie theaters and a Starbucks, firsts for the city. On the bottom floor was a sign indicating that its space had formerly been the site of an after-hours hostess club. The only means of identifying Kano Academy was a sign in the window of the second floor with the school's name handwritten on pink neon paper alongside its accreditation as a private high school by the prefectural superintendent. It was a far cry from the image portrayed on the sophisticated website.

Like any August evening in Eastern Japan it was brutally hot and sickeningly humid, and dressed in business attire, I arrived damp with heat and nerves. Before I could set out to find the stairway up to the second floor, I was greeted by A-sensei, the teacher who would become my supervisor at the school. He was several inches shorter than me, several years younger, and his rumpled suit, scoffed—yet hip—shoes, and short, fashionably spiked hair referenced a “too cool to care” attitude. He spoke quickly and

barely looked at me; I spoke slowly and barely looked at him. It was a good first impression; we'd signaled sufficient 'bashfulness' at the others' presence.⁵ A-sensei motioned for me to follow him up a dark exterior staircase to the second floor. The three landings were crammed with displays of bright, fake flowers, posters advertising the school, and basketballs, baseballs, and tennis racquets discarded by students who had been practicing during the August holiday. He led me into a converted one-bedroom apartment that served as administrative office and teacher's room. With desks, tables, chairs, and cabinets filling all but inches of space, it appeared as cozy and unpretentious as it did underfunded and chaotic. I was confounded about what I should do with my shoes. Not only was the room structurally a residence, but as in the home, in Japanese schools the domains of outdoor shoes and indoor slippers are inviolable. I stopped in my tracks and watched A-sensei walk into the room without removing the same shoes he had worn to greet me outside. Indeed, I thought, this is a "new" and "innovative" school. But, this impression was incorrect, which I would learn when we moved into the new school building and most standard school rules—and every rule related to footwear—went into effect.

Rising to greet me were two men, both unusually tall, one of indeterminate middle age and the other about the same age as I. The elder gentleman, who I learned was the head of the school, wore large rectangular glasses and a crumpled suit. His hair was slightly longer than an ordinary *salarymen*, white-collar worker, of his age, and he had a sharp square jaw and broad smile, which engendered benign authority. K-sensei, the gentleman about my age, had large eyes, an easy, jocular smile, and, like the Head, wore a well-tailored, nevertheless frumpy, suit, an indication of the hard work they had

performed that day. We bowed to one another with polite greetings and presented our business cards. I offered a card from the University of California, San Diego, and proceeded to answer their inquiries about anthropology and the status of C. Phil. When it was my turn, I began with the Head. Printed on the background of his card was a watermark of the school symbol and three letters in Roman script, 'ISM.' He explained that these stood for his first name, his wife's first name, and their last name. It turned out that his wife, two sons, daughter, and son-in-law—K-sensei—also worked for the school. On another occasion he told me that the school was "their inheritance," and in their respective ethnographic interviews, both sons confirmed this as motivation for leaving previous jobs as pub owner and truck driver in order to work at Kano. Next to the school's name, wordplay on the Head's family name, was text indicating accreditation of the junior high school by MEXT, and of the high school by the prefectural superintendent.⁶ The school's motto was listed underneath: small is small even still, large is large even still, even when the seed grows into a tree, the presence of the seed remains.⁷

On the reverse side of his card was a list of the titles he had held over a lifetime career of upper-level management at a multinational life insurance company and of the roles he had performed in the course of public service in education. He took the liberty of pointing out that he had been president of the Japanese PTA almost a decade earlier⁸. Before I left that evening, the Head produced a picture album of the public speeches he had given during his tenure as PTA president. On the first page was a picture of the Head at the podium in full formal attire. In the front row of the audience were the backs of two eerily familiar heads. On the second page, the camera angle shifted and the faces came

into focus. My jaw dropped in recognition of the royal visages of the Crown Prince and Princess of Japan. On the following page was a picture of the Head and his wife seated next to the royal couple as the Head was presumably being introduced before giving his speech. On the third and the subsequent pages, up to half of the thick album, were photographs of the Head, his wife, and the royals. I expressed awe at his proximity to the elite world and his accomplishments. To this day I regard the Head as one of the most intelligent and engaging people I have personally known. He can converse as fluently on the theories of Max Weber as on the numeric figures representing Japan's pension fund crisis. Students' parents, the teachers and staff, and the Head's numerous close friends who would drop in on school events marveled with me at his immense confidence, his leadership in cultivating a cadre of loyal, gifted teachers, his astute analysis of the educational system—he has dozens of publications on the theme—and his keen ability to raise money and promote the school. Utterly charming, quick-tempered, and at times cerebral to the point of seeming hopelessly flaky, he could be a study in charisma.

Upon concluding my appreciation of his business card, he broke the stern decorum of the introductions to direct me to the most significant items on the card. With a wide grin he pointed out that he had graduated from the University of Tokyo, where I was affiliated, and had served on a committee for MEXT, under which I was a graduate student research scholar. It was an auspicious beginning. After I inspected A-sensei and K-sensei's cards, the Head launched into a thirty-minute speech that covered the origination, present condition, and future outlook of Kano Academy. Thematically, the story is about a nation's plight and the fate of its most precious resource, the children; structurally, it is about the growth of a small business in the Tokyo suburbs. After

completing his tenure as president of the national PTA, the Head returned to doing volunteer work for the organization in managing the parent hotline. He soon noticed an alarming rise in the number of phone calls from parents whose children refused to attend school. Although school refusal was not a new phenomenon for students with emotional challenges, the present rise in long-term absenteeism, he observed, was rooted in students' rejection of the school environment. An overly strict and stifling educational system was alienating a significant number of future citizens, alarmingly in an era when Japan could ill afford to lose any potential workers, i.e., taxpayers. With a low birth rate and high life expectancy altering the nation's demographic composition, entrenched and overly strict immigration policies, and a looming financial crisis in the pension system, if Japan was going to persevere as a strong nation with a robust economy, something had to be done for the futōkōsei.

The Head's response was to retire from his high-level position at a major life insurance company and open Kano Academy, a Free School for futōkōsei high school students. He explained to me that the concept of the Free School, transliterated into Japanese from the English, "fu-ri-sū-ku-ru," was imported to Japan from European educational systems. To the extent that Kano started as a Free School, students were allowed to study at their own pace and through whichever means—computer learning, self-study, small classes, tutoring—would help them master a curriculum. The Head explained it in this way: "there are many paths to the top of Mt. Fuji." To attract disenchanted students to Kano, the Head and his wife, a lifelong professional housewife he persuaded to be his staff in the endeavor, canvassed the city with school brochures. In

the first year the Head, two teachers, and a part-time guidance counselor educated seven students: five male and two female. In the second year the school grew to fifteen.

By the time I began working there in October 2006 the student body had reached 60 and this number included junior high school students. There were four full-time teachers, three part-time teachers, and an office staff of three. Kano was no longer promoting or conducting itself as a “free school.” Junior high school students were required to attend formal classes, but they were not subjected to the tedious rules of mainstream junior high schools regarding uniforms and personal items.⁹ Students were allowed to bring cell phones to Kano and could use them between classes and during lunchtime. A “free” environment for high school students was maintained to a greater degree, and students could opt out of class learning for self-study towards their diploma. The only official school rules for high school students continued to be that they (1) obey the law and (2) treat ones’ self as important.¹⁰ All students were encouraged to wear uniforms, either the Kano uniform or the uniform of their previous school, and about half of them chose this option.

By the time I left in the spring of 2008 school enrollment was over 120, and for a full year the school had occupied a large, airy, two-story building (converted from a pachinko parlor) with eight classrooms, a large self-study room, and a technology room with computers. There were seven full-time teachers, five part-time teachers, and six staff members. For several days each month students were required to wear the school uniform and technical classes had begun in the high school. In 2009 Kano Academy had two school buildings, one for the new elementary school and junior high school, and one

for the high school. In addition, the school had started program for foreign students to work towards a Japanese high school diploma.¹¹

“Kano Academy is foremost a business,” the staff was often reminded, and my position there as teacher was meant to attract junior high and high school students to the school by way of assuring their parents that their children were receiving an education comparable to public schools.¹² MEXT guidelines stipulate that junior high school students receive a set number of English conversation hours over the course of three years, and these are typically led by recent college graduates from Australia, the UK, Canada, and the United States. With my experience as an English conversation teacher after college, albeit for adult students, the Head thought I would be a good addition to his team. In return, he agreed to let me conduct research interviewing and surveys with the students, teachers, and staff. Like me, none of the teachers and staff had been educated to teach or counsel futōkōsei.¹³ The Head sought young, energetic teachers who would inspire students to attend school and define their goals, and who would cultivate students’ desire to fulfill them. The teacher goal statement included two items: (1) to generate the highest level of desire/ambition to teach, and (2) to maintain a service environment.¹⁴

The “barometer” of our performance was school attendance: the more students at the school each day, the better we were doing our jobs. It was impressed on students that arriving to class on time and remaining in the classroom until the teacher dismissed the class were their primary obligations. Sleeping during class, writing in a notebook, reading comic books, checking one’s appearance in the mirror, restyling one’s hair, listening to music covertly, and playing with one’s mobile phone in the sleeve or pocket of one’s jacket were all discouraged behaviors, and, if persistent, the homeroom teacher

would take the student aside to encourage better concentration. But none of these behaviors was explicitly banned. If students made it to class and stayed to the end, they were doing enough to avoid reprimand, as had their teachers.

Research at Kano

In my first six months at Kano I taught classes three times a week in the afternoons. I was given freedom to design the courses that I would teach and came up with an “International Cultures” course and an English conversation course. Nearly every high school student attended the former—conducted in Japanese—during my tenure at the school. On teaching days I arrived at the school at the beginning of the lunch hour and conversed with faculty and students. After my courses were finished, I completed attendance charts and resumed casual conversation with students and staff. My home was located on a popular train route, and oftentimes I rode home with groups of students. For the full academic year that I taught at Kano I was at the school at least four days a week. In the mornings I taught junior high school classes and in the afternoons the International Cultures course and an English conversation course. I attended morning faculty meetings, monthly meetings, and biannual meetings with faculty and staff. I attended an educational conference with the faculty, and, alongside my coworkers, I participated in school activities including two graduation ceremonies and a new school year ceremony. I took part in the preparation and execution of two Christmas parties, several events to commemorate the opening of the new school facility, and a large number of staff welcoming parties since there were over a dozen teachers and staff hired from the time I began teaching and researching at the school.

Two months after beginning work at Kano I was given permission to conduct preliminary surveys. I designed a free response survey on friendship with open-ended prompts for the students to define the terms ‘friendship,’ ‘good friend,’ ‘bad friend’ and ‘best friend.’ It was a failure. Students gave one word replies or, operating on the belief that I was testing their translation skills, wrote the phrases in English. A few weeks later, after consultation with my peers at the University of Tokyo, I had a page-long free response survey that led students to a concept and asked for elaboration. Thirty students completed the survey, and their responses guided my observation of their friend relationships throughout the following fifteen months, and became the basis for questions posed during interviews and for the questionnaire that would be administered a year later.

The interview protocol and friendship questionnaire represented the culmination of months of participant-observation at Kano, seven years of residing in Japan, and a similar amount of time participating in and observing Japanese friend practices. M-san, a close friend and fellow doctoral student, was my interlocutor in producing the interview questions and questionnaire, and I considered the course of our friendship in interpreting Kano students’ narratives of their friendships. In chapter four I provide a narrative of our friendship over the course of fieldwork.

Over a period of several months at the beginning of the 2007-08 academic year, I worked with A-sensei to determine a schedule for interviews with teachers, staff, and students, and to seek approval from the Head for the research methods. It was decided that the student friendship questionnaires would be administered to Kano students at the end of February, a week before school graduation. I suspect that this timeline was meant to eliminate any incentive I might have to leave before the end of the school year. The

school provided me with a token salary, well below my market value as an experienced English teacher and highly educated foreigner, and although I never gave any indication that I desired to leave early, I think they worried that I might respond to the inequality in our exchange. As it turns out, it was advantageous to the study that students completed the surveys at the end of the academic year. Students had already finished their final exams and their mood was cheerful for not having to attend classes and sentimental for the impending graduation. Required activities mainly consisted of practicing the new school song for graduation exercises and making farewell cards for the graduates.

Administering the questionnaires at this point in the school year has implications for data analysis. First, friendship relationships were piqued in students' minds. This was when students received the book of graduation testimonials in which friendship is a pervasive theme. For many students this would be the last time they would spend at school with their friends. Graduating students in the third years of junior high and high school faced separation as they departed for different educational and vocational opportunities. Some students in other classes would be returning to mainstream schools. Second, although students entered Kano throughout the school year, almost none entered in the few months prior to graduation. Students were settled in their friendship relationships, for better or for worse, and the free response section of the surveys lacked reflection on striving for friends and friendship process, which was a significant preoccupation for students when they began attending the school. Third, a month after students responded to the questionnaires, they would be entering the next grade. Although I refer to respondents as first through third year junior high and high school students, they are practically second year junior high school to first year college students,

which under-represents first-year junior high school students. But because the questionnaire was given at the end of the year, there was consistency in the students' ages and grades. Japanese students begin first grade of elementary school in April if they turn six-years-old by January first of a given year. Repeating grades is extremely rare in the years of compulsory education from the first year of elementary school through the third year of junior high school in order that students can interact with same-age peers and avoid the hierarchical relationships that occur between students of different ages. Thus, all first-year junior high school students were thirteen years old, all second-year students were fourteen, and all third-year students were fifteen. All first-year high school students were sixteen years old, but there was more variety in the second and third years of high school, among which there were futōkōsei who would have repeated a year of high school. All students in the Self Study (SS) class, those high school students who chose self-paced, self-directed studies, were seventeen years old.

Finally, nearly half of questionnaire respondents had participated in the friendship interviews, which had been completed by the final week of school when the questionnaire was administered. Forty students participated in the interviews, even though thirty-three student interviews were analyzed. Interview questions were posed to elicit information similar to the friendship questionnaire, and interviewed students would have been primed to respond to the questionnaire.

In administering the questionnaire, homeroom teachers read aloud instructions from the first page and took students' questions regarding meaning of questionnaire items. I received the completed questionnaires from A-sensei during graduation week. I analyzed questionnaires from eighty-one students.¹⁵

Table 1: Questionnaire respondents by grade and gender

Grade	Female	Male	Total
JHS1	8	2	10
JHS2	6	3	9
JHS3	9	4	13
Total JHS	23	9	32
HS1	6	5	11
HS2	6	9	15
HS3	7	8	15
SS	2	6	8
Total HS	21	28	49
Total	44	37	81

The questionnaire had four parts. First, students were asked to respond to statements by circling numbers corresponding to their level of agreement with a given statement. For example, for item number fourteen, *I get jealous of my friends' relationships with other friends*, respondents could circle one for strong agreement, two for mild agreement, three for neither agree nor disagree, four for mild disagreement, and five for total disagreement. For the second section, there were two parts for each item. On the first part, students were asked what would be the ideal number of certain type of friend, and in the second they were asked how many of that type of friend they actually had. For example, item number two asks how many older friends are ideal. Their choices were zero, one or two, three or four, between five and ten, or more than ten. After they circled one of these responses, there was space for them to write their actual number of older friends. For the third part of the survey, students ranked friends, family, romantic partners, teachers, and others based on a prompt. For example, item two asks students to rank who they worried about the most from among this group. On the final

section there were six free response questions followed by several inches of white space adequate for students to write two to three lines of response.

Most students provided responses to at least half of the six free response questions and five students (F=2, M=3) did not reply to any questions in the free response section. In analyzing their responses, I coded students' answers for multiple items depending on how much the student wrote and the detail of response. Given the amount of space, most answers obtained at least two codes. For example, in response to the question, "a good friend is what kind of person?" a reply that a good friend is "someone you can trust and discuss anything with," would have been given two codes, one for "trustworthy" and one for "open talk." Included in the appendix is the questionnaire administered to students.

Faculty interviews began in November 2007 and lasted through the second week of March 2008. Most interviews took place at the school on Saturdays when faculty members were present to catch up on paperwork and aid students engaged in extra study. Interviews concerned faculty experiences at Kano, their perspectives on mainstream Japanese adolescents, their perspectives on Kano students and other non-mainstream adolescents, popular and community perceptions of Kano students, what teachers and parents contribute to a student's development, experiences necessary during adolescence, and questions specific to the individual being interviewed. I conducted nineteen interviews: thirteen teacher interviews and six staff interviews, including interviews with the Head and the heads of the junior high and high schools. I met with interviewees on a one-on-one basis and sessions lasted between forty-five minutes and an hour and a half. Because they were conducted in the final six months of my fieldwork, they were informed by over a year of participant-observation.

Interviews with students began in November 2007 and lasted through the third week of February 2008. For recruitment A-sensei approached students who were conversing, playing handheld video games, doing their hair, et cetera, in classrooms after school hours and asked if they would be available to talk to Heather-sensei about friendship. They were given the option of talking with me alone or in groups of two or three. Since I was not permitted to make audio recordings of the interviews, three was a maximum number of students whose answers I could record by hand. Some students expressed disinterest in the interviews. But there were enough students agreeable to the proposition that as the interviewing period progressed, I was able to request interviews with junior high or high school students, or male or female students, in order to fix the population of interviewees.

I interviewed forty students, but only thirty-three student interviewees endeavored to answer the questions sincerely enough that their answers were analyzed. The seven students excluded were second-year junior high school male students. Of the 20 interview events under analysis, I conducted eight interviews with one student, ten interviews with two students, and two interviews with three students. One student was present for two interviews and I recorded his answers from the first interview for analysis. Twenty interviewees were female and 13 were male. The interviewing groups were same-sex, and of the twenty interview events, 11 were conducted with female students and nine were conducted with male students. There were 11 junior high students and 22 high school students in the interviewee population and they represented all grades at the school (JHS1: 4 students, JHS2: 3 students, JHS3: 4 students, HS1: 7 students, HS2: 7 students, HS3: 4 students, SS: 4 students). I taught all of these students during the

previous year and a half, and most of them I instructed concurrent with the interviewing period. The school did not give students grades for their academic performance in class work. Students took exams twice a year, and, along with attendance, these constituted their work toward the diploma. Therefore, student would neither have regarded the interviews as a test, nor understood participation in the interviews as a means of contributing to their academic marks.

A-sensei told students that they would answer questions for about an hour, and most interviews lasted for at least that long, and one interview lasted almost three hours. We used a classroom, which put us in eyeshot of passersby but not earshot. Since the interviews occurred immediately following the end of the school day, I brought snacks, usually a popular milk chocolate concoction, which students and I ate during the interview. The only time a teacher joined the interviews was when I was attempting to interview junior high school male students, whose interviews were later excluded. The interviews were mostly upbeat and positive. Because of our mutual familiarity, students and I would crack jokes and much amusement was expressed at the role-reversal wherein students were explaining things to me. Since the interviews were not recorded, I had to pause between questions to take notes. Students used this time to have some of the proffered snacks and chat with one another, which also provided data since their discussions were usually relevant to the questions at hand. For the initial several interviews I used a notepad to record student responses in English. I would return home about an hour afterward and type these into the interview protocol format. In interviews thereafter I used shortcuts in English for frequent responses and noted the Japanese words

and phrasing students were using. Included in the appendix is a list of faculty and student interview questions.

In analyzing the interviews I coded responses based on the level of detail provided, the same manner as I coded the questionnaire responses. Because most interviews were conducted in a group discussion format and responses were collectively achieved, in discussion of interview results I enumerate responses in terms of interview events. For example, I would write, ‘in two interview events students described good friends as trustworthy.’

Nearly all Kano students were former or reforming futōkōsei from mainstream Japanese schools. The experience of long-term absenteeism and the school community’s interpretation of it informed students’ perspectives on peer intimacy and their faculty’s approach to increasing attendance through encouragement of peer relations. In the following section I examine the framing of the problem of long-term absenteeism and its relationship to student peer intimacies.

Long-term absenteeism

Since 2001 MEXT has classified students as being futōkōsei¹⁶ when they miss more than thirty days of school in the academic year for psychological, emotional, physical or social reasons, whether students do not attend or want to attend and cannot, and for reasons of physical illness or economic reasons.”^{17,18} According to the most recent comprehensive MEXT report on long-term absentees, in 2006 there were 184,436 futōkōsei from elementary, junior high, and high schools. This represented .33 percent of the national elementary school population, 2.86 percent of the junior high school population, and 1.65 percent of the high school population. Among junior high school

futōkōsei 49 percent were male and 51 percent were female (MEXT 2006). Yoneyama (2000) argues that MEXT's accounting obfuscates the actual number of futōkōsei by not including students who do coursework but do not attend the school's regular classes or participate in school activities. Furthermore, she explains, schools will not consider students futōkōsei if they attend off-campus classes at "Child Consultation Centers or Educational Centers," or if they remain on campus and attend special classes for futōkōsei or study in the principal's office (Yoneyama 2000: 79). Teachers, she points out, often count "putting a foot inside the rail of the school gate" as attendance in order not to have a large number of futōkōsei reported to MEXT (ibid.). She concludes that there may be a "large reserve army of students on the brink of official statistics" (ibid.).

According to a Kano counselor, many of the academy's junior high school students were among those 'on campus, class non-attending futōkōsei' that Yoneyama describes. Junior high school students enrolled at Kano were not counted as futōkōsei by their former schools; they remained on their former schools' official rosters and these schools issued students' mid-year and end-of-year exams as well as their graduation certificates. Students also continued wearing the uniforms of their former schools while attending Kano. In any given junior high school classroom, there would be students in casual attire, the Kano uniform, and the uniforms of as many as five different schools.

In 1966 MEXT began to count school non-attendance based on the standard of fifty days of non-attendance per academic year.¹⁹ In 1991 MEXT reduced the number of days a student is considered futōkōsei from fifty to thirty days. In the following ten years the percentage of futōkōsei elementary and junior high school students increased from .37% to 1.2% (Nakayama 2003: 112 table). This increase has been understood as related

to the new absentee standard and increased attention to and treatment of *tōkōkyōhi* (school phobia/refusal) during the 1980's and 1990's.²⁰ Documenting MEXT's increasing concern with school refusal during this period, Nakayama (2003) tabulated the frequency of the terms *futōkō*, long term absenteeism, and *tōkōkyōhi* in all MEXT official papers and showed that the appearances of the terms *futōkō* and *tōkōkyōhi* rose dramatically between 1988 (around fifty-five appearances) and 1998 (around two hundred and eighty appearances). Erbe (2003) calculated the number of academic books published on youth problems in Japan including school violence, bullying, deviance, delinquency, school refusal, suicide, social withdrawal, drugs etc. from 1970 through 2000. In the same period that Nakayama indicated, from 1988 to 1998, the annual number of academic publications on youth problems (*seishonen mondai*) listed in the National Center for Science Information Studies database rose from 37 to 150 (Erbe 2003: 54).²¹

Similarly, Kearney (2008) argues that absenteeism seems more prominent in Japan because of “an escalating Japanese literature on school refusal behavior” (Kearney 2007: 461). He claims that the numbers of students with long-term or chronic absenteeism are equivalent cross-culturally in educational systems as diverse as the United States, South Africa, Saudi Arabia, and Japan, and the only explanation for an increase in *futōkō* would be awareness of the problem on the part of parents, educators, clinicians, and students.

But given the questions that have been raised about the MEXT official numbers of *futōkōsei*, I would hesitate to take the official percentage of Japanese non-attendees as a point of comparison. As mentioned above, Yoneyama (2000) believes there is ‘large

reserve army of students on the brink of official statistics' (79). Honjo et al. (2003) in an investigation of personality traits that mitigate school refusal behavior observe that there is a "large group of latent school refusers attending school but harboring feelings of school avoidance."²² Habitually refusing to attend school—staying shy of the thirty days that would qualify as *futōkōsei*—might be a common practice of middle school male students (Kawanishi 2004). If this is the case, and there is a large population of Japanese students with a *futōkōsei* orientation, long-term absenteeism may be so differently experienced by Japanese students that as a category it defies cross-cultural comparison as a form of school refusal.²³

Parents, social class, and futōkōsei

As noted above there are several forms of absentee behavior such as attending school but not taking classes, attending educational centers on a part-time basis, and remaining at home on school days. According to the part-time Kano counselor, students who stay at home might claim an illness or insist outright that they will not go to school. Some mothers, she suggested, welcomed having their sons and daughters with them in the home or joining them to run errands. These mothers she diagnosed with "reverse dependency" (*gyaku izon*). In other families, the counselor reported, students despised their parents and stayed in their rooms playing video games during the day. Nakayama (2003), offers another explanation for parental support of *futōkō* behavior in pointing to a report from the Aichi Prefectural Board of Education that there may be a 'burgeoning perception among parents that it is not necessary for their children to attend school.' (Nakayama 2003: 111). In any case, it seems that many parents do not force their children to attend school.²⁴

When I inquired about the role of parents in the futōkō pattern and more generally about their role in their children's lives, Kano faculty were mostly dismissive of parents, describing them as incompetent, ignorant, and selfish.²⁵ In our interview, the part-time school counselor, who was currently taking classes towards a Master's Degree in child counseling, reported that she had come to believe that parents need their own education (*oya kyōiku*), wherein they could learn about their children's needs during different developmental stages. I took this as a class-based criticism of some parents' shorter educational careers. Based on my observations and from what I gleaned from students about their parents' occupations (being an English teacher was convenient for getting this information) students at Kano were from homes of all classes. Kano was not an expensive private school. Junior high school students bore the same expenses that they would at their former schools. Since high school is not part of the compulsory education system, all high schools in Japan require tuition. Kano high school students' tuition was as high as that of the prefectural public schools, which was less than tuition at mainstream private schools. At the graduation ceremonies, some parents appeared strikingly wealthy in their suits, kimonos, and designer clothing and others appeared strikingly poor, in secondhand frocks and untailed suits. I would imagine that they were also variously educated, and many had been exposed to child development knowledge.

Many of the students, however, expressed lower class identities. Bettie (2003) argues that U.S. adolescents perform class through ethnic and gender identities, and appearance modification among some of the Kano students would be consistent with her observation that lower class female U.S. high school students adopt a dissident gender

identity. Many high school and junior high school male and female Kano students had facial and ear piercings, dyed hair, and wore revealing (females) or baggy (males) clothing. These markings of dissidence were highly gendered and might be consistent with a class positioning or with their identity as rebellious, outsider futōkōsei. These might also have been expressions of solidarity with their classmates and friends.²⁶

The relationship between Kano Academy and parents was similar to the relationship between parents and mainstream Japanese junior high and high schools. Parents are supposed to play a supporting role in students' studies. Ideally they assume responsibility for providing material resources and psychological comfort for the child in order that he or she is free to pursue schoolwork without distraction.²⁷ Generally, the extent of the parental participation in a child's education involves attending Parent Teacher Association meetings, visiting children's classes on observation day, and keeping records of the child's daily eating, sleeping, emotional patterns, and important family events for the teacher to scrutinize. Parents host teachers for yearly home visits when teachers explore the home environment of the student to ensure the student's physical and emotional needs are being met there. During these meetings, teachers inform the parents of the types of activities their child is doing in school and the quality of interaction in the classroom. In interactions with the class teacher, parents do not usually offer critique of the school environment, nor do they make special requests for their child. After elementary school parents are not called upon to monitor their children's homework, and, depending on their financial resources, will hire a home tutor or send their children to cram school in order for a professional to take responsibility for their child's learning. In planning for student's future educational course, parents expect

that teachers will counsel their child on which high schools they should apply to. Teachers, for their part, are expected to consider a family's socioeconomic status by directing students to high schools that their parents can afford (Fukuzawa and LeTendre 2001:110).

Moreover, it is the school's duty to take measures to ensure the child's health; teachers are supposed to know their students' dietary habits outside of school grounds, and school nurses keep records on students' vital statistics and overall health statuses. After a visit to the infirmary, the nurse reports back to the class teacher on the student's issue, not the parents. Schools can legally assume guardianship over a student when parental care is deemed insufficient (LeTendre 1999). Class teachers, may also act *in loco parentis*. Fukuzawa and LeTendre note that if a student gets caught for a legal transgression, police sometimes notify the class teacher before the parents (2001: 69). Keeping students out of trouble after the end of the official school day is another teacher duty, which is one reason why they are so keen on encouraging participation in afterschool club activities; students engaged in activities that consume their time and energy do not have enough of either to become delinquent (Fukuzawa and LeTendre 2001: 56).

Parents and teachers anticipate that schools will educate students on practices of peer and adult sociality and develop students' character in areas such as thoughtfulness and sensitivity toward others (Fukuzawa and LeTendre 2001:105). Schools' responsibility for socializing students to interactive norms was emphasized in a November 2006 conference I attended with Kano teachers and staff. The conference was held at a local public junior high school for the purpose of presenting a formal review of

the school and the results from implementing reviewers' recommendations.²⁸ The Head of Kano delivered the keynote address. After touring the school and observing classes, participants received a copy of the report and results of implementation to leaf through as we listened to speakers elaborate on the areas of progress. Included in the dimensions under review was a section entitled "school life," which presented results of measuring students' abilities to take the following actions:

1. Deliver proper "good morning," "good afternoon," and "good-by" greetings
2. Deliver proper "please" and "thank you" forms
3. Deliver proper statements of gratitude at the beginning and end of school meals
4. Deliver a proper "excuse me" when leaving and entering certain rooms
5. Deliver proper "Yes!" when your name is called
(Items six through ten concerned use of footwear and other uniform regulations.)

For reviewers, students' adherence to communicative norms was the most significant barometer of the school's performance in cultivating an academic atmosphere.

Like mainstream teachers Kano teachers performed home visits to ascertain the quality of students' home environments, and they provided guidance to students about their future academic and career goals. But Kano faculty felt that they had more responsibilities than mainstream teachers because of parental neglect. They frequently complained about doing compensatory parenting when they should have been teaching. At Kano it was a default assumption that parents were not getting their children to bed on time, feeding them wholesome meals, and instilling discipline by limiting entertainment and encouraging studies, which obliged the teachers to instruct all students in these areas. They justified this conclusion to me, and affirmed it among themselves, by linking

student sleeping in class to parents not enforcing bedtimes. They used students' lunches as a gauge of parental care.²⁹ It was a sign of neglect if a student brought a cup ramen or packaged rice balls for lunch, indications that the student had been given money to purchase lunch at the convenience store on the way to school.

I asked Kano faculty what they thought teachers and parents must teach junior high and high school students.³⁰ Although nearly every respondent mentioned that teachers should be instructing in school work, no one mentioned this item solely. Half of the faculty thought that it was a teacher's responsibility to provide instruction in manners and the habits of everyday life including care of the body, getting enough sleep, and arriving to school on time. They also told me that it was a teacher's responsibility to instruct in sociality from the everyday performance of greetings to practices of interpersonal consideration and empathy. The school counselor emphasized that teachers needed to ensure that students learned how not to hurt others and to feel each other's pain. Likewise a junior high school teacher thought teachers should instruct in feelings because "we don't live in this world alone." A high school teacher replied to this question by expressing that teachers needed to impart lessons of how to get along with others in spite of differences. Additionally, they thought that teachers should prepare students for social interaction outside of school by teaching society's limits and rules, hierarchical relationships, and respect for others.

A final theme in faculty answers was instruction in morality. Moral education is part of the MEXT standard social studies curriculum, and teachers are encouraged to incorporate moral education in extracurricular domains. Kano teachers thought it was

part of their job to impart moral reasoning. One teacher explained that it was their responsibility to instruct students in the gray area between black and white.

Perhaps because they felt burdened with compensatory parenting, the faculty was consistent in identifying the teaching of daily life habits as a parental responsibility. Parents should teach lifestyle rhythms, good food habits, how to spend money, and sexual behavior. Parents were also expected to instruct in sociality by teaching obedience to the law, giving thanks, speaking up, and demonstrating respect for others. About a third of the faculty expressed that parents should teach personal responsibility and independence. One aspect of personal responsibility that they mentioned was perseverance. Faculty surmised that in guiding their children to persevere through frustration, parents were teaching them how to take responsibility for their emotional responses and behavioral outcomes. I explore notions of personal independence in chapter five in linking emotional and financial responsibility to conceptualizations of adulthood.

In interviews with students I asked the same question: what do you believe teachers and parents must teach junior high and high school students, and their answers were similar to those given by the faculty. Students reported manners, moral discrimination, communicative proficiency, and empathy as skills their teachers should instruct them in. Teachers should also present guidance about how to behave in society. Nearly every student mentioned that teachers should provide them with academic training, and in their responses, students were more expansive than the faculty in describing what teachers should provide academically: study skills, course content, preparation for test-taking, essay writing, et cetera. Students thought that their parents

should teach them how to obey the law and how to be independent, and they expected parents to explain bodily changes at puberty and sexual behavior.

Discourses on futōkōsei

All junior high school students at Kano were futōkōsei, and, according to the school's office manager, about eighty percent of the high school students had a futōkōsei history.³¹ The other twenty percent of high school students attend Kano because of difficulty with course work at mainstream schools. Among Kano's futōkōsei the period of school non-attendance lasted between two months and two years. The school claimed that the reasons given by Kano students for their absence from school were similar to the general population of futōkōsei. In the 2006 MEXT report on futōkō, the top reasons junior high school students began refusing school as reported by schools to MEXT were (1) individual behavioral and mental health issues (36.2%) (including depression, anxiety, and learning disabilities), (2) friend problems unrelated to bullying (19.7%), (3) poor academic performance (9.6%), and (4) problems with parental relationships (9.3%). Reasons for continuing non-attendance revealed the toll that being outside of the school environment took on students' mental and social well-being. The top reasons for continuing absenteeism were (1) anxiety and/or other mental health disorder (33.5%), (2) lassitude, apathy, no motivation (27.5%), and (3) issues with other students, unrelated to bullying (13.3%) (MEXT 2006).

The trend at MEXT has been to emphasize the individual and behavioral aspects of the futōkō problem and resist framing the issue as a medical problem or problem of the school environment. In 1997 MEXT completely dropped the term "tōkōkyohi" in characterizing the population of long-term absentee students and began using the more

general term futōkō, school nonattendance. Yoneyama (2000) notes that MEXT explained the shift to futōkō as a way to emphasize the diversity of reasons for school non-attendance: from phobia, tōkōkyōhi, to willful delinquent truancy, notably the latter being an issue for which the student would bear the exclusive burden for correcting. Indeed, as the issue of mental illness gained prominence in the discourse on absenteeism, MEXT was compelled to address it by providing psychological counseling services at a large expense to the ministry (Yamazaki 1994; Borovoy 2008)

More convenient for MEXT has been to cast school nonattendance as a behavioral problem that any able teacher can coach out of the student. Yoneyama (2000) presents four discourses about futōkōsei and tōkōkyōhi that she gleaned from publications about these students and brief fieldwork at an urban school similar to Kano. The first of these discourses, and the one most often endorsed by MEXT, teachers, and other educators is based in the notion that futōkōsei are “lazy, idle, and selfish” and in need of “discipline, training, guidance, and punishment” (Yoneyama 2000: 83). The second is the medical discourse, which characterizes futōkōsei as “mentally ill” and in need of medical treatment. Counselors and mental health professionals use this line to advocate for therapies such as medicine and counseling that would enable futōkōsei to transform themselves into school attending pupils (*ibid.*). The behavioral and medical discourses were dominant at Kano, and I discuss these below.

Yoneyama mentions two other discourses: the citizen’s discourse, promoted by parents and some doctors, which figures school refusing as a form of resistance to aspects of the educational system and school environment, and the socio-medical discourse espoused by some doctors, which understands futōkōsei as suffering from a malaise

borne of academic burnout. Consistent with the former, Lock (1986) describes school refusal as a form of retreatism in which students withdraw from school because among peers and educators, and within their families, they are expected to succeed in an environment where they've come to believe they cannot express their identities.³²

Neither of these discourses was strongly endorsed during my time at Kano, even though discourses about the school environment played a role in the foundation myth of the school. I would suggest that taken individually, Kano students' futōkōsei experiences can be understood as a collage of moments when one or more of these four discourses would have captured their motivation, attitude, behavior, et cetera. Additionally, at Kano there were other narratives about futōkōsei related to physiological impairments, learning disabilities, traumas, abuse, gender identity disorder, and so forth. "Personality problems leading to peer victimization" was a dominant discourse at the school in figuring the causes of absentee behavior. In contrast to MEXT, by recognizing peer victimization as a component of the futōkōsei experience, the faculty at Kano acknowledged the role of educators in fostering an environment where students would not be bullied.

In interviews I asked teachers, staff, and administrators to describe their impressions of futōkōsei prior to working at Kano and after they had begun working at the school. I also noted during the interviews other impressions they had of Kano students and more generally of futōkōsei. Mainly Kano faculty found the futōkōsei to be struggling with problems of personality. They described the students as weak, pliant, unassertive, and unable to express themselves, a portrait contrasting the ideal teenager in Japan, who would be bright, eager, talkative, and able to assert his or her opinions to peers. Teachers attributed experiences of bullying to these personality issues. A-sensei's

responses were typical of the faculty. He thought that Kano students were either victims of bullying or had a mental disorder. He described them as weak, which, he explained, had led to an inability to depend on their peers at regular schools and precipitated absenteeism. And, like many of the other faculty, he blamed “horrible parents” for their children’s school refusing behaviors.

Another teacher who, like A-sensei, had been working at Kano since it opened, affirmed that the students were dark and anxious and had bad relationships with others. He told me that students were unable to greet others and found it difficult to beckon to others, behaviors necessary for peer sociality. Additionally, he surmised that half of the students at Kano had become absentees from mainstream schools because of bullying and the other half had been rebelling against parents and school rules related to hair and uniforms. The latter would be consistent with a discourse on student resistance to the school environment, although this teacher’s discourse of resistance implies that it was motivated by students’ vanity and was not a critical stance against schooling. Several other teachers mentioned that the students were rule-breakers, and they attributed this behavior to vanity or selfish indulgence of students’ desires to affront their community with their radical appearances or to consume alcohol and cigarettes.

A female junior high school teacher, however, negated the “bullied student” discourse. Prior to working at Kano she had assumed that students would be victims of bullying and thought that futōkōsei were the types of students who were too nice and weak, meaning that students could not express themselves and communicate. But after beginning work at the school, she found students to be tough and strong-headed. Rather

than victims of bullying, she considered students victims of bad mothering, offering that working mothers neglected their children and generated instability in their lives.

K-sensei and all of the other school administrators—retired principals from mainstream schools—expressed the behavioral discourse that Yoneyama (2000) attributes to MEXT. The head of the junior high school described Kano students as selfish and undisciplined, which he linked to bad parenting and having fewer siblings to keep students in line. The head of the high school found futōkōsei students to be lazy and unable to take leadership roles. The Head agreed with these statements and offered that parents were to blame for not instructing their children or imparting strength to them. In qualifying bad parenting, the administrators pointed to parents who were too selfish to invest time in teaching discipline. By discipline, they were referring to self-discipline that would manifest in good studying habits and tolerance towards others.

Teachers and administrators also attributed student problems with attendance to mental disorders such as ADHD, depression, general anxiety, separation anxiety, and panic disorder. In an interview with the female school counselor, she estimated that over half of the students were on medications to control their moods and/or aid sleeping. If prescription medications were administered or taken at school, it was done with utmost discretion; I never witnessed it occurring, although students talked about their medications with one another and a male junior high school student confided in me about difficulty he was having with the dosing of his sleep medication. Evidence of medication may have been in the radical difference in students' mood during morning and afternoon studies. A large contingent of students would enter school sleepy and dopey—by my

estimation more so than a typical teenage student—and by mid-afternoon these same students would be exhibiting unruly, hyperactive behavior.

During formal and informal meetings, Kano teachers and staff tacked back and forth between the medical and behavioral discourses in devising ways to teach and advise students. At a meeting held toward the end of September 2007, marking the midpoint of the 2007-08 academic year, the full-time school counselor gave a report on his work with students over the past month. Teachers and staff were handed a hard copy from which he generated the presentation. First, he listed the names and grades of students who had approached him for counseling, and noted that overall their concerns seemed to be related to getting back into the “rhythm” of the school year after the six-week summer holiday. Second, he reported on students who had been sent to him for counseling by their homeroom teachers. Details of those meetings had been noted in the students’ individual files, he told the group. Third, he presented a pie chart of the issues that students had discussed in counseling sessions during the first half of the school year. They discussed the following topics in the frequencies listed:³³

- Future course of study/vocation (25%)
- Communication with others (21%)
- Apathy (11%)
- Lack of confidence (11%)
- Family (11%)
- Wrist cutting (11%)
- Considering dropping out of school altogether or leaving Kano for another school (7%)
- Insomnia (3%)

Under the pie graph the counselor listed examples of student complaints related to these issues and how he interpreted and advised students. For example, and of interest to

this thesis, under the heading of “friend relationships” he listed two complaints: students expressed that they were (1) unable to confide in friends and (2) they only see the bad characteristics in their friends. Under these he wrote that there were a large number of students who reported being unable to accept their friends’ weaknesses and bad points. The counselor thought that because they could not accept these, they could not develop deep relationships. His response had been to advise these students that they must understand that everyone has strengths and weaknesses.

At monthly meetings, class teachers would present issues related to their students’ performance and how these were addressed. At the midpoint meeting described above, teachers brought up issues from the month of September. Those attending the meeting were given a hard copy of a report. The following are several examples of how teachers framed students’ problems and their solutions to these. In each of the examples, students are understood as having personality traits, home life circumstances, or medical conditions that the school could not address, but that manifested in behaviors that teachers could affect through raising the student’s awareness.

In the first narrative, also mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, the school counselor—filling in for the teacher who had recently been fired—addressed a student’s social issues. He wrote: “Junior high school, third-year, female: She is a bright and sociable student. But she’s not very good at reading cues and has lost friends because of it. As her classmates have increased, she has developed a tendency to report negative things that others have said. Even though she’s been told to be careful, it goes in one ear and right out the other. Her fellow female classmates seem to be abandoning her.” This student’s problems with peers were behavioral; specifically, she exhibited a lack of

discipline among others: she was too impatient to read cues; she could not control her gossiping; she did not have the self-control to abide by the advice of her teachers. The faculty's solution was to give her a warning that would hopefully manifest in more socially desirable behavior.

In next example, the teacher expressed concern about the student's personality, home life, and boyfriend:

Junior high school, third-year, female: She has a stubborn personality and a very strong set of preferences. She is intolerant of students who do not put effort into school and cannot accept some of the new students in her class. The thing she likes most is her friends, and is always talking with one of her friends during class to the annoyance of the other students. She has problems at home, problems with choosing her future course of study, and problems with romantic relationships. She lives in a single-mother household and her mother is self-employed, which puts a lot of stress on her children. In terms of her future course of study, she wishes to stay at Kano Academy for high school, but her mother doesn't agree with this plan. She wants to persuade her mother, but her mother also has a strong personality. Everyone at school knows that she is seriously dating a third-year high school student. When they were caught kissing in front of other students they were given a strict lecture.

This student's problems—her stubbornness, the mother's intractability, their stressful home life—were framed as issues beyond the teacher's purview. Kissing the boyfriend at school, however, was a behavior that the teacher could deal with through urging its modification.

In the following two examples, students' mental health issues are cited as the cause of the student's difficulties, but these are discussed with reference to student behavior and teacher attempts at influencing behavior.

Example one: High school, first-year, male: He promised to attend three days per week but is only attending once a week. However, he is completing his schoolwork at home. He is only missing one of his academic reports and has scheduled the first semester exams for the

summer holiday. His medications have changed and he cannot sleep; when he does sleep he can't wake for several days.

Example two: HS, second-year, male: He has a hypersensitivity sickness (神經過敏病) diagnosis, was admitted to the hospital, and, as it was his idea, left the hospital for two days to join the class fieldtrip. His negativity really stood out and he continued to repeat the same stories. He's been told to be careful about what he says and how he acts.

In the first of these examples, the teacher noted that the student was struggling with illness and medication. The teacher's behavioral intervention in the form of extracting a promise to attend Kano three days a week was framed as correct action insofar as it had been successful: this student had turned in most of his reports and would take the semester exams. In the second example, the teacher also acknowledged that the student had a mental illness. But the student had made a bad choice in leaving the hospital and inflicting his behavioral issues on fellow students, an act the teacher addressed by cautioning the student about his behavior.

These final two reports exemplify the Japanese practice of mainstreaming students with emotional and behavioral challenges as described by Borovoy (2008). She points out that there is reluctance to develop educational and medical institutions that would treat mental illness and learning disorders because of the belief that students will be stigmatized if they are funneled into long-term intensive therapies or remedial educational environments. She argues that untreated children grow into adults with hikikomori, and that this population is evidence that the policy of mainstreaming has failed. It may have seemed insensitive to advise the student in the final example above to behave like a normal teenager around his classmates. But packaging student problems into behavioral units gave teachers a workable range of responsibility that probably makes their jobs more manageable.

Kano teachers encountered a great deal of frustration from operating within the behavioral and medical discourses, which may have contributed to their endorsement of the trauma narrative of a meek and fragile bullied futōkōsei. When students' problems are framed with reference to bullying, the implication is that with integration into the non-hostile Kano environment, students would eventually be motivated to regularly attend. Monitoring and correcting students' behavior, or reconciling oneself to the impossibility of bringing about improvement, is more difficult.

Paradigmatic of the tension surrounding the behavioral and medical discourses was a conflict that occurred in late fall 2007 between a Kano business staff member, K-sensei, and a teacher who had begun work at the beginning of the fall term two months prior. This teacher had attended an elite private university where he had received training to work with special needs students. It was his second year in the work force; he had resigned from his first post-university job working with ADHD students. It was apparent from the beginning of his tenure at Kano that his educational background had predisposed him to defend a medical discourse of cause and cure for students' non-attendance. In our interview, he described Kano students as "depressed, delicate and fragile, having been injured" and considered long-term absenteeism to be "like a sickness." K-sensei was nine years senior to the new teacher and a businessman by training. He dropped out of university after having determined that it was "a waste of time" and he wanted to do something productive with his life. During our interview he described Kano students as lazy and thought that having a professional goal would inspire their attendance.³⁴

The conflict, which escalated over a week's time, was dominated by K-sensei because of his seniority with the new teacher offering admirable passive resistance. It concerned a male second-year high school student in the teacher's homeroom class. The student was on the brink of missing too many days of school to be able to continue to the third year of high school. In the beginning of the week, at the request of the new teacher, the student and his mother had agreed to a meeting at the school to discuss this issue, and then failed to show up. The new teacher left a single telephone message inquiring about their absence, and K-sensei was irritated that the teacher had not put more effort into making contact with the family. The new teacher explained that he did not want to overwhelm the student, but K-sensei thought this was coddling, and each day that week during the lunch hour and after school, in front of everyone present in the teacher's room, he made the new teacher call the student and his mother after a litany of statements consistent with a behavioral discourse. I paraphrase: "He (the student) is lazy. He's not going to come to school unless you force him to do it. He needs to learn endurance and overcome his fears." K-sensei believed that the teacher could have inspired endurance and courage had he been persistent in his phone calls, and for the teacher this would have exacerbated a problem that could simply not be addressed through behavioral modification at school.

This student was enrolled at Kano during the entirety of my fieldwork research, and in my estimation he was not lazy. Before the period of absence that set off the incident between K-sensei and the homeroom teacher, he took my International Cultures course. His verbal skills were plainly low as he had difficulty making sentences. But when I handed out worksheets he would take advantage of all blank space to draw

phenomenal sketches of people and animals. When I complimented him the first few times I took notice of the pictures, he sneered and proceeded to thoroughly erase the penciled drawings. But this did not stop him from redrawing whatever had been cleared from the page; he seemed unable to resist the paper. In retrospect, I realized that I should not have commented on his drawings in front of other students. It probably sounded patronizing and insincere, and his sneer was well-deserved. There were several other artistically gifted students like him, and in 2008 the school hired an art teacher and devised a special high school certification for art students.

Futōkōsei and friendship

MEXT had a vested interest in framing long-term absenteeism as a private, individual issue. When the second most common cause of absenteeism is “friend problems unrelated to bullying” the Ministry is identifying peer issues that were not considered bullying incidents by the reporting schools. Labeling these relations as friendship—a relationship of the private sphere—absolves the Ministry and schools from taking corrective action on behalf of students alienated from their classes. But there may be a connection between students’ friendships and absenteeism, as a lack of friends may be at root.

Kano faculty attributed students’ friendship challenges to problems of personality, behavior, and mental illness. They explained that weak, pliant, unassertive, dark, and anxious students were unable to greet or beckon to peers to initiate conversation and game play. They could not express themselves and present their opinions to peers. This made them unattractive to classmates for friendship and unable to manage friend relationships when they occurred. Additionally, faculty reasoned that the delinquent rule-

breaker students, although attractive to other students, did not have the empathy and sensitivity necessary for deep and meaningful friendship. School administrators described students as deficient in values of self-discipline that would manifest in tolerance toward others and lasting, significant friendships.

MEXT's explanatory model of absenteeism as related to friend relations is left unexplored in the 2006 paper. The Ministry, like the Kano faculty, may have been referring to a futōkōsei inability to initiate and sustain friend relations. Kano faculty also situated a lack of friends as an individual problem, but, in contrast to the Ministry, they endeavored to address this problem by creating a warm, friendly, and supportive school environment.

¹Also included are students who (7) are thinking about continuing their education at academic or vocational high schools, (8) wish to acquire qualifications for vocational school, or (9) would like a school with ties to medical field. 自分のペースで学習や中学生を送りたい生徒, 不登校がちな生徒, 在籍の中学校になじめない生徒, コミュニケーションが苦手な生徒教科の学習が苦手な生徒, 運動や体育が苦手な生徒, 高校や専門学校に進学を考えてる生徒, 専門資格を取得したい生徒, 医学的分野に関しては独協医科大学の専門医と連携を取ります

²普通の高校では体験できないことがたくさんあります。自由な校風の学園で夢を追いかけてながら学園生活を送り、本当の友達が見つかります。

³友達ができませんでした。でもだんだん仲良くなって、今ではクラス全員が大スキです

⁴ Peter Cave (2007) describes how themes of *kansha* (thankfulness) and *omoiyari* (thoughtfulness) are promoted by educators during the two week preparation for the graduation ceremonies as well as within the context of the event. He reported, however, that in his experience recent high school and junior high school ceremonies were less emotive than those of years past.

⁵ I had recently been told by a colleague at the University of Tokyo that my readiness to blush, my taut smile, and nervous, rushed speech, which I'd always resented for the weakness and passivity it conveyed to strangers, was endearing to the Japanese and one of the reasons my advisor at the University of Tokyo had agreed to take me under his wing in the first place. I mused later that the humility, malleability, and reserve in my awkward first greetings at the school, may have steeled their resolve to hire me that day.

⁶ Compulsory education in Japan extends through the third year of junior high school. Standards and regulations for elementary and junior high school education are set and enforced by MEXT for all schools in Japan. There is freedom, however, for schools, prefectural, city, or town boards to select a text that they decide suits their educational goals and ethos, depending hitherto level of achievement, urban versus rural location, local dialect etc. High school standards and regulations are also issued by MEXT, but are more flexible and enforced by the prefectural superintendent. This relationship between the federal and the local, one that permits sensitivity to local conditions while maintaining rigid educational standards has been considered one of the strengths of the Japanese educational system.

⁷ Motto: 小ききは小さいままに、大きくは大きいままに、松の線に、松の実は映える。 Plant metaphors for children's upbringing are common in Japan (Tsuneyoshi 2001). Educators, it has been noted, talk about students as germinating seed, and discuss the school's responsibility to expose them to the sunlight of texts and the fresh air of physical activity; schools regard their role as providing sustenance in the form of instruction and discipline that will motivate students to grow into flourishing adults. Likewise school should allow for a challenging weedy environment in the form of competition and for frustration in student's growth in order that they may become stronger, as a plant with little water and nutrients will grow thicker to master its environment.

⁸ A nationwide body of over eight million parents and teachers, the PTA is an arm of MEXT. In contrast to the teacher's union, which is regarded as a left-leaning organization often in conflict with the conservative MEXT, the PTA is a resource of support for the Ministry's aims.

⁹ Rules in Japanese middle schools are meant to address every aspect of the student's life both inside and outside of school. Within school grounds, students are made to conform to school policies regarding the length, style, and color of their hair, requirements about personal adornment such the prohibition of earrings and make-up, and rules about the maintenance of the school uniform, down to the color of their underwear. There are an array of regulations of student's language, the volume of their voices, and expressions of friendship, such as the prohibition against a group of girls wearing the same friendship bracelet. Outside of school, there are prescribed routes for commuting to and from school grounds. Places of leisure such as karaoke houses or game rooms are monitored by the teachers, who each take responsibility for an area in the vicinity of the school in order to ascertain which students are going to the karaoke house, for example, how long they are spending there, and with whom they are singing. Dating, holding hands, and kissing are forbidden even though it is believed that most students in middle school are not distracted by sexual thoughts and behaviors. LeTendre (2000) reports that teachers thought sexual interests were a passing phase for only a few students who would eventually devote themselves to their studies. Infractions against school rules are usually resolved through doing *hansei*, self-reflection, in a meeting between the homeroom teacher and student or through writing the student will submit to the teacher.

¹⁰ 校則は2つあります。法律を守ること、自分を大切にすること

¹¹ During my final month at the school I was commissioned to write an invitation for international students to come to Japan and attend Kano. On the wall of the Head's

office, among framed pictures of the Head with the royal couple and other prominent citizens was a crayon-drawn picture one of his grandchildren had produced of the way the school would look when the Head's vision for Kano Academy came to fruition. It was of a series of buildings around a square. The buildings are dormitories for foreign students and halls of classrooms. It would be called Kano International School, an acronym read "ki-su" or kiss, the Head pronounced for me with a wink when I inquired what the picture represented.

¹² Part of teacher's jobs is to facilitate a positive experience for prospective students attending day-long and sometimes week-long trial runs. We would report back to the counselor in charge of recruiting about how much the student enjoyed our lessons.

¹³ There may be two exceptions. One was one counselor was in the process of getting a master's degree in child counseling. She used her work at Kano as data for her thesis. A teacher that was hired a few months before the end of my research term had taken courses in teaching students with behavioral and learning challenges, but had little classroom experience before taking the job at Kano.

¹⁴ On the list of seven business objectives handed to teachers and staff on an almost monthly basis we were reminded that we were a private school providing a service to students, their families, and society.

¹⁵ Four surveys were excluded for sabotage: two from junior high males and two from high school males.

¹⁶ A literal translation of the term *futōkō* is 'school nonattendance.' *Tōkōkyōhi* is school phobia/school refusal. The former is inclusive of all absentees such as delinquent truants, injured students, and those with school phobia; the latter is a clinical term indicating school phobia only.

¹⁷ The Japanese school year has 220 required school days. In the United States there are 180 required school days. Japanese public schools stopped Saturday classes in 2003, but private schools continue to hold classes on Saturdays and the average days of school attended by Japanese students in a year is 243 days. The educational reform legislation to limit the school week to five days has been criticized by parents who argue for more school days to cover the breadth of material necessary to master for the university entrance exams (Murai et. al 2007). The five day school week was "designed so people in schools, local communities and families could help students acquire enthusiasm for life through activities on Saturdays," but has been viewed as being pushed through by the leftist teacher's union, which is now creating a generation catering to spoiled children in their selfish desire more time off for themselves and to Westernize the educational system. Juku cram schools, for high school and university exam preparation are typically open every day of the week. Cram schools for high school seniors and ronin, high school graduates that study exclusively for university entrance exams, advertise being open 365 days a year.

¹⁸ MEXT definition of *futōkō*: 文部科学省の「学校基本調査」及び「児童生徒の問題行動等生徒指導上の諸問題に関する調査」(以下、「問題行動等調査」という。)においては、「不登校児童生徒」を何らかの心理的、情緒的、身体的あるいは社会的要因・背景により、登校しないあるいはしたくともできない状況にあ

るため年間30日以上欠席した者のうち、病気や経済的な理由による者を除いたものとして調査しており、本協力者会議においても同様に不登校を定義して検討を行った。

¹⁹ The first record of treatment for school refusal or school phobia was in 1957 (Nakayama 2003: 109).

²⁰ During this period there was a general increase of attention to psychological syndromes. Lock (1986) describes an ‘abundance of literature’ emerging during the 1980’s on syndromes afflicting housewives like ‘moving day neuroses’ and ‘kitchen syndrome,’ which involved anxiety symptoms related to changing residences and cooking. These were considered problems of individual constitution and thought to be controlled through medical intervention, most often in the form of medicinal therapies. Tōkōkyōhi, specifically, was to be treated through counseling, medication, diet change, and even the ‘wearing of natural fibers’ (Lock 1986).

²¹ In *Juvenile delinquency in Japan: reconsidering the "crisis"* (2003) contributors consider the notion that a “moral panic” is informing Japanese public discussion of youth problems over the past several decades. They raise the question of why issues framed as youth problems such as long-term absenteeism, peer bullying, and violence against teachers and other adults have been considered “urgent problems with no sign of improvement for the last 20 years” (Taki 2003:91). Foljanty-Jost (2003) describes these problems as “highly overestimated” within Japanese public opinion, pointing out that violent crimes in Japan are ten times lower than Germany (viii). Metzler (2003) argues that there has been a dominant discourse concerning children and youth that they are in danger (*kodomo ga abunai*) as a result of “failures in teaching the values of society” (p 3). Erbe (2003) describes the tone of discourse about youth as “invariably pessimistic.” But these scholars find that the negativity about youth serves several purposes. Erbe argues that in the 1990’s the debates about what constitutes bullying behaviors were an outlet for public frustration at Japanese schools for their “resistance to change” (69). Metzler suggests that the heightened gloom and doom functions to give cause for intervention in deviance at a young age. In this way, these negative discourses promote strict socialization practices. In conclusion Foljanty-Jost and Metzler suppose that the so-called juvenile crisis “... is constructed and perpetuated to justify permanent control over all students, deviant or not. The issue of deviance thereby effectively serves—maybe unconsciously or by design—as a means of integration. This effect may be considered not a self-fulfilling, but a self-preventing policy” (265).

²² Honjo et al. (2003) administered the Child Depression Inventory (CDI), a School Avoidance Scale, and School Refusal Personality Scale to school-attending junior high and high school students to investigate characteristics of the putative group of latent school refusers. The School Refusal Personality Scale assumes four factors: obsessive-compulsive, consideration for others, paucity of interpersonal relations, and self-centeredness. They found that ‘core depression,’ ‘feelings of interpersonal maladaptation,’ and ‘self-revulsion,’ from the CDI were associated with ‘school dislike’ and ‘school avoidance’ from the School Avoidance Scale. They concluded that obsessive-compulsive factor in the School Refusal Personality Scale actually mitigated against school dislike and school avoidance in boys and mitigated against school

avoidance in girls. Obsessive–compulsive tendencies may be keeping students from becoming futōkōsei.

²³The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (edition IV) used internationally to diagnose mental disorders does not list school refusal as a diagnostic category. School refusal behaviors are associated with Separation Anxiety Disorder, Conduct Disorder, Oppositional Defiant Disorder, Social Phobia and Mood Disorders.

²⁴ This may be related to domestic dynamics that precipitate *kateinai bōryoku* (violence in the home), Japanese children physically abusing their parents, wherein the children are figured as the aggressors, or the powerful parties. I would suggest that the concept of a sense of power would benefit interpretation of *katennai bōryoku*. I am also curious if there is a shift in parental approval of futōkō behaviors over the course of primary school, junior high, and high schools. Parental involvement in the futōkō pattern is an important topic for future research.

²⁵ According to Yamashita and Okada (2011) Japanese parents are generally regarded by public schools as overly demanding complainants. Yamashita and Okada, however, found that the complaining parents were those couples where the father worked outside the home and the mother was a fulltime housewife. These parents' complaints concerned teacher attention to their children and the content of the curriculum. In contrast, Kano Academy faculty complained about single working mothers who expected the school to provide more nurturance, more lessons in moral development, and more guidance on future educational and career course than normal schools would provide.

²⁶ Gender and class among futōkōsei is another topic to be pursued in further research. Like long-term absenteeism, eating disorders are predominantly an adolescent-onset condition in Japan. In their work on eating disorder etiology, Pike and Borovoy (2004) argue that these are protests by young Japanese women insofar as they are directing their energies inwards to their bodies, not outwards to the care of intimate others, which would demonstrate their abilities to fulfill the expected social roles of wife and mother. These women, they argue, are refusing standards of female achievement that would relegate them to an inferior social position within their families and in society generally. Through psychopathologies such as eating disorders and futōkō, young men and women may be communicatively resisting the contradictory, gendered difficulties they perceive for themselves in society.

²⁷ This middle class ideal is represented in the figure of the *kyōiku*-mother and salaryman father. The *kyōiku-mama* (education- mother) emerged as a stereotypical figure in the 1970s when Japan's middle class grew in wealth enough that women were freed from outside labor to be professional homemakers. Such mothers are the driving force in getting students into the best kindergartens and *juku* (cram schools) in order to set their children on the optimal path of success, but they risk becoming involved in the education of their children to the point of fostering overly-dependent, spoiled children who feel great pressure to succeed in school. It is a "term of respect and reprobation" (Allison 2000:106). Fukuzawa and LeTendre suppose that the *kyōiku-mama* trend has had a backlash since many parents have become opposed to "intense academic competition" (102), and Japanese mothers are now "depicted as managing complex schedules and meal planning" (ibid) instead of lording over their children's schoolwork. The salaryman

father with his overtime work that extends into weekends and holidays is largely absent and the lack of his presence in the home leaves the *kyōiku-mama* even more time to focus on the educational success of her children. Unlike the *kyōiku-mama* the salaryman father has not been an object of critique; his neglect of the family implies his devotion to their financial support (Allison 1994).

²⁸ Title of the presentation: 基礎基本を定義させ、自ら学ぶ意欲を育てる学習指導方法・指導体制の工夫を改善を図る.

²⁹ Anne Allison (2000) describes how the preparation of children's lunches in pre-school was taken as an index of the mother's love for her child.

³⁰ These questions were posed separately so as not to encourage faculty to parse out teaching duties between parents and teachers. The question was posed about teachers and parents in general, but nearly all of the teachers had only ever worked at Kano or had limited teaching experience outside of the school, and teachers were likely drawing on personal educational experience along with work experience at the school.

³¹ Two of the thirteen first year junior high school students (the number of students who ended the year in this class) had begun the year with *futōkō* histories in elementary school; the remaining eleven entered during the course of the school year after becoming long-term absentees at their previous junior high schools.

³² Lock (1986) argues that there are two practices of resistance among the Japanese—retreatism and ritualization. In retreatism, one who harbors non-conformist beliefs withdraws from social activity in protest, and in ritualization, the individual engages in extreme ritualistic behaviors to suppress antisocial beliefs.

³³ He did not give the total number of students who were counseled and did not specify how he determined these categories.

³⁴ Even though teachers consider it an utmost priority to train students in the academic skills needed to gain entrance to the best high school possible, their primary aim in the junior high school experience is to instruct students in becoming self-motivated citizens. Students will become motivated, it is reasoned, if they have a personal goal toward which to orient their energies. Insofar as the educational system is mandated to produce socially functioning adults of every graduate, and the indication of readiness to assume this responsibility is the acquisition of a personal goal for future education or occupation, and the ability to commit wholehearted effort towards it, monitoring goal acquisition is an important task for educators (DeVos 1973; White 1987; LeTendre 2000). The origin of the high moral valence of the pursuit of a goal has been variously attributed. LeTendre (2000) explains that Doi (1973) reasons that the creativity of adolescents is constrained in all areas of their lives except in the pursuit of the goal when they are able exert their imaginative impulse. DeVos (1973) argues that the pursuit of the goal provides an outlet for aggression and resentment that the adolescent is barred from directing towards authority figures. For his part LeTendre argues that the goal is where the adolescent escapes from general social expectations and is able to assert his or her individuality (LeTendre 2000: 215).

Chapter Two: Japanese Friendship Institutions and Friendship at Kano Academy

“Just how much a Japanese depends on, and expects from, his friends may be incomprehensible to the outsider. There are no clear lines which divide one’s own from another’s responsibility...” (Nakane 1970: 121)

“Someone who minds his own business”

“Exception to the rule,” male, first-year Kano high school student in response to the question, “what kind of friend is a good friend?”

Friendship, often lacking in legal status and explicit rules of conduct, can be an elusive target. Pitt-Rivers (1973) characterizes the relationship as one of amity and sentimental attachment wherein there is a moral obligation to reciprocate emotionally and materially. The theme of reciprocity is echoed in Brain’s (1978) definition of friendship as a relationship of affection with components such as attending to reciprocal duties, extending loyalty and trust, and providing emotional satisfaction and identity validation. Performance of obligations between friends is often tied to individual volition, and friendship may be a highly creative institution. Rapport (1999) proposes that among friends there is a “conscious playing with ambiguity, uncertainty and ambivalence...whereby a distinct perspective on the world and its relations is entered into” (115). Entailing agentive action and characterized by ambiguity, friend relations can be a motor for societal transformation.

Friendship has never coalesced into a robust subfield of sociocultural anthropology, unlike a cousin institution, kinship. Only recently has an anthropologist (Hruschka 2010) determined from examination of the Human Record Area Files that

friendship is virtually universal.¹ Leyton, in the preface to the 1974 edited volume, *The Compact: Selected dimensions of friendship*, boasts that theirs is “modern anthropology’s first book-length treatment of friendship” (1974: x). Drawing from a shallow pool of anthropological observation and theorizing, most contributors do as the subtitle suggests and bring ethnographic description to bear on a ‘dimension’ of friendship such as friendship among non-human primates, kinship and friendship, and friendship and social solidarity.

DuBois, however, endeavors to bring conceptual precision to this institution in order to build a framework for comparative studies.² She proposes that for purposes of identifying the relationship cross-culturally, an interpersonal relationship would be considered a friendship provided it meets the following criteria. First, it must be a voluntary and preferential relationship. She describes friendship as a “gratuitous act,” an undertaking for its own sake, based in interpersonal attraction.³ Second, friendship may have instrumental and/or expressive dimensions: individuals seek friendship for the sake of fulfilling individual aims, and friendship may be an expression of interpersonal love. Third, friendship may obtain in dyadic and polyadic forms—presumably one cannot be friends with oneself. The fourth criterion of friendship is intimacy, a quality emergent from the level of confidence between friends (how much friends confide in one another) and the level of reciprocal responsibility (how much friends attend to reciprocal obligations). The fifth criterion is that the relationship proceeds and changes over time (17-18).

These dimensions can be divided into three groups that map on to the main research agendas in social scientific explorations of friendship: the structural-functional,

the cultural, and the psychological. A structural-functional approach to friendship considers how social institutions encourage and limit patterns of friendship and how friendship supports or detracts from social solidarity.⁴ These aspects of friendship institutions are related to the first of DuBois' dimensions: friendship as a voluntary or preferential relationship. Contours of friendship institutions emerge vis-à-vis other social institutions such as the family, the workplace, and school. In this chapter I present the structural-functional aspects of Japanese friendship and discuss how Japanese adolescents and Kano students negotiate relationships with friends, family, school, and romantic partners.

In the following chapter I turn to the cultural aspects of Japanese friendship and Kano students' articulations with these. The cultural approach references three points in DuBois' friendship characteristics: (1) friendship as expressive and/or instrumental, (2) friendship in forms such as dyads and polyads, and (3) the rules of friendship intimacy concerning confidence and reciprocity. Friendship forms may vary with processes of modernity and often what emerges in cultural studies is a dichotomy between non-modern/Eastern friendship and modern/Western friendship. This begs the question: to what extent is the notion of friendship particularly modern and Western, presuming historically particular notions of personhood, exchange, and public-private spheres?

A third area of friendship inquiry considers the effects of friendship experience on the individual and relates to the final characteristic mentioned by DuBois, the process of friendship over time. Understanding friendship as crucial to honing a sense of power, I aim to contribute to scholarship on friendship and the individual. I discuss the psychological aspects of friendship in chapter five.

Japanese friendship as a subversive institution

Studies of friendship informed by a structural-functional approach aim to situate the institution among other bodies of social organization such as kinship and economic exchange, and to postulate functional explanations for this configuration.⁵ Structurally, I consider how friendship articulates with social institutions relevant to the lives of adolescents such as the family, the school, the *nakama*, and the romantic partner. Functionally, friendship institutions have been analyzed in terms of their efficacy in promoting and detracting from social cohesion.⁶ I begin this discussion with the functional dimensions of Japanese friendship, noting that friendship is considered a subversive institution vis-à-vis interpersonal intimacies such as those that obtain in group life (*shudan seikatsu*) and heterosexual romantic relationships. This conflict is foundational to the ethos of friendship in Japan.

Neither at the workplace nor at school is friendship promoted, but these relationships are ubiquitous and significant to everyday life. Friendships were prized and cultivated at the Japanese company where Rosenberger (2001) conducted fieldwork research. She describes an incident when two female colleagues asked her to join them for a cup of tea during the workday. The three met behind closed doors and at once her colleagues broke decorum for a session of gossipy banter about a colleague. Rosenberger explains that at the company friendships have to be “carefully tucked away so as not to inconvenience any institutional task or relationship and remained largely undetected” (2001:39). Friendships nevertheless oil the wheels of workplace relations in serving as a site where workers can voice their annoyances and worries, and connect with intimate others. As an individual ages work cliques may become the sole means through which an

individual experiences friendship love (Wolf 1966). But Wolf (1966) argues that this love ultimately serves the workplace. He explains that the friendship clique becomes a “carrier of affective element, which may be used to counterbalance the formal demands of the organization, to render life within it more acceptable and meaningful... reduce the feeling of the individual that he is dominated by forces beyond himself” (1966: 15).

Friendship may provide more utilitarian support in the workplace. Nakane (1970) describes how friend cliques function to protect an individual who has made an error in his or her capacity as an employee. She goes so far as to characterize friend loyalty as inane: “where no reasonable excuse would justify his actions, they would protect him with the group power and fabricate some irrational and emotional justification” (1970: 122). Friend cliques may also cut across corporate entities in providing professional assistance. In Japan, as in the U.S., nepotism in obtaining employment and admission to organizations is considered a violation of the principles of equal opportunity and meritocracy. More benignly this form of advancement operates through associations like university alumni groups. In the previous chapter I describe how the Head of the school remarked on the similarity of our academic affiliations. Mobilizing connections is anticipated and tolerated, if at times begrudged, because these are formal and public.

More malignant strategies of advancement are associated with calling on those in one’s private sphere for unofficial assistance. In an ethnographic account of financial institutions, Miyazaki (2006) describes a stock trader’s moral conflict in turning to trusted former colleagues to procure information on investment opportunities for his personal retirement fund. The trader excuses breaking with his corporate values of *ningen kankei* (human relationships) on the grounds first, that everyone does it, and

second that the corporation cannot develop “real” trust. He laments: “Japanese always say that they value ‘human relationships’ [ningen kankei]. But the human relationships that they value so much are simply those between friends—[they are] totally different from the relationships between those who are trying to make money together” (2006: 158-9). The stock trader observes that in corporate culture friends, not colleagues, may be the more significant human resource; the affective bonds of friend intimacy pay off, and the sanctioned sociality of forced corporate intimacy—ningen kankei—is hypocrisy.

Indeed ningen kankei is at odds with friend intimacy. Intimacy obtaining among groups, cliques, and other units in the company, the school, the sports club, the neighborhood, et cetera, is idealized as ningen kankei, human relationships. Ningen kankei is as much an empirical fact as moral imperative. Theoretically all of one’s relationships with others are ningen kankei, but the term is synonymous with intimacy between persons interacting in the public realm such as the workplace and school.⁷ White (1993) offers that sensitivity towards others (*omoiyari*), commitment, and loyalty comprise values associated with ningen kankei.⁸ Allison (1994) observes that the emphasis on ningen kankei is the distinguishing feature of business relationships. In the company, ningen kankei entails a sense of connectedness, dedication to hard work, and loyalty to the corporation. She explains that among colleagues “attachment must be based not on a rational calculation of self-interest but on a warm, “human” connection that is shared with fellow workers” (1994: 14).

Cultivating ningen kankei entails negotiating sets of the behaviors associated with public and private social space, *tatema*e and *honne* respectively.⁹ Lebra (1976) describes the difference between the conceptual couplet, “honne means one’s natural, real, or inner

wishes and proclivities, whereas *tatemae* refers to the standard, principle, or rule by which one is bound at least outwardly” (Lebra 1976: 136). Within familial and close friend interactions *honne* is esteemed over *tatemae*, and among these intimate others there are a range of choices in greeting, thanking, and eating with one another, which is different from the relatively inflexible *tatemae* practices of the *nakama* peer group and the vertical group. Friends will likely meet in the context of the school or corporate group, and friendship entails a shift from the *tatemae* domain to the *honne* interactional field.¹⁰ I expand on this process in chapter four. In situations where alcohol is involved, during post-work socializing for example, the two domains may intermingle as workers engage in *honne* behaviors reserved for their closest friends (see Allison 1994 for a description of white-collar worker socializing). These moments of pseudo-intimacy are thought to benefit *ningen kankei*, perhaps by easing the burden of *tatemae* sociality or by making the artifice of public intercourse apparent. Someone who is proficient at *ningen kankei* will manufacture and indulge in such moments.

Distinguishing between public and private situations and applying the appropriate is a yardstick for maturity (Lebra 1976; Doi 1986; Bachnick 1992, 1994), and adolescents struggle with the distinction. One of White’s (1993) adolescent informants reported that she feels sneaky (*zurui*) in a group but not with close friends. In the classroom or sports team she has to conform to standards of *tatemae* interaction, eliciting a distant self, someone different from her true self, but in private among friends she could be *honne*, a true representation of authentic identity (1993: 150).

Having friends within a corporate group or a larger business community provides individuals with interlocutors among whom they can vent frustrations and resources for

personal security. These ties thus contribute to greater school or workplace cohesion by enhancing commitment to these organizations and their aims. But friendship bonds raise suspicions: what secret plans are being hatched behind our back? And they promote jealousies: what is the rest of the group missing out on? Engendering corporate mistrust, friendship must be segregated from group life.

In chapter four I describe the evolution of my friendship with a graduate student colleague, M-san. Here I note her reaction to our crossing the line between peer and friend. At the time I found her reaction surprising and offensive. With the initial stages of our friendship behind us, I had assumed that we would interact differently in the presence of the other graduate students. Perhaps we would sit together in the graduate student computer lab, share knowing looks, elicit mutual laughter, or in some way convey the familiarity we had cultivated. But M-san never signaled warmth and treated me with the same chummy cordiality that all members of the research group extended to one another. The first time this happened I worried that I had offended her, but when we met later that day for coffee our rapport was as intimately friendly as ever. I wondered if M-san was trying to obviate our colleagues' jealousy. If she acted more friendly they might suspect that she was trying to commandeer my attention in order that I would focus exclusively on turning her work into publishable academic English as I was doing for others. This may have been the case, but I was no longer helping M-san with her papers, which they would have figured out if we had exposed our relationship. The split in M-san's affections emerged because our friendship violated the value of group solidarity.

Lebra (1976) explains M-san's change of attitude as situational adjustment, pointing out that Japanese are reluctant to mingle relationships such as a friendship and

work relationships. She describes a situation similar to the one I experienced with M-san: “suppose Ego is interacting with Alter intimately when a third person suddenly shows up. If Ego feels that he cannot share the intimacy with the third person but must maintain some ritual distance toward him, the initial dyadic intimacy is suddenly terminated and replaced by ritual behavior not only toward the sudden intruder, but also between Ego and Alter” (1976: 133). Lebra does not go so far as to characterize friendship as subversive to group life, but she argues that non-familial intimacy in Japan is valued in group contexts and intimacy-building practices are meant to further group cohesion.¹¹ In companies such practices include group bathing at a hot springs, group sleeping on a company retreat, after-work drinking, karaoke, et cetera. These provide a context where, in the presence of one’s colleagues, persons can be spontaneous and indulge in infantile behavior, transgress gender norms, be unorthodox, and lose control of their behavior in a drunken haze. Thus, group is situated as a site of self-expression and personal indulgence that would generate member affiliation. When friendship dyads or small polyads engage in these intimacy-building activities they are risking greater solidarities. Nevertheless, Lebra notes that intimacy is generated more readily between peers—read friends—who engage in these activities than in groups with their inevitable internal hierarchies.

Not only is friendship a threat to group cohesion, it also impinges on the bonds of heterosexual romantic and marital relationships. Doi (1973) describes Japanese homosexual love (between same-sex persons, not necessarily expressed through homosexual sex acts) as pathological in origin and outcome. He argues that at the root of Japanese homophilia is over-identification with the mother as a result of intense

dependence on her. The desire to amae on the mother gets transferred to a same-sex friend encountered in life prior to one's romantic partner, and thus the friend becomes the more significant partner.¹² He explains that

emotional links between members of the same-sex take preference over those with the opposite sex. They correspond roughly, therefore, with what is normally termed 'friendship' but where friendship usually lays emphasis on the good will existing between friends, in this case the emphasis is on the fact that the emotional links that form the basis of friendship take precedence over love between the sexes (1973: 113).

Allison (1994) also observes, though less critically, the toll that same-sex friendship takes on Japanese marriages. Her fieldwork consisted in conducting participant-observation at a hostess club, a lounge where men consume alcohol, smoke, sing karaoke, and flirt with the sexy hostesses who service these activities. In interviews with the wives of hostess club patrons, Allison inquired about their tolerance for this custom and learned that, along with considering hostess club attendance as part of their husband's work obligations, these women found satisfying companionship outside of marriage with their same-sex friends. One informant explained that she was copasetic with the after-hours activities of her husband because she had friends with whom she could go out to dinner and the theater (1994: 105-6). Japanese spouses neither regard one another as friend, nor socialize together outside the home. Romantic unions and friendships are parallel institutions that reinforce their segregation.

Friendship's subversive status at Kano

Kano teachers had to walk a fine line between promoting class solidarity and encouraging students' pursuits of dyadic and small polyadic friendships. Teachers scolded students who flaunted their intimacies for detracting from nakama cohesion, at

the same time as school counselors were coaching students on improving their friendships. When I asked the second-year high school homeroom teacher how he conceived his duty, he reported that his role was to create a class environment that would foster communication between students and serve as a place where students could learn responsibility (meaning responsibility for self and for others). He then added that threatening these aims was the one-on-one friendships within the class.

Friendship's subversive status might be another reason why students at Kano were such good informants on friendship. Their alternative school paths, representations of dissident gender, attitudes toward schoolwork, and posturing toward authority were subversive, and dedication to the institution of friendship would fit this constellation. A female student in the second year of high school wrote to me about her revelatory experience in doing my friendship survey: "In going through the survey, I've come to realize that I'm doing well. The reason why is that I've made a lot of friends and some people don't have any friends." The fact that I was doing university-level research on friendship gave legitimacy to the institution, which reflected on the worth of the students who were my informant-experts.

Contrasting Kano students' valuations of friendship are self-reports from academically talented students studied by Rohlen (1983) in his ethnography of five high schools in Kobe, Japan. He notes that at the high-achievement high school, students were less likely to have a close friend than at the low-achievement high school. And even though twenty-three percent of the students at the high-achievement school expressed that they would like to have friends, thirteen percent thought that they did not need them (1983: 286; chart 287).

In collaborating with University of Tokyo colleagues on the preliminary, free response survey on friendship for the Kano students, they suggested that the first question be, “Do you think it’s necessary to have friends, why or why not?”¹³ I was surprised that this would be a natural starting point but went along with the suggestion. When I showed the survey to the teachers at Kano, they complimented me on the insightful initial query, and A-san opined that most students would report that they did not need friends. He surmised that out of cynicism wrought from bullying experiences at their former schools, Kano students probably regarded friendship as unnecessary. A-san was incorrect. Unlike Rohlen’s high-achieving students (and perhaps my University of Tokyo colleagues) Kano students were not dismissive of friendship as unnecessary in a cultural milieu that values academic achievement and group social life over the cultivation of dyadic intimacy. Twenty-seven of the thirty students surveyed reported that friendship was necessary. In explaining their answers, most gave reasons such as “school life was boring without friends,” they were “lonely without friends,” and that friends made them “happy.” The other three students replied that they could not determine whether friendship was necessary. In explaining their rationale, one student wrote that “we go through life alone,” another wrote that “friends were not particularly necessary,” and the third student thought that it “depended on the situation.”

After receiving these results, I decided the question might not be necessary for the full-scale survey questionnaire and chose to begin with a rating statement concerning the importance of friendship to the respondent’s happiness. This gave students a subjective measure to qualify the importance of friendship. Unsurprisingly, they demonstrated confidence in this proposition. Almost sixty percent (59.3%) responded “absolutely

affirmative” and twenty-two percent responded “affirmative” to this statement. Twelve percent were not sure if friends were important to their happiness, and only six percent did not think that friends were important.

In interviews I asked students if they thought friends were important to their daily lives and followed-up their answers with questions about how friends contributed to their well-being on a daily basis. In contrast to the survey, I posed this question in the middle of the interview and by that time students had become accustomed to the topic and types of questions being asked. All of the students responded in the affirmative. Two of the students remarked that we don’t live alone in this world.¹⁴ Most of the other students noted that friends eased the boredom of free time at school and on the weekends and holidays. They wanted to be around their friends when they were lonely, needed to calm down, wanted to talk or cry, or wanted someone to keep their secrets. For Kano students friends lightened the load of daily life, sustained their energy and heightened their interest in the world around them. Friendship was a powerful modality for reducing students’ stress and raising their moods, and teachers condoned friend intimacies even as it was a teacher priority to promote class cohesion. I expand on this theme below in discussion of friendship and nakama.

In the following sections I discuss the structural articulation between friendship and other institutions implicated in adolescents’ everyday lives: family, nakama/school, and romantic relationships, and I examine how Kano students regarded their friendships in relation to these institutions.¹⁵

Family and friendship

Over the course of Japanese preadolescence the predominant context of socialization moves from the home to the school; likewise, the predominant agents of socialization shift from parents, siblings, and neighborhood playmates to teachers, peers, and friends (White 1993; Fukuzawa and LeTendre 2001). At the onset of adolescence, Japanese students and their families background family-life for school-life. This process may begin in the last three years of elementary school, from third through sixth grades, when students begin to engage in club activities and, for some, to prepare for admission tests to private junior high schools. It is completed by the time students enter junior high school and begin to spend most all of their time at school, in extracurricular school clubs, and at exam preparation coursework in the evening and on weekends.

Schooling obligations organize the time and space of adolescent experience. As a result, Fukuzawa and LeTendre (2001) argue, that “school experience in Japan at this time requires a far greater identification with the institution than in many other nations” (2001:5-6). Vacation periods are short for Japanese students; they spend two-hundred and forty days per year at school, while the school year for United States students in public schooling is one-hundred and eighty days. Students in afterschool sports clubs may have practices year-round. Junior high and high school students also attend private after-school training for high school and university entrance exams at *juku* (cram school). The energy and devotion students commit to schooling in preparation for these exams has inspired the sentiment that in postwar Japan “worship of the emperor has been replaced by worship of the examination” (LeTendre 2000: 187).¹⁶ Japanese parents “essentially find themselves competing with the school for their children’s time” (Fukuzawa and LeTendre 2001: 98), and the friends that their children cultivate there.

At school students learn the sociality of group life (*shudan shugi*).¹⁷ Through peer interaction they practice authority, obedience, leadership, and *sempai-kōhai* (senior-junior dyad) relationships. In contrast to the United States where peer socialization has the negative connotations of “peer pressure,” Japanese adults encourage socialization through peer relations (White 1993) and parents likewise hope their child will be surrounded by a group of bright motivated students who will foster optimal development in their child (LeTendre and Fukuzawa 2001: 63).

Students take up this encouragement in generating friend relations that supplant the function of family intimacies in earlier childhood. Crystal et al. (2008) demonstrate that compared to adolescents in the U.S., Japanese adolescents are as likely or more likely to turn to friends over family for emotional support.¹⁸ They affirm that adolescents in both countries reported an increase in dependence upon peers and decrease upon dependence on parents. They conclude, however, that U.S. adolescents were significantly more likely than their counterparts in Japan to cite family as a source of support.

Kano students' families and friends

Kano students made distinctions between familial and friend relationships and could compare intimacies in these domains. To inquire about differences between family and friends, I asked students whether they characterized relationships with their mothers, fathers, and siblings as friend-like. On the questionnaires, thirty-three percent of students reported that their relationship with siblings was like a friendship. Twenty-five percent thought that relationship with mother was friend-like, but only eleven percent felt that way about their fathers.

In interviews I asked the same question, and students' answers were consistent with the questionnaire results. In an interview with two female junior high school students, one of them told me that that family was somewhere between stranger and friend, and friend-like feelings toward family was not possible. In contrast, the other replied that family was number one, so it was good to have a friend-like relationship with parents and siblings. Splitting the difference, two male junior high school students told me that it was not a good idea to have a friend-like relationship with parents because then you could not respect them.

Many students justified having a friend-like relationship with mother on the grounds that friendship made them more comfortable asking for favors, money, and gifts, and it increased their trust in mother. Two female junior high school students agreed that it was good to have a friend-like relationship with their mothers because it benefitted their mental health. With father the impossibility of friend-like relations was explained as a consequence of him being male and of a higher status, which necessitated the use of formal language. In an interview with three male high school students from the special studies class they expressed that a friend-like relationship with father was impossible because they were men, too, which meant they would end up fighting with father. Approaching this possibility differently, a male high school student told me that a friend-like relationship with father was good because it prevented a wall from rising between them.

The possibility of friendship with siblings depended on gender. A female high school student reported that her younger sister was closer to her than her best friend. But

another student could not be friends with his sister because she was a girl and he did not like the way she talked.

Consistent with Japanese adolescent friend-orientation were Kano students' rankings of family, friends, teachers, romantic partners and others based on who they trusted, who they worried about, whose opinions matter most to them, who influenced their club choice, who influenced their career choice, and who influenced their choice of romantic partner. "Friends" ranked in first place for the categories of "persons you worry about" (48% ranked first), "persons who influenced club choice" (43.9%), and "persons who influenced choice of romantic partner" (66%). The following is a breakdown of the results by junior high and high school students:

Table 2: Students' relationship rankings
(N=79, JHS=32, HS=47; mean value in parenthesis)

JHS students	Trust	Worry	Opinions	Club choice	Career choice	Partner
Rank #1	Family (1.4)	Friends (1.6)	Tie: Family (1.964)	Friends (2)	Family (1.86)	Friends (1.8)
Rank #2	Friends (2.3)	Family (2.2)	Tie: Friends (1.964)	Family (2.1)	Friends (2.21)	Others (2.1)
Rank #3	Lover (2.5)	Lover (2.3)	Lover (2.5)	Teachers (3.1)	Teachers (3)	Family (2.2)

HS students	Trust	Worry	Opinions	Club choice	Career choice	Partner
Rank #1	Family (1.7)	Friends (1.7)	Friends (1.9)	Friends (1.9)	Family (1.8)	Friends (1.2)
Rank #2	Friends (2)	Lover (2.2)	Family (2.1)	Teachers (2.2)	Teachers (2.3)	Family (2.2)
Rank #3	Lover (2.4)	Family (2.4)	Lover (2.4)	Family (2.4)	Friends (3)	Other (2.5)

Notes: Students ranked others in order from one through four or five. One would be the highest.

Broken down by gender, the rankings were identical. Between junior high and high school, however, the rankings differed. Junior high school students worried more about family members and considered the opinions of family as equivalent to the

opinions of friends. This might indicate that Kano junior high school students were more attached to their parents than friends, which could be related to their experiences of withdrawal in the home. Unlike their junior high counterparts, high school students considered their family's influence in choosing a romantic partner, perhaps because they were closer to marrying age.

On the friendship questionnaire students were asked to respond to the proposition that friends were closer than family, and a similar percentage of students affirmed this statement (40.7%) as those who could not say whether their friends were closer than their families (39.5%). But almost half (48.1%) of students reported preferring to relax with friends over family, and forty percent (39.5%) could not say which they preferred. On the preliminary free response survey, students were asked whether they preferred to relax with family or friends, and why. Only two students preferred relaxing with their families, and ten students had no preference. The former students wrote that they returned home to relax and that being with friends annoyed them. The latter group expressed that they were equally happy with their friends and family, and one student wrote that he or she basically preferred to be alone because of the freedom. Of the seventeen students who preferred to relax with friends over family, most explained that friends were more fun to be around (*omoshiroi*) and made them happy (*tanoshii*). In aggregate all results suggested that students parsed their friend and family intimacies similar to mainstream students and those surveyed by Crystal et al. (2008).¹⁹

Class nakama and friends

Nakama is a quotidian group organized around a specific goal and consists of persons near to one's age and status. A group that meets weekly to go surfing would be

considered a *nakama* albeit of different ages and statuses. A cohort of company employees hired together following university graduation likewise would be a *nakama*. Friendships do not usually evolve between the *nakama* seniors and juniors however, but among same-age *nakama* peers.

Even though it a priority to train students in academic skills, the primary aim of the junior high school experience is to instruct students in becoming self-motivated citizens (DeVos 1973; White 1987; LeTendre 2000). Teachers produce self-motivated citizens through two means: first, they foster the *nakama* in order to orient individual motivation toward group goals, and, second, they encourage students to submit to *kanri kyoiku*, education through the imposition of rules, in order that they will formulate life-goals that coordinate with societal norms and expectations.

A student's most significant *nakama* is his or her homeroom class. Secondary in importance are those peers who participate in the same afterschool club activities.²⁰ Clubs are open to students in all three years of junior high and high school, and students are organized by seniors and juniors (*sempai-kōhai*).²¹ In contrast, homeroom classes during the years of compulsory schooling are comprised solely of students of the same age, as discussed in chapter one. At the beginning of junior high school, students are placed in a homeroom class of roughly thirty students, and that group will attend classes together all day, every day, and in the same room over all three years of junior high. In the homeroom, as well as in afterschool clubs student are taught self-governance.²² The teacher's role vis-à-vis the *nakama* is to scrutinize the group dynamics to ascertain that students are taking responsibility for one another in instructing weaker students, that they are acting obediently, and that they are assuming leadership roles. In the homeroom

nakama, teachers oversee daily group *hansei*, class-wide reflection on how well an activity went, who participated, and what could have been done better. They encourage students to settle disputes among themselves.

Through the nakama teachers promote group life and the values of *ningen kankei*, and they play a determining role in adolescent friendship formation. Fukuzawa and LeTendre (2001) explain that schools take control of students' friendships through organization of the homeroom class and as a foil that encourages student solidarity: as students situate themselves vis-à-vis school rules, school social life, and academic expectations, they group with like-others to form friendships. Fukuzawa found that over half of the students who she interviewed reported that they came to school to meet friends foremost and that studying was secondary. Furthermore, a majority of the students reported having no friends outside of school (LeTendre and Fukuzawa 2001:47).

In making friends within a class or club nakama, students experience the tension between the ideals of harmony and loyalty within the nakama and the desire for the company of their chosen peers.²³ Teachers tamp down dyadic and polyadic friendships in favor of the nakama; mutual responsibility within the nakama is supposed to transcend individual preferences for certain peers (LeTendre 2000; Cave 2007). LeTendre (2000) notes how the teachers he observed “vigorously regulated any clothing, marking, or other adornment that could signal special friendships or liaisons between students” (2000: 156). Decorations of notebooks and friendship bracelets, teachers fear, would indicate favoritism between students and undermine the greater affection of the nakama.²⁴ Cave (2007) reports that teachers of classes in the sixth (final) year of elementary school asserted the difference between friendship and the nakama in this way: being a friend was

a matter of indulging individual preferences for certain others, and being in a nakama entailed being among persons whom you like as well as dislike. Teachers conceive of bullying as incidents within the nakama when same-sex cliques or dyads aggress upon and exclude individual students they do not like.

Cave (2007) also notes that teachers are more concerned about the deleterious effects of girls' friendships on the nakama. He reports that teachers "generally saw girls as more problematic and harder to handle than boys, because of their tendencies to form tight friendships and cliques which had the potential to damage relationships within the class severely... boys were less of a problem, as they were generally less intense about friendships, and didn't bear grudges so easily. If girls had a problem, however, they tended to hold on to the feelings." (2007: 169)²⁵

Kano students' nakama and friends

At Kano Academy class teachers situated themselves in leadership roles in the class nakama. This arrangement might have evolved given the bullying histories of Kano students and given that students enrolled throughout the school year, which meant that the nakama was always in a state of flux. Also, as a result, teachers were better able to guard against dyadic friendships undermining the nakama while encouraging students' friendships.

The positioning of the class teachers as nakama leaders was exemplified during the school graduation ceremony. I attended two ceremonies (March 2007 and March 2008). These were held in rented space at the city's civic center, and they were formal events with teachers wearing black suits and white shirts with flowers pinned to the lapel and the students wearing uniforms cleaned and pressed for the occasion. The ballroom

where the ceremonies took place was a large space with a stage and podium at the front of the room. Along the walls on either side were long tables; on the left sat the teachers and staff, and on the right sat honored guests, donors, journalists, advisors, and friends of the Head. In front of the stage were small tables accommodating two students apiece, which is where the graduating students sat. Behind the graduates, the remainder of the student body sat in rows of chairs by class, and at the back of the room parents filled in the spaces. This arrangement was a meta-comment on persons contributing most to the graduates' successes. Graduates were seated alongside their *nakama*, a foremost contributor, and they were flanked by their teachers on one side and community (*seken*) on the other, those who most supported the graduating *nakama*. Their seniors and juniors were behind seated them, and their parents in the rear.

Kano graduation seating was typical of mainstream school graduation ceremonies. Particular to Kano's was a part of the ceremony when students' parents were called to the stage and their sons and daughters presented each one with a flower and words of gratitude. In spite of the tears accompanying the words of gratitude, there were no displays of physical affection like an embrace or kiss. I was told by Kano teachers that this part of the ceremony was included because Kano parents have a greater burden than parents of mainstream students. I found this comment surprising since the teachers so often complained about parents being either overly attached to their children or absentee guardians. This part of the ceremony might have had more to do with thanking parents for the financial support. And through this ritual designed to make parents feel that their efforts have been recognized by the school, they might be more inclined to promote the school's good works.

Students, however, indicated that their parents were playing a significant role in their educational goals. In the chart above, Kano students ranked family influence higher than teacher influence in the domain of career choice. This complicates the impression from the literature on teacher role in career guidance, as well as Kano faculty and student's reports that teachers were expected to provide instruction in career goals. Perhaps, although it is the teacher's role to give instruction on these areas, parents make the final decision, especially since higher education is an expensive commitment that families must meet.²⁶

After graduates received their diplomas, they lined up on stage, junior high graduates first, for their class teacher to say a few words about each student and present the student with a gift. By the time the teacher was through with each presentation the individual student and teacher had tears flowing down their cheeks. At the 2007 ceremony A-sensei was the class teacher for the graduating high school students. In presenting each gift he recalled stories about his students, some of whom had been in his class for the past three years, and then declared his love for the student (*—san ga daisuki*). For one student he told a story of how he had recently been to the pub owned by the student's family, and the student had given him so many free drinks, A-sensei was incapacitated the following day. The audience roared in amusement. It was a story I had heard before in the teacher's room on the very day of incapacitation. That morning A-sensei came in and announced that he had gotten exceedingly drunk the night before at the student's family pub. A few of the teachers who had accompanied him added exclamations confirming the debauchery. I was shocked not only that such an event would take place, but that it would be welcomed by the school—the teacher had

humiliated himself in getting drunk in front of a student. But there is a greater tolerance for the consumption of alcohol and drunkenness in Japan, and Kano class teachers, as leaders of the nakama, might not have been as removed from their students as mainstream teachers.

An incident a year and a half later exemplified the position of Kano teachers vis-à-vis their students. My fiancé was visiting from the U.S. and one evening we went pub-crawling with A-sensei. A-sensei and my fiancée indulged in much drunken sociality and as we were walking through town on our way to another pub, we ran into a third-year junior high school student. My fiancé was shocked that not only did we approach the student for conversation, but A-sensei even chided the student for being out too late. For her part, the student humored the slurring and swaggering A-sensei with promises that she was heading home. On this occasion, at the graduation ceremonies, and in everyday monitoring of the friendship and nakama relationships of students, Kano teachers' nakama leadership provided a more nurturing context for students' peer relationships than would have existed at mainstream schools.

In interviews I asked students about the difference between nakama, friends, and best friends, and I examine these responses in detail in chapter four. Here I present students' responses to the differences between nakama and friend. Kano students, like mainstream students, differentiated between classmate/nakama and friend. Students generally described the nakama as their group, people with whom one worked toward a common purpose, people you had to do things with, people who helped you, people you hung out with and got along with. Friends were those from the nakama that you related to individually, you wanted to hang out with, you trusted and with whom you developed

a relationship. Students did not begrudge their nakama as much as they accepted the group as a fact of life and hoped that they lucked out in getting put with a good nakama, a judgment they probably made based on the quality of their friendships within the nakama.

During my full academic year at Kano, the third-year junior high class nakama was fractured due to the development of a friend clique. Several months into the school year the class lost their homeroom teacher after he was fired for undisclosed reasons, quite possibly related to comments he made about “cutting” as a healthful practice and his frequent absences for “headache” illnesses that I interpreted from his behavior at school and at post-work drinking functions as depression. Following his firing, the class of seventeen students was split into two sections: a class of four disruptive girls who had formed a friend clique and thirteen male and female students. The four girls of class 3A recognized their punishment through ostracism and their parents were encouraged to find other educational institutions for high school, although one of the students ended up attending Kano high school (she was the stubborn student described in chapter one). The students of class 3B lost another homeroom teacher a few months later when she quit after deciding the job was not what she had expected. The school counselor took over the role of class teacher for the students in 3B and began working hard at developing a supportive nakama that would get students through the remainder of the school year.

As described in the introduction to this thesis, I interviewed two students from 3B after the school counselor had taken over the class. The interview was conducted in their homeroom where we were surrounded by class pictures, the class schedule, the class bulletin board, and other reminders of their nakama. They began the interview on an even, if cautious, tone, providing polite responses to the warm-up questions. But shortly

thereafter they began finishing each others' sentences, and they were clearly enjoying each others' company immensely. When I got to the question about the difference between nakama, friend, and best friend, they turned beet red and confessed that they were best friends, and added that they kept it very private. Expanding on what distinguished the best friend they answered that the best friend was someone you told your worries to, someone you were not shy to be around, and someone who was "premium grade" (transliterated from English). Moreover, they agreed that one best friend was enough. Thereafter they sometimes answered the interview questions in unison, sometimes checked with one another in responding to questions such as whether their relationship with mother was friend-like (it was, for both!), and allowed whoever answered the question first to speak for the other. "The same!" the second respondent would reply with a smile and approving nod as though the first respondent had read her mind. I taught 3B English twice a week and would never have gathered that those two were as intimate as they expressed in the interview. They were proficient at segregating their relationship from 3B nakama life.

Sempai-kōhai relationships were not elaborated at Kano as these would be at mainstream schools. Kano had "club activities," but these met once or twice a week and usually took the form of a teacher instructing the basics of basketball or another activity followed by students playing for an hour. Interaction between the junior high school and high school students was considered particularly disruptive, because of students' different maturity levels. But during my period at the school, the junior high and high school students shared the same building. A result of socializing between classes had been that high school male students were initiating romantic relationships with junior high female

students—at least three instances while I was there—which was considered highly problematic since high school students were supposed to be more serious about their schoolwork and devoted toward preparation for entrance exams to college or vocational school. Without club activities and because of efforts to segregate the junior high and high school students, Kano pupils were not exposed to hierarchical sempai-kōhai relationships.

In interviews with faculty I asked if they believed it was a problem that Kano students were not learning these types of relationships. Several teachers responded that their students in fact were learning them outside of school through part-time work, which was common for Kano high school students. But in the weeks after I began interviewing I noticed that a lot more teacher attention was being directed toward affirming hierarchical relationships between students of different classes; teachers were correcting breeches of etiquette in language and attitude between sempai and kōhai. As far as I observed, this shift was the only immediate consequence of my interviewing on the school environment.

Romantic relationships and friendship

Japanese friendships are same-sex, which I examine in the following chapter on the culture of friendship. Like friendships, heterosexual relationships are considered private and segregated from the public domain of sociality. Doi (1973) describes a moment of culture shock in noticing that at parties in the United States there were equal numbers of the sexes. This was rare in his contemporary Japan where the sexes did not typically socialize together. Even when married, couples do not usually go out on dates with other married couples or socialize with one another in public (Dunn 2004).

Moreover, men and women may engage more deeply in emotional intimacies with their same-sex friends over their sexual partners, as noted above in discussion of Doi's perspective on homosexual love in Japan. Atsumi (1989) argues that friends supersede family and sexual partners in closeness, and among middle class married couples, friends are felt to be more essential to individual well-being than spouses.

Dating is forbidden by junior high schools and ethnographic accounts mention little opposite-sex contact at high schools, although it was not uncommon to see uniformed students holding hands and walking together. LeTendre (2000) describes how junior high school teachers believe that typical students were sexually inexperienced and among teachers there is "no sense that students would be seriously tempted to engage in sexual intercourse" (67). Fukuzawa and LeTendre (2001) argue that in prohibiting dating educators likewise prevent opposite-sex friendships from forming.

Adolescents may also be reluctant to form strong opposite-sex romantic attachments because of potential injury to their friendships. White (1993) argues that there is a paradoxical outcome for teenagers who end up with the much coveted and romanticized boyfriend. On the one hand they are living a shared fantasy with their friends; on the other hand, spending time socializing with a boyfriend detracts from the time an adolescent spends with friends. Thus, having a boyfriend puts friend relationships at risk (1993: 172).

Kano students' romantic partners and friends

In the ranking section of the survey, Kano students indicated that they valued the opinions and trust of their romantic partners less than those of their family and friends. High school students worried about romantic partners over family, and junior high school

students worried about family more than romantic partners. But both groups worried about friends more than either romantic partners or family members. These results conformed to ethnographic accounts of teachers' expectations that Japanese students are less concerned about their romantic partners than their U.S. counterparts, and, as a group Japanese students are closer to and trust their friends more than romantic partners.

¹ Only five societies of the 450 examined had an absence of friendship. These were highly collective societies where friendship would be thought to undermine social solidarity (Hruschka 53). Friendship as a subversive institution in Japan may be an indication of the positive value placed on collectivity.

² DuBois notes her assumptions that friendship is (1) universal, in all societies, (2) that definitions should not be imbued with "culturally determined aspects," (3) that it is a culturally patterned interpersonal relationship, (4) that elements of friendship are identifiable and comparable, (5) that friendship needs to be studied in the context of other interpersonal relationships and in the context of culturally stressed values, particularly those related to personhood, (6) that friendship can occur in relationships between persons of status other than friend e.g. coworker (7) that friendships are voluntary and "gratuitous acts" involving gratifications such as intimacy, social prestige, and economic advantage, (8) that initially "physical proximity and reciprocal communication (on a verbal or non-verbal level) are necessary but not sufficient antecedents to friendship" (Dubois 1974:15-16).

³ The extent that voluntarism is characteristic of friend relations has elevated friendship onto a mantle for discussing the intricacies of structure and agency. Voluntarism in Japan manifests in the act of commitment to the group. Cave (2001) explains with a hint of sarcasm that junior high and high school sports and culture clubs are open to any student willing to commit to practices six days a week throughout the year without vacation. Workers demonstrate their commitment through voluntary uncompensated overtime work and socializing at post-work events, and since the restructuring of the 1990's do so without less assurance of a guarantee of lifetime employment. One who opts out of committing to sports clubs, after-work events, employment, or school lives a withdrawn life exemplified by hikikomori citizens and futōkōsei.

⁴ Demographic factors are primary to the evolution of friendship institutions. DuBois (1974) observes that foremost among structural factors influencing friendship patterns would be the size of community population. Not only must there be an aggregate of non-kin available to enter into friendship relationships, but there also needs to be communal customs that provide members with "opportunities for *voluntary* interaction" (21, italics hers). Aguilar (1999) demonstrates that East African pastoralists generated friendship institutions through attending regional schools established for educating post-colonial Kenya's future citizenry.

⁵ Structurally, friendship may be as robust an interstitial relationship as kinship, or it may be an ad-hoc compensatory institution evolved to mitigate societal disruption in instances of failed, failing, and changing social and cultural institutions. Friendship institutions may emerge in response to crises in political-economic structures. (Gilmore 1974). When kinship institutions conflict with economic endeavors, friendship institutions may also take on an economic role (Leyton 1974). Friendship may also serve individuals by providing emotional satisfaction and economic supports in societies with an ethos of intense market competition (Brain 1977) and societies with complex bureaucratic structures (Paine 1969). Silver (1990) explains that the market rationalism of capitalism encourages expressive, private friendship formation.

⁶ Cohen (1961) compares friendship institutions in 65 societies and concludes that friendship, regardless of historical or structural conditions, engenders interpersonal bonds within society; however, in terms of social cohesion, modern societies benefit least in terms of social solidarity from their predominant types of friendships. Practices of social integration among certain groups such as elites may be construed as cronyism or institutionalized prejudice that deprives other individuals of rights their society champions. Hierarchical friendships such as patron-client relations or those that theoretically obtain between citizens in a modern state and their premier/president may also obfuscate social inequality and oppression (Wolf 1966; Paine 1974; Brain 1977). Brain (1977) also describes friendship as undemocratic insofar as the affective bonds between friends are a form of prejudice that undermines democratic civic intercourse and meritocracy; indeed, democracy may foster interpersonal alienation.

⁷ Chie Nakane's seminal work *Japanese Society* (1970) when first published in Japanese was entitled *Tate-shakai no ningen-kankei-Tanitsu-shakai no riron* (Personal Relations in a Vertical Society-A Theory of Homogenous Society). In this piece she argues for verticality in Japanese corporate internal structure and verticality in society between corporate structures. It is seminal because, as Kelly (1991) explains, "for 25 years, Nakane's master principle of vertical integration and group solidarity has been a constant target and convenient foil."

⁸ Mental illnesses like TJK and alcoholic pathology have been attributed to the Japanese fixation on the category and practices of *ningen kankei*. Borovoy (2001), in the course of fieldwork considering codependent spouses of alcoholics, learned that practitioners believe *ningen kankei* manifests in the codependence/alcoholism pathology. Indeed, it is not the alcoholic at the core of this toxic dyad, but the enabler—usually wife—obliged by the values of *ningen kankei*.

⁹ The dualities of *ura/omote* (rear/front), *uchi/soto* (inside/outside) also reference the bifurcation of one's interactive spheres into public and private, and the behavioral repertoires associated with these. Doi (1986) goes so far as to offer *tatemae* and *honne* as a metaphor for Japanese selfhood. He offers that the self consists of dual entities: a public persona represented by *tatemae* practices and individual's private nature manifest in his or her *honne* practices.

¹⁰ Hendry (1992) explains that "in Japan, a friend is one of the few people likely to hear one's true opinions on a subject, one's *honne* as opposed to the *tatemae*, or polite front more commonly presented to the world at large" (1992: 172).

¹¹ She characterizes Japanese cultural ethos as socially relativistic insofar as Japanese people as preoccupied with others and oriented to the presence and influence of others. Interestingly, in her exploration of how social relativism inflects social relationships she considers hierarchical dyads such as mother-child and boss-underling, and groups at the workplace and school, but only mentions friendship briefly, which I imagine is because it is a vague relationship.

¹² From Doi's extended reference to characters in the novel *Sensei* by Natsumi Soseki and in the course of his discussion, it seems that he believes homosexual relationships are most problematic for men.

¹³ 友達が必要だと思いませんか。なぜそう思いませんか。

¹⁴ 一人生きていけない

¹⁵ Discussing the articulation between friendship and kinship, Reed-Danahay (1999) argues that through friendship experience, individuals engage in non-kin intimacy in preparation for marriage. Moreover, she points out, friendship may compensate for lack of emotional reciprocity in marriage, or as a means to alleviate its stressors. In societies where spousal intimacy is valued, there are generally less opportunities for same-sex friendship after marriage; likewise, there are more opportunities for same-sex friendship where there is less emphasis on husband-wife intimacy.

¹⁶ LeTendre and Erwin-Fukuzawa (2001) suggest that the question that obsesses the Japanese adolescent is not, "who am I?" as it is for Euro-American adolescent resolving identity crises, but "which high school will I attend?" (LeTendre 2000:88).

¹⁷ Treatment of returnee students exemplifies the extent that learning socially appropriate behavior is tied to attendance at Japanese schools. *Kikokusjō*, school-age children who return to Japan after living abroad, usually due to the father's transfer to the foreign branch of a Japanese corporation, are considered corrupted versions of the person they would have become had their education been exclusively in Japan. They are regarded as having acquired undesirable characteristics such as independence in decision-making and argumentative tendencies. There are special schools for the returnees, *ukeirekō*, since these children are thought to have lost their group orientation and ability to *omoiyari*, empathize. Returnees to Japanese middle schools, moreover, experience much difficulty in speaking and reading Japanese, which makes them the targets of harassment and physical bullying from other students. Even if a child has only lived abroad as a toddler for a period of a year he or she is labeled *kikokusjō* on the official school record and would be monitored for signs of *futekiōbyō*, non-adaptation syndrome (Goodman 1990). Goodman (1990) points out that in spite of the seemingly popular negative regard for these students, in the *ukeirekō* schools they are trained to be future leaders in Japan because of their internationalism and proficiency in foreign languages. These students are treated as an important resource.

¹⁸ Crystal et al. (2008) gave questionnaires to adolescents in Japanese and U.S. junior high and high schools (N = 2141) about sources of support in six contexts: "morning awakening, physical illness, emotional upset, help with homework, causing a problem, and guidance in extracurricular activities."

¹⁹ But compared to students in mainstream schools, Kano students spent fewer hours on school grounds and at cram schools. Their responses may even reveal more of a family-orientation than among mainstream students. This is a proposition for future research.

²⁰ Although the class and club *nakama* are main units of affiliation in the school, schools cultivate a sense of belong to a village (*mura*) by organizing school committees and cooperation for culture days and sports festivals.

²¹ *Nakama* in the form of senior-junior cliques and dyads, Nakane (1970) argues, is the organizing principle of all Japanese corporate groups and of Japanese society most broadly. Nakane moves from the boss-underling dyad to the hierarchy of corporations in Japan to show how vertical organization operates on all levels and scales. Yoneyama (1973), in contrast, points out that historically wide-ranging hierarchical *nakama* have been important to social organization in Japan, first among merchants of the Tokugawa era (1604-1868) and religious sects. He continues this observation in arguing that too much credit has been given to the family and other hierarchical social ties for Japan's cohesiveness and that the existence of *nakama* across territories explains "how Japan could form a modern national administrative system and a modern military machine so rapidly with relatively few instances of real nepotism or localism" (1973:96).

²² Within the classroom there are the rotating leadership roles of a *tōban*, class-leader, and a *kakari*, class secretary who together take attendance, collect homework, and run the morning class meetings. At the middle school where LeTendre (2000) conducted fieldwork, the student body was left alone in their homerooms every morning while the faculty met together for a daily meeting that lasted from fifteen to forty-five minutes.

²³ This dynamic maps on to the classic tension between *giri* and *ninjo*, between obligation and desire that Benedict (1945) describes in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*.

²⁴ LeTendre (2000) also notes that the fencing team was allowed to express their in-group statues through choices of clothing and adornment. This exception to the rule was a way for the school to legitimize the club as a *nakama* and demonstrate support for relationships within it.

²⁵ Cave describes how one teacher handled the emergence of two five-girl friendship cliques in her class. First, she held a class discussion on how hurtful cliques can be to students not affiliated with the friendship group. She led students to conclude that cliques are undesirable because they do not involve all of the girls in the class. Second, the teacher broke up the cliques and made girls from opposing cliques pair up and hang out together at lunch, do class work together, and walk through the school together. Cave explains that "for (the teacher), this whole process was part of developing the children's ability to think. She wanted them to think about what friends they wanted, how they should choose friends, and what it meant to be friends, rather than simply acting according to their feelings—their likes and dislikes" (80-81).

²⁶ Future research on high schools and career choice counseling would clarify this discrepancy. It would be interesting to consider post-secondary educational choices given contemporary economic pessimism.

Chapter Three: Japanese Culture of Friendship and Friendship at Kano Academy

A cultural approach to friendship emphasizes the rules, norms, values, and practices pertaining to friend interaction such as who becomes friend with whom and how friendships begin, end, and evolve over time. Japanese friendship obtains between same-sex, same-age persons of equal status, and even if parties initiate their interaction for instrumental gains, it is expressive or what DuBois (1974) terms a “gratuitous act,” a relationship for its own sake. Friendship in Japan defies categorization as Eastern/non-modern or Western/modern friendship, a dichotomy fostered by research on the cultural specificity of friendship. Eastern/non-modern forms of friendship—referring nearly always to friendship in any non-Euro-American group—are characterized as relationships wherein parties self-consciously tack between the instrumental and expressive aims vis-à-vis their friends. Friendships of this type are flexible insofar as they may emerge between persons of differing statuses, and these friendships are constitutive of public intercourse to a greater degree than modern, private friendship. In the modern West, friendship is ideally independent of instrumental relations and a deeply personal, private affair usually among same-sex peers of similar age, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status.

In this chapter I address the categories of Eastern/non-modern and Western/modern friendship and demonstrate how Japanese friendship complicates this division. I then examine cultural aspects of friendship in Japan and how these manifested at Kano Academy.

Eastern/non-modern friendship

The line between kith and kin is often blurred. In non-modern small-scale societies friendships may be conceived as an extension of kinship ties. One of many

examples in the ethnographic record is the Kwoma of New Guinea. Kwoma men of the same patrilineal descent group enter into an inalienable friendship at time of their initiation ceremony. Their blood is mixed on bark slab during scarification, and following this ceremony they are treated as relations, have no fear of stealing sorcery materials from one another, and will steal such materials on behalf of one another, a mark of kinship (Cohen 1961). Through ritual Kwoma men bind their friends and increase their mutual protection.

Blood brotherhood and godparenthood (*compadrazgo*, co-parenthood) are considered non-modern institutions wherein a ritual transforms non-kin of relatively equal status into kin. In all regions of the world in the ethnographic record, these institutions have been observed (Paul 1954). Such relationships have been considered forms of friendship insofar as they engender trust and reciprocal obligations, and they involve mutual sentiment. Interestingly, the reverse has been noted: sometimes kin become friends to solidify familial bonds. Santos-Granero (2007) attributes this phenomenon among tribes in Amazonia to the valorization of intertribal friendships. These are idealized for their power to neutralize potential hostiles, and kin will become formal friends to take their relationship to a “higher plane of trust and intimacy” (2007: 11). For the most part, however, the bonds of blood brotherhood and godparenthood work to secure relationships with non-kin through kin-like ties.

In the non-modern West, both institutions are historically tied to Roman Catholicism.¹ These waned in Europe when Martin Luther banned blood brotherhood for his followers, and godparenthood became a less significant economic resource. With the intensification of industrialization, the family was no longer the primary unit of

production, and godparenthood obligations no longer seemed necessary for economic survival (Brain 1977: 94). In South America the institution has been more entrenched and has persevered through modern social change (Sanstron 1995).

Guanxi, a Chinese institution of exchange among persons with a friend-like rapport, typifies the variety of relationships in this category of friendship. Nevertheless, *guanxi* is decidedly modern, having persisted through the social transformations of modernity in China.² These turns of favors, introductions, material aid, et cetera, are based in and generate “mutual trust and obligation” (Yang 1994: 111). *Guanxi* relationships develop between parties with a “shared identity” or “in which there are shared experiences” (Yang 1994:111). Equality in age and socioeconomic status, however, is not a standard for entering into *guanxi* relationships, and these are ideally numerous and overt or public. There is no ceremony to formalize *guanxi* ties, but they manifest in favors that amount to what Yang (1994) describes as a vibrant and public “gift economy.”

Like blood brotherhood and godparenthood, *guanxi* is ‘hedged’ friendship (Brain 1977), insofar as it is confirmed by formal and public exchanges meant to fortify the bond and oblige parties to it. Hedged friendship may seem to be based solely on instrumental motives such as the potential for material gain, social capital, personal protection, et cetera, and from a Western perspective, less authentic. Rather than mutual affection being the source of the bond, the relationship is based on mutual advancement, and, in necessitating formal declaration of friendship, implies that parties would not otherwise become or remain friends.

When friendship bonds become formalized to the point of inducing kinship, it is difficult to tease apart affection from obligation. The utility of friendship has been established for non-modern friendship. Cohen (1961) in his study of 65 societies discerns seven functions of friendship: (1) material exchange and/or economic assistance, (2) sociopolitical and emotional support, (3) go-betweens in love affairs and marriage arrangements, (4) homosexual expression, (5) sponsorship in rites of passage, (6) mourning obligations, and (7) the exchange of children (1961: 373). Modern friendship may be no less useful. Abrahams (1991) notes that Finnish friendships are a necessary tool for navigating an unwieldy bureaucracy, as conveyed in a popular joke, “worse than capital punishment would be 15 years without connections (literally acquaintances).”³

In some friendship institutions, the instrumental elements may predominate over the expressive elements, and even make the latter irrelevant. This raises the question of whether a relationship can be considered friendship if it is publically asserted and maintained for individual gain. Does affection necessarily inspire the relationship or evolve from it? To what extent is expressive friendship universal? Santos (2008) in a discussion of Chinese same-year siblingship argues for the universality of expressive friendship based on the Chinese institution. Although this affiliation is motivated by both familial and individual interests, he demonstrates that there is also a degree of interpersonal affection. Santos offers that among same-year siblings there are “practical and affective realities that – regardless of their degree of instrumentality – are more on the side of the chosen than of the given, more on the side of affinity than of consanguinity, more on the side of the present/future than of the past” (2008: 548). In the same vein, Smart (1995) points out that the expressive should precede the instrumental in

guanxi relationships; amity and affection are cited as motivating these exchanges, not utilitarian aims.

DuBois (1974), however, urges anthropologists to consider instrumentality and expressivity as constituting a spectrum that would characterize friendship. A purely instrumental relationship, if voluntarily entered into, would be considered a friendship. Realization of DuBois' aim to establish a robust cross-cultural analysis of the institution would elicit data to develop a definition of friendship that would speak to the universality of expressive friendship, or lead to distinguishing types of friendship based on instrumental and expressive forms.

Western/modern friendship

In contrast to 'hedged' friendships, modern friendship is radically confident and intensely private. Simmel (1950), observing from a modern perspective, places friendship among "types of social relationships by degrees of reciprocal knowledge of their participants (1950: 320)."⁴ Friendship—left undefined by Simmel—falls between relations of discretion wherein participants have reciprocal knowledge of "what the other wishes one to know of the self and respect[ing] the boundaries of the other's personal sphere" and marriage. He qualifies friendship as deeper than discretion and purer than marriage; he supposes that "entering of the whole unindividuated ego into the relationship may be more plausible in friendship than in love for the reason that friendship lacks the specific concentration upon one element which love derives from its sensuousness" (1950: 325). Simmel figures intimacy as a corollary of knowledge of the other. Friends are those with whom one has confidence and trust enough to confide one's

most private thoughts, and friendship is furthermore an intensely private affair that transpires apart from one's public roles and duties.

Anthropologists have asked if it is possible to derive a concept of friendship not imbued with modern values, institutions, and categories of personhood. Socially, modernity has impacted friendship institutions through articulation with the development of capitalism, urbanism, religious and educational institutions, et cetera. Culturally, modernity has informed friendship institutions through categories of freedom, privacy, affection, personhood, et cetera.

Following Strathern's (1990) distinction between the Melanesian socially emergent self and the Western independent self, Carrier (1999) argues that the Western conceptualization of friendship posits the latter. The independent self cum friend is capable of experiencing "spontaneous and unconstrained sentiment or affection," as this is generated from within the individual. The independent friend voluntarily enters into and participates in the relationship of his or her own volition. Among such friends it is taboo to expect return favors; friends, he explains, perform "gratuitous favors" for one another.

This is a contrast to a Melanesian who deduces his or her role, obligations, relative power, and moral judgment from the interactive context. Sympathy does not spring from the person, but obtains based on the quality of the relationship between persons. Likewise, obligation is a function of the relational status of persons and not of individual sentiment. The autonomous self relies on intuition and personal force of feeling to provide information on what kind of person would be a good or bad mate, whereas the socially emergent self develops friendship based on reciprocal obligations

concomitant with the relationship. Carrier concludes that Western friendship with its emphasis on freedom and independence is inextricably linked to an historical moment when the bourgeoisie emerged as a class. In this cultural milieu the person is considered free to extricate from kin obligation and forge new social ties in greater society.⁵

Equality in gender, age, and socioeconomic status marks Western friendship. Suttles (1971) argues that differences in status deter people from violating the rules of propriety, which is necessary for friendship formation. He explains that “we make friends by exposing ourselves, and friendship is a way of saving ourselves from self-mortification once we have exposed our ‘real selves’” (1971: 124).⁶ Allan (1996) suggests that equality is necessary in middle class friendships in order to maintain a culturally valued “balance of exchange” (1996: 89).⁷ Friends should not have to bother with any pretense associated with a sense of social hierarchy; emphasis is placed on similarity and equivalence. Thus middle class friendships are a significant resource for stability during life changes such as going to college, marriage, divorce, and shifts in employment, as these occur in similar ways and at similar moments among friends.

In modern and multicultural societies, friendships are often segregated by age, gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status.⁸ Explorations of friend relationships in modern societies entail considering different friendship opportunities for women and men, children and adults, and white-collar and working classes. These opportunities are contingent upon norms in domains such as the school and the workplace. Allan (1996) describes how the achievement of middle class friendship is signified by interaction beyond the setting of the initial meeting, usually a public domain such as the workplace. A friend is the coworker that you invite to play tennis or the neighbor that you meet for a

drink. Working class neighbors and coworkers, in contrast, do not usually cultivate friendships beyond the context where they initially meet. Allan argues that use of the term 'mate' as a marker of working class friendship signifies "personal solidarity and commitment" (1996: 88) to the context where the relationship began. The middle class 'friend,' on the other hand, "celebrates a specific relationship over and above any specific contexts" (ibid.).

Echoing Allan's observation, Rezende (1999) notes that British middle class friendship occurs not only in a physically private sphere, but also when one is prepared to share private details related to the self. This proves to be an obstacle for friendship formation among persons of varying class or ethnic backgrounds because of differences in "desires for personal space" (90). Middle class British wait longer to disclose personal, potentially embarrassing, information, which serves to forestall the process of becoming friends.

On the issue of friendship necessitating equality, however, Rezende takes issue with scholars who would qualify modern friendship as a peer relationship and limit it to persons of similar background. She argues that these criteria dichotomize instrumental and expressive forms of friendship and undermine the authenticity of the former. People are essentially concerned with their material conditions, she stipulates, and given this factor, friendship can flourish between persons of unequal status such as patron and client. Based on ethnographic research in Brazil with maids and their mistresses she concludes that affinity facilitates their unequal status friendships. Modern Brazilians emphasize aspects of what makes friends similar such as the need for trust and protection, rather than their status differences. Moreover, culturally they value aspects of friendship

such as affection, care, and consideration, which may emerge in relationships between persons of unequal status. The maids she studied received care in the form of conversation as well as material aid from their mistresses. Mistresses, for their part, received loyalty and trustworthiness. Establishing certain Brazilian friendships as hierarchical, Rezende concludes that friendship actually promotes affinity between diverse groups. Brazilians emphasize what brings them together as parts of the same social world and affirm the “value placed on being related” (1999: 93).⁹

Trading in modern values, Western anthropological scholars have had to reckon with the question of whether they are recognizing friendship in terms of their own institutions. A Western and modern bias may manifest in the assertion that friendship is a private exchange and occurs between equals. Indeed, the assumption of equality in Western friendship is ubiquitous and provides for a potent political armature. Politicians, such as John McCain in the 2008 presidential campaign, address audiences as “my friends.” The religiously egalitarian and political peace advocates, the Quakers, are known as the Society of Friends. In the spirit of equality, Frenchmen in the late 18th century revolution, preached fraternity, a brotherhood of friends, alongside liberty and equality. In workers’ movements and communist revolutions, comrade, originally meaning business companion, is the acceptable form of address for fellow citizens as well as the military elite. But probably where the Western bias is most apparent is in treating instrumentality and expressivity as mutually exclusive in friendship. As noted above, cross-cultural analysis of the institution would clarify the frequency and degree that these forms of friendship manifest, and whether expressive friendship is universal.

Japanese culture of friendship and friendship at Kano

Whereas the Japanese conceptualization of self may be characterized as interdependent, socially relativistic, and thus Eastern, friendship patterns are nearer to the Western cultural type. Atsumi (1989) defines Japanese friendships as non-kin relations that arise between same-sex persons, usually from the same educational institution or shared activity, who have common interests, mutual attraction, and similarity in perspective. Additionally, she argues that friendship in Japan is a spontaneous relationship and voluntary association, even if friendship choice seems constrained by criteria such as “compatible socioeconomic backgrounds, a number of experiences, and basic attitudes towards life” (1989: 134). My observations of Japanese friendship and of friendship at Kano Academy are consistent with Atsumi’s definition. Her first point that friendship occurs among non-kin I have addressed in the previous chapter where I demonstrated that for Kano Academy students, friendship is structurally distinct from kinship. In the remainder of this chapter, I take up other characteristics that Atsumi references in her definition: friends are of the same sex and share similarities in age and background, and I consider other elements defining Japanese friendship such as the desirability of dyadic and polyadic friendship and friendship trajectories.

Gender in Japanese friendship and at Kano

In Japanese literature and popular culture platonic friend intimacy between males and females is rare. When men and women interact as a dyad, the implication is that theirs is a romantic union. Nevertheless, the two may refer to one another as friend; when applied to the opposite sex, the term indicates that the relationship involves sexual intimacies. For example, before my partner and I were engaged to be married, I introduced him to colleagues at Kano Academy and the University of Tokyo as a friend.

I would not introduce him as my lover (*koibito*) because that would be impolite, nor would I introduce him as boyfriend in Japanese (*kareshi*) or “*boifurendo*,” transliterated from English, because these connote a youthful and fleeting love, and are also less formal. *Kareshi*, however, is a term I used when referring to him in the third person among friends. Terminology proved problematic when a fellow UCSD male graduate student stayed at my apartment for a week. I felt there was little choice but to suppress his visit from my colleagues, and in spite of a lengthy and sincere explanation of the relationship to my landlord, he had difficulty accepting that we were not sexually intimate.¹⁰

Ethnographers of Japanese schools note that pre-adolescent and adolescent friendships form exclusively among same-sex peers (Rohlen 1983; LeTendre and Fukuzawa 2001; Cave 2007).¹¹ It was taken for granted at Kano that friendships formed among students of the same sex. In classrooms students were not assigned seats and sat in gender-based groups. At my first graduation ceremony I noticed that the graduating students were seated by name, but the rest of the student body sat by gender. After the ceremony I asked one of the teachers, who had been at the school since it opened, why the students had been seated by gender. He looked perplexed, so I repeated in the question, and realizing that he had heard me correctly the first time, he replied simply that it was student preference.

In an interview with a second year junior high school student, a sexed female living as a male, the topic of gender and friendship was of vital concern. When he began attending Kano he wore androgynous sweat suits, used the female lavatory, and sat at the tables with female members of his class. Incrementally he asserted a masculine identity.

He began by wearing the Kano male uniform. In our interview I learned that he had become futōkōsei at the beginning of junior high because he refused to wear the female student uniform. His next step was using the male lavatory, and completing the transformation, he began socializing at lunch, between classes, and after school exclusively with the male members of his class. I interviewed him midway through the transformation. Our interview was typical of a second-year junior high school student until I asked what kind of friends he would like to have. With considerably more force than he answered any of my other questions, he declared that he could not know what kind of person he wanted to have as a friend until he figured out what kind of person he was. Although this restive response may be interpreted as frustration with friendship relationships or frustration with the interviewer's questions, I interpreted his answer as a reference to the cultural imperative for similarity of person in friendships, and the virtually unassailable norm of same-sex friendship.¹²

Kano students had few if any opposite-sex friends.¹³ In interviews, students reported having opposite-sex friends until about the middle of elementary school when they began engaging in same-sex play at recess and after school. When I asked about contemporary opposite-sex friends, occasionally they reported having one, but pointed out that the level of closeness was far less than between same-sex friends.

On the free response section of the questionnaire students differentiated between same-sex and opposite-sex friends, a question that was meant to address female-male friendship intimacy.¹⁴ The most common answer was that men and women could not talk to one another, which was mentioned by sixteen students (F=14, M=2).¹⁵ The second most common response, mentioned by twelve students (F=6, M=6), was that there were

no differences between same and opposite-sex friendships. The third most common response was that males and females think differently and hold different opinions, which was mentioned by nine students (F=7, M=2). Only three students mentioned sexual attraction as a reason why opposite-sex friendships were different, and all of these students (F=1, M=2) were in the third year of high school.¹⁶ My adult friends and colleagues, however, readily attributed the impossibility of opposite-sex friendship to sexual attraction. In chapter five I trace how the same-sex friend imperative at adolescence contributes to mutual alienation between men and women, and the persistence of gender roles and gender inequality in the public sphere.¹⁷

The group of twelve students who replied that there was no difference between same-sex and opposite-sex friendships was split between junior high and high school students, and none of the students elaborated upon their responses.¹⁸ These students may have had a flexible gender identity, and their responses may indicate their recognition of gains that women have made in status as the result of their presence in higher education, in corporate and public professional contexts, and in other public roles. When opposite-sex friendships occur, as they may have for these twelve respondents, perhaps it is because participants are able to regard one another as “peer” instead of “male peer” and “female peer.”

Age in Japanese friendship and at Kano

As discussed in the previous chapter, there is a difference between intimacy generated in a hierarchical corporate group and intimacy among colleagues of equivalent statuses (Lebra 1976). Friendship is not the goal of sempai-kōhai relationships, although

significant intimacy may be fostered within the hierarchical dyad or group. Friends—especially cherished best friends—are inevitably same-age peers.¹⁹

Kano students reported having more same-age friends than younger or older friends, and the ideal number of same-age friends was higher than the ideal number of older or younger friends.²⁰ Responding to the ideal and actual number of older friends, sixty-two (61.5%) percent of students thought zero to four older friends was ideal, and the median number of actual older friends was around three. Sixty-five (64.9%) percent of students reported the ideal number of younger friends was zero to four, and the median number of actual younger friends was also around three. That Kano students had older and younger friends at all may distinguish them from mainstream students. As noted in chapter two, at Kano there was more contact between students from different grades and the hierarchy of sempai-kōhai was less pronounced than it would have been at a mainstream school. This arrangement may have encouraged friendships among students of different ages. Another possibility is that Kano students were scoffing at the regime of hierarchy that prevails in mainstream schools. Nevertheless, in interviews they reported having more same-age friends and desiring this type of friend.

All interviewed students had more same-age than older and younger friends. In over half of the interview events, students told me that they had older and younger friends and that they did not find age difference an issue. In the remaining interview events students expressed a preference for same-age and younger friends, or reported that they could only have same-age friends. Students speculated that friendship with younger friends would be easier than friendship with someone older because with older students they would have to use respect language. Several students explained that they were

uncomfortable talking with persons older than themselves because it was “scary,” and made them feel “self-conscious.” Three female third-year high school students were emphatic that it was absolutely impossible to be friends with someone older.

Anticipation of leaving Kano and entering contexts with more rigid hierarchies may have informed their responses.

I observed that those students who reported that it was impossible to be friends with older students conformed to mainstream school norms in dress and comportment more so than those students who believed themselves capable of friendship with older persons. The latter were “delinquent types” insofar as they mimicked that style.

Background similarity in Japanese friendship and at Kano

Complementarity is an ideal of the Japanese workplace. Nakane (1970) explains that the Japanese corporation strives for complementary duties within its enterprise in order to foster self-sufficiency vis-à-vis other corporations and interdependence and cooperation among sections of the institution. In homeroom classes, teachers emphasize how differences in personality and skills enhance the quality of the *nakama* (Cave 2007). Mainstream homeroom classrooms, and every Kano homeroom, feature a bulletin board of class goals alongside a display of students’ hand-drawn pictures of themselves, often accompanied by an individuating aspect of the student such as a favorite animal or color. These bulletin boards represent the *nakama* bringing disparate persons into a singular whole with similar goals. Within the class *nakama*, students cull their friends, and the literature on Japanese friendship and adolescent friendship more generally indicates that students seek friendship with those who are most similar to themselves in terms of socioeconomic status, familial background, personality, and attitude.

Attraction to others like oneself has been explained as a function of Japanese personality tendencies. Hofstede (1984) proposes that the Japanese have high levels of “uncertainty avoidance.” In high uncertainty groups people favor predictable situations and seek familiarity in others. Gudykunst (1993) supports Hofstede’s proposition by demonstrating that Japanese deploy strategies for uncertainty reduction in communicative interaction. These methods include self-disclosure, interrogation, and frequency and duration of communication (Gudykunst 1993: 176). Moreover, since Japanese rely on non-verbal cues in reading others—easiest among intimates—among strangers they are more verbally and emotionally expressive in order to reduce uncertainty. Maeda and Ritchie (2003) argue that due to uncertainty avoidance, Japanese are less tolerant of diversity in a person’s background, and, as a consequence, seek friendships with like-others.

Strategies of uncertainty avoidance are indeed critical to Japanese friendship, and self-disclosure, interrogation, and frequency and duration of communication as means of intimacy-building among potential friends and established friends will be examined in the following chapter. In contrast to Hofstede (1984) and Gudykunst (1993), I interpret these as culturally valued ways of creating affiliations, and not as an outcome of psychological tendencies.

Among Kano students it was not obvious that they sought out peers for friendship based on interpersonal similarity.²¹ I asked students through the questionnaires to report the ideal and actual number of friends similar to them in terms of home environment and educational background. A-sensei warned me that this question would require students to make interpretations of their home environment and educational background, which

would be an unfamiliar task for them insofar as they were not used to talking about these personal details. Indeed, thirty-four out of eight-one survey respondents did not provide an actual number of friends for either of these criteria, and these questions had the highest number of non-responses for the entire survey.²² Given A-sensei's estimation of the students' abilities to respond and the large number of non-respondents, I decline to report and discuss these results. Kano students also responded to survey questions about the ideal and actual number of friends similar to themselves in terms of appearance/fashion and personality. Questionnaire responses indicated that they did not seek others who are like them in these respects.²³

In interviews the results differed, which I attribute to the interview context providing an opportunity for students to elaborate their answers. In interviews I asked students whether their friends were similar to them in terms of appearance/fashion and personality. I did not inquire about similarity of educational history and home environment since interviews were designed to be conducted in a group and I did not want to risk embarrassing students for not knowing about their home environment or elicit shame in reference to their unconventional home environments. In most of the interviews, students told me that their friends were like them in appearance and fashion. Criteria for determining similarity were the types of garments worn such as the school uniform, style of clothing, shoe choice, hairstyle, piercings, and color preference.

In less than half of the interviews, however, students reported that their friends were like them in personality. In an interview event with two female first-year high school students, they disagreed about whether it was good or bad that one's friends were similar in personality. One student argued that when friends are similar they can make

one another laugh. The other student retorted that if friends were not similar then it made talking as a group easier. By “easier” she meant that the conversation flowed better when students were not talking over one another or interrupting as would happen if there were too many domineering or loud personalities in a group. Students’ responses may have been inflected with culturally valued self-criticism described in the introductory chapter of this thesis. When I asked students to specify ways that their friends’ personalities were similar or different from their own, they reported that their friends were more athletic, smarter, louder (in speaking assertively), more obedient, and brighter, all of which are desirable adolescent qualities. A male first-year high school student parsed his friends: one was quiet and submissive like him and the other two were talkative—the latter being the more socially desirable type.

Nevertheless, some students were critical of their friends. A female third-year junior high school student reported that her friends were half like her in speaking their opinions—a positive attribute—and the other half not like her in talking about others’ behind their backs. And some students identified positive attributes in themselves and their friends. A male first-year high school student reported that his friends were like him insofar as they were all kind, and two female second-year high school students informed me that all their friends were like them since they all had good personalities.

I could neither determine if Kano student sought similarity in peers for friendship, nor judge, based on this study, if students were attracted to similarity in others, as the literature would suggest. In survey responses, students indicated little similarity between their friends and themselves, but in the interviews students identified points of similarity with multiple friends. Also affirming the notion that students became friends with like-

others were their presentation of friendship histories. In these they reported seeking out friends with similar temperament and interests.

Dyadic friends, polyadic friends, best friends, and friendship trajectory at Kano

Japanese adults aim to have a broad group of friends with a small subset of close friends (White 1993; Gudykunst 1993). Usually the closest friends are those with whom one attended school, elementary school through tertiary educational institutions. White (1993) uses the image of an hourglass to describe the pattern of friendship formation over the course a Japanese lifetime: during childhood a person has many playmates, but during adolescence the number of friends shrinks to a select few, and with adulthood the friendship range expands again (1993: 144).²⁴ Kano students' friendship trajectories affirmed this model.

In interviews I asked Kano students to describe their friendship configurations prior to entering elementary school, during the first three years of elementary school, during the last three years of elementary school, and during junior high school. High school students were asked about their friendship profile for high school. Students described how many friends they had at the time, where they made friends, what they did with their friends, and how many of their friends were male and female. I distinguished between the first three and last three years of elementary school on the advice of my graduate student colleagues, and it proved to be significant to the students. Students identified the end of the third year of elementary school as the point when they began socializing solely with members of the same-sex and started to form friendships based on attraction rather than proximity as they had with neighborhood friends prior to elementary school and with classmates during the first three years of elementary school.

Prior to elementary school students mostly played with neighborhood and kindergarten friends. They reported that their groups of friends were equally of both sexes, and typically friends played outdoor games. In the first three years of elementary school, students played games as a class in a large group of girls and boys. In the final three years of elementary school, groups of friends formed on the basis of similar temperament and interests. Students began to discriminate between peers they liked and peers they did not like. Girls broke into small groups of about four to six friends. Boys divided up into friend groups based on those who were good at sports and those who were good at school, and these groups became mutually exclusive. Friends began riding the train together and hanging out at video game centers and doing Karaoke. They also started making friends at cram school. Students also reported that this was when their friendships became deep.

In junior high school, groups of girls numbering five or six tended to break down into groups of two or three. Some students reported that although everyone was friendly at school, outside of school there were distinct friend groups, which a student told me were based on criteria such as preferences for certain celebrities. Friend groups would sometimes become cliquish and bully one another. This was also when students began developing friendships with peers in their afterschool clubs. High school students reported that everyone in their classes got along well one-on-one in spite of differences in appearance or personality, and friends hung out in groups of three or four of the same sex.

Questionnaire results further confirmed that having a select group of several friends was the predominant pattern for students.²⁵ As with all Japanese nouns,

terminology related to the concept of “friend” leaves the plural ambiguous. On the surveys and in interviews I had to add descriptors in order for students to distinguish between one friend and many. Japanese terms for “friend” include *shiriai* (acquaintance, singular or plural), *nakama* (not institutionally affiliated), *tomodachi* (friend, informal, singular or plural), *shinyū* (best friend, singular or plural), and *yūjin* (formal, often singular, sometimes plural). *Yūjin* is a more formal term for friend(s) than *tomodachi*. In the friendship questionnaires I used *yūjin* in the title, ‘Survey regarding friend relationships,’ but within the questionnaire and in interviews I used *tomodachi*. When speaking with someone unfamiliar or of a higher status, one might use the term *shitashi yūjin* (close friend, formal) when referring to any friend. None of the students and adults I queried about the precise meaning of these terms arrived at a consensus about their meanings and how many persons were indicated by these terms except in regard to *shinyū* (best friend), which they told me would likely be singular. Students typically had only one best friend.²⁶ And their closest friends were those they had known for the longest period of time.²⁷ In interviews students identified their best friends as neighborhood playmates or elementary school peers with whom they formed an enduring bond based on mutual affection. I examine the differences between friends and best friends in the following chapter when I consider how friendship intimacy evolves.

¹ Ideally, two men who wished to become blood brothers would undergo a ritual wherein a priest would offer a prayer for their alliance. Afterward the two men would take a solemn oath, kiss, and then scratch each other’s arms. This blood, mixed with wine, was then drunk by both (Brain 1977: 91). Saliva, beer, and milk sprayed into the friend’s mouth were other methods for forging a blood brotherhood relationship (1977: 76). According to German sources, blood brotherhood rituals were also used by missionaries who sought alliances with chiefs in Bali and Cameroon and traders in Australia. Additionally, the ritual has been used between tribes or castes in large society (Brain

1977: 88). When blood brotherhood was banned by the church, the institution of godparenthood gained strength. This friendship institution created an obligation of mutual support among two families through a pledge made during the christening ceremony of an infant child. Godparenthood flourished during medieval Europe with the growing importance of the Latin Christian church. Priests, by virtue of conducting the joining of families through christening and establishing the godparenthood, became a party to the relationship and in this way the church could inherit property of a godparent or child when there was no kin to claim it. The term gossip emerged from the term god-sibs, the children who became virtual siblings through godparenthood.

² Smart (1999) explains that Chinese strongly identify as *guanxiwang*; their selfhood is manifest through ‘nets of relationships,’ in the form of dyads “created and maintained through exchanges of favors, gifts, information, and support’ (129).

³ Since reciprocal favors become an incentive to build relationships, Abrahams wonders if friendship may be “an element in the human toolkit of survival” (1991: 166).

⁴ He lists these relationships (1) interest groups, (2) confidence under more or less complex conditions, (3) acquaintance, (4) discretion, (5) friendship, and (6) marriage (320-325).

⁵ Paine (1999) also describes clusters of associations between personhood and friendship and argues that friendship’s relative importance is associated with these. On the one hand are notions of individuality, autonomy, spontaneity, democracy, and the public and private spheres, and where these conceptualizations are elaborated friendship is highly valued. On the other hand are notions of interdependence, role fulfillment, familial prescriptive obligations, bond friendships, and where these conceptualizations are elaborated friendship is less important than other social relations. Where individuality is cultivated ‘general importance is attached to friendship’ (1999:40). He points out that in non-Western societies, where the self is but a fulfiller of roles, there is little independent self-awareness. Therefore, personal and private friendship is an impossibility—‘for where you do not know yourself you cannot know others’ (ibid.).

⁶ British sociologist Suttles writing in 1971 describes friendship in terms Carrier and Paine would identify as being typically Western and modern. Suttles offers four defining factors of friendship. First, in a friendship the other person is valued for personal qualities (hence instrumentality devalues true friendship). Second, friends treat the qualities and property of other as an extension of the other. Third, exchanges between friends are not evaluated by their appeal to the general public or market values; the affective load of the friendship bond confers limitless value on friend exchanges. Finally, friends must be regarded and appreciated as unique individuals.

⁷ Here he is echoing an ‘exchange bias’ in certain notions of friendship. If one cannot reciprocate equivalently within the friendship relationship then it becomes lopsided and untenable.

⁸ In non-modern groups gender may figure into what relationships are counted as friendship. Uhl (1991) describes how adult married women’s friendships are “under-recognized” in Andalucía where public male friendships are considered the norm. Married women have to conceal their friend intimacies and when visiting other villagers’ homes, they are careful to spend equal time at each one in order not to show favoritism,

even when they considered some neighbors to be “true friends” and others an obligation to visit.

⁹ Apologist, is how Brain (1977) might label Rezende. He argues that hierarchical friendships obscure hierarchy from the perspective of the disadvantaged, and in friendships of unequal status there is “always some attempt to level out or at least gloss over the glaring discrepancies of social and economic status” (1977: 109). He notes that Pitt-Rivers calls such relationships lopsided, and attempts at obscuring the authority of the state, aristocrats, and other men of wealth and means (1977:111).

¹⁰ The popular contemporary term “sex-friend,” transliterated from English and pronounced as “sekkusu furendo,” refers to a couple who engage in sexual activity without a commitment.

¹¹ In addition to ethnographers of schools, other anthropologists of Japan have noted that friendship is a same-sex institution. Hendry (1992) reports that when she asked a Japanese friend for help in cultivating a group of informants, the friend used her all-female tennis club to cull friends, leaving the ethnographer with a single sex group. Yano (1997) demonstrates that members of a predominantly female fan club of a popular singer are able to form enduring friendships. Allison (1994) likewise limits her discussion of friendship to one sex.

¹² After the interview I asked him if he had any questions for me and without pause he asked, “Do you have a boyfriend?” I replied yes and he asked more questions about how we had met, how long we had been together, et cetera. I believe this underscored his present identity issues and lent weight to interpreting his answer based on the imperative of same-sex friends and opposite-sex lovers.

¹³ On the friendship questionnaire, Kano students reported their ideal number of opposite-sex friends and the actual number of these. Sixty-eight (67.5%) percent of students reported that ideally they would have between zero and four opposite-sex friends. In terms of the actual number of opposite-sex friends, the modal number (13 of 77 respondents) was two and sixty-eight (67.9%) percent of respondents listed four or fewer opposite-sex friends.

¹⁴ My colleagues at the University of Tokyo and I determined that this form of the question would elicit responses regarding the potentialities of male-female friendships. They thought that to have translated the common inquiry—can men and women be friends, why or why not—would have resulted in a superficial “yes, of course it’s possible for anyone to be friends.”

¹⁵ Sixty-two out of eighty-one surveyed students responded to the question and four students (F=2, M=2) replied they did not know. Fifty-eight respondents (F=36, M=26) remained in the group.

¹⁶(1) Male: 異性は接し方に注意する. (2) Female: .恋愛対象として見てしまう. (3) Male 見ため、好きな事、その他多数.

¹⁷ Insofar as this imperative is based in ideas about male and female sexuality, this is an area where gender and sexuality intersect and result in inequality. This is an important area for future research.

¹⁸ They expressed that there was no difference with phrases such as 変わらない ; 違わない ; 基本あまり変わらないと思う ; 同じ

¹⁹ Given the structure of Kano, with junior high and high school students in the same building, it was easy to discern differences between junior high and high school friendships. In interviews I asked faculty about these differences and they generally reported that in junior high school, students were cliquish and exclusive in their friendships, whereas in high school, students broadened their friend group and became more accepting of students who were different from themselves. The third-year junior high school class teacher made this distinction neatly in explaining that junior high school relationships were “surface,” and that “they break off easily, students don’t work through their problems, and they reject others easily.” But, in high school students can “express themselves better, know when they’re hurting others, and have deeper relationships.”

²⁰ On the questionnaires, students listed their ideal and actual number of friends, older friends, younger friends, and friends that were the same age as themselves. The modal response to the ideal number of friends (given by 21 out of 78 students) was more than ten. The median actual number of friends was seven. I used median since there were some outrageously high responses. The ideal number of same-age friends was divided: twenty-six percent (26.0%) reported three to four friends, thirty-three (32.5%) percent reported five to ten friends, and thirty (29.9%) percent reported more than ten friends. The median number of actual same-age friends was almost seven, the same as for the ideal number of friends in total.

²¹ Scholarship points to cross-culturally adolescents seeking similarity in friends. Based on a survey of the literature on child and adolescent friendships, Rubin et al. (2008) demonstrate a preponderance of evidence that children form friendships with others who are similar in ethnicity and behavior. French et al. (2003) in a study of 132 Indonesian children found that children share more in common with their friends in preferences, level of academic achievement, behavior, and tendency toward social withdrawal than with non-friends. But Giordano (2003) attributes similarity in friends among children and adolescents to groups of children mutually influencing one another over time. I do not consider the theoretical implications or behavioral and structural origins of similarity among Japanese friends, but this would be an interesting area for future research.

²² In general the number of responses to all questions asking for an “actual number” was lower than for other sections. This might be because the “actual number” response required students to fill in a number instead of circling a number, which entailed greater effort. Although this could indicate that for the given criteria, they had no friends, I would hesitate to make this interpretation since some students listed zero.

²³ Seventy-two percent of respondents reported it was ideal to have zero to two friends like them in terms of style and personality. The modal number of students with friends of the same appearance/fashion was zero (42.3%). Sixty-four (63.5%) percent of the students listed zero to two friends similar in personality as ideal. The modal number of actual similar friends was one (30.2%).

²⁴ A nineteen-year-old female explained to White (1993) how the hourglass model played out for her in entering adulthood. In discussing her adolescent best friend in contrast to

adult friends she said, “without saying a word we can read each others’ minds just by looking in each others’ eyes... And then there are my group friends; we don’t talk about anything deep—we try to avoid problems and just play” (1993: 141).

²⁵ On surveys they responded to the question of whether they preferred to hang out with one friend or in a group of friends. Fourteen (13.6%) percent of respondents preferred a group to a dyad. Forty-three (43.2%) percent had no preference either way. Another forty-three (43.2%) percent preferred to hang out in a dyad.

²⁶ Students also listed their ideal and actual number of best friends. Ideally students (68.4%) preferred having one to two best friends. In listing the actual number, thirty (29.5%) percent of students reported that they had one best friend, and twenty-four (24.1%) percent of students reported having two best friends.

²⁷ On surveys sixty-four percent (64.2%) of students reported that their closest friends were those that they had known the longest.

Chapter Four: Talk and Agonism in Intimacy-Building

Critique:

1998: One afternoon T-san and I were enjoying coffee, sweet cakes, and foreign language exchange, the weekly custom of our nearly year-long acquaintance, when her jaw dropped with penetrating realization. Looking me up and down she nodded and declared in well-structured English, “You’re cute, but you’re not beautiful.”

Was this a compliment? Insult? Blindsided, but committed to our rules of interaction, I mustered a string of Japanese, “Like younger-sister cute? Right? I’ve been told I look like that kind of cute.”

“You’re cute,” she repeated with a firm nod.

I had a hunch that T-san was not violating any interactional maxim, and I was in new territory with neither footing nor cue to my line. Later I would learn that this frank assessment about me was a maneuver to generate friendship intimacy—she was telling me about me in a forthright manner. “No...really, you think so?” would have been the appropriate response to her observation, giving T-san the opportunity to expand on my cuteness, explain why it failed to meet the beauty standard, and inform me of the significance of my position on the spectrum of aesthetic appeal. But we had only known each other for months—were we even friends yet?

Interrogation:

2007: It was nearing eleven pm. My coworkers and I had spent all day celebrating Christmas at Kano Academy. The party was a yearly event engineered to instruct students in volunteerism, the virtue of free participation. Several weeks of

earnest preparation had culminated in a morning of intense decorating for the one pm party, which ended at five after students and staff had finished cleaning. By six school personnel and friends of the school were seated at a dinner banquet that lasted until ten. At eleven, teachers and younger staff members, numbering about fifteen, arrived at a bar where we were seated at a long table for our ‘after-party,’ a chance to relax decorum over a few drinks additional to those consumed at the banquet.

Being the foreigner, researcher, asker of many questions that stimulated (fascinating) discussion, I had been given a seat near the middle of the table. Next to me was the head of the school’s daughter, K-san, who was my age and with whom I had a strong affinity and comfortable informant relationship—daily we giggled over topics personal, professional, and cultural. Not long after the second round of drinks had been ordered, the moment arrived.

A math teacher known for extreme vacillation in proposing marriage to his longtime girlfriend opened discussion on the issue at one end of the table. The calligraphy teacher, his friend, took the bait and launched into a brutal Socratic exercise to address the math teacher’s reservations and lead him to the conclusion that he should propose. Everyone around the table watched with nods of agreement at the calligraphy teacher’s reasoning and smiles of bemusement at the math teacher well on his way to swearing an oath that a proposal would be issued by the end of the year. It was a situation I had witnessed before, and the interrogation was unnervingly familiar, as I had undergone it myself. Like the other occasions, I was awed by the calligraphy teacher’s harsh treatment of his friend and bewildered by the math teacher’s submission. When I had been the subjected, I nearly broken into tears. Resistance was futile.

As the exchange was waning, I turned to K-san and inquired, “Don’t you think W-san (the calligraphy teacher) was being a little bit cruel?”

She shook her head. “Why would you think that?”

“He seemed overbearing and mean. Why was he talking like that?”

“He was helping the math teacher resolve a problem.”¹

“What do you mean by helping?”

To this K-san explained that friends draw out your inner truths. You talk for a while and gradually your friend will reveal your true preferences in a given situation. From this point the friend is best able to instruct you on how to proceed. K-san then asked, “How do you resolve your problems?”

“Well, I listen to my friend’s suggestions. But then I consider all the options available and make the decision on my own. It’s my private business.”

“You mean your friends don’t help you?”

“Well...” Had my friends ever been so generous?

Introduction

This chapter concerns friendship-work among Kano students and focuses on two types of friend interactions, “talk” and “enhanced talk,” which are fundamental to intimacy-building. *Enhanced talk* includes practices like those of critique and interrogation, which can be considered agonistic because they are performances of conflict wherein friends take up dominant and subordinate postures in their exercise of power. Among friends agonism opens space for moral reasoning and precipitates intensification of friends’ relationships. In these speech events a speaker tells an interlocutor about the interlocutor; in *talk* the speaker self-discloses. *Talk* similarly

generates intimacy, but is most significant at the onset of friendship. It indexes the private sphere and *honne*, genuine, interaction. When peers engage in *talk* they cross the threshold into friend territory.

Overwhelmingly Kano students referenced the speaking dyad when characterizing their friends, and within this dyad they emphasized the value of the listening role: a good friend was a good listener. Concerning speakers there was greater ambivalence. Students wanted their friends to be good speakers, and certainly wanted to be good speakers themselves, but speaking was a risky endeavor. Speakers in *talk* must be unabashed and honest: they voiced their likes, dislikes, worries, crushes, ambitions, etc. There was an element of personal risk in becoming a speaker insofar as this role entailed confronting one's identity, expressing one's opinions, and ultimately revealing one's "true self." In agonistic interactions speakers revealed truths about their friends. Agonism entailed taking an aggressive stance toward the listener in leading him or her to correct action and right perspective. Speakers wagered on the level of friend-intimacy in presuming on the willingness of the listener to submit to the speaker's moral authority. They had to depend on the listener's assent that they were more than "just friends."

More desirable was identification with the passive listener role, although no less challenging in terms of effort. Listeners in *talk* practiced empathy in comprehending the thoughts and feelings of the speaker; in agonism they strove for understanding of themselves and their circumstances from the speaker. In descriptions of *talk*, students edified the listening role in characterizing a good friend as someone who was a good listener, kind, thoughtful, and empathetic; he or she was someone students wanted to *talk* to. The listening role was likewise emphasized in agonistic interactions. As malleable

and obedient listeners to the advices of forthright, earnest, and emphatic speakers, they received lessons in right and wrong, and good and bad, and they learned how to perceive themselves and their actions. Insofar as agonistic interaction led to future moral action, students in close friendship had a straightforward decision-making strategy: listen.

Talk and *enhanced talk* were means for Kano friends to fulfill responsibilities to one another, and their performances as listeners and speakers provided grounds for trust and betrayal. Keeping friends' secrets, inviting friends to join in group events, and honoring friends' wishes were likewise friend duties, but when Kano students referred to trust, they emphasized friends' roles in *talk* and *enhanced talk*. Fulfilling these responsibilities promoted hierarchical intimate relationships such as those between dyads like parent-child or spouses. Paradigmatic of interaction between these dyads is an inferior motivating the superior into action. When speakers (the superior/active party) in *talk* self-disclose, they are submitting their true selves to their interlocutors (the inferior/passive party) who has the power to accept or reject the speaker's disclosure. When speakers in *enhanced talk* take an aggressive stance toward their interlocutors, they are presuming that interlocutors will indulge the speaker's assumption of authority. In both instances the seemingly passive listener is the party being presumed upon and the one hailed as the powerful role. Situating the listener as the powerful party—the one with the ability to act on the actions of others—empowers the subordinate position even as speakers from the position of dominance control interaction and direct listeners in correct action and perspective.

Friends' speaking interactions are challenging and rewarding. They are challenging practices of empathy: listeners in *talk* offer empathy as a context for speakers

to take a risk and reveal themselves, and speakers in agonistic interaction use empathetic knowledge to lead their interlocutors in correct thought and action. Opportunity for self-revelation and guidance through rocky moral terrain are the fruits of friendship-work. The intimacy that they generate deepens friendship bonds and empowers the parties to it. In the following sections I analyze friendship intimacy-building practices beginning with *talk*.

Talk

Kano students made *talk* the principal context of friendship-work, and *talk* had particular relevance to the nascent stages of their friend relationships. *Talk* was characterized by a self-disclosing speaker and empathetic listener. But self-disclosure could be a daunting prospect, especially for Kano students, many of whom had their trust shaken by prior peer rejection and felt shame concerning their periods of withdrawal. Depending on one another to be empathetic listeners, however, was a necessary first step for peers to move from *tatema* to *honne* interaction and thus achieve friendship. I begin this section with a discussion of the meaning of speaking for Kano students. Upon returning to the school environment, they sought a voice to communicate even the most mundane aspects of their lives to teachers and peers. Their struggles with finding a voice reference cultural meanings of silence and withdrawal, on the one hand, and social engagement and speaking on the other. Following this discussion I turn to the meaning of *talk* for Kano students. *Talk* differed from chatting and conversation and students used particular vocabulary to describe this form of interaction.

Meanings of speaking and talk to Kano students

Kano's futōkōsei arrived at the academy with, at the very least, a willingness to venture back into the environment from which they had been alienated for months and even years. What marked a successful transition between withdrawal and reintegration was the ability to engage in conversation. Making their voices audible was a sign to their teachers and parents, and to themselves, that they had crossed the line from futōkōsei to student. The silence of withdrawal had been a domain of a suffering and unhealthy selfhood, and speaking was the domain where they could find expression, connection to others, and discover their ideal selves.

At the end of the 2007 academic year, students reflected upon their experiences in the form of a short essay published in the annual graduation book. Students were free to choose their theme and some students ruminated on a favorite television show or described an athletic undertaking they pursued at school.² Some students used the opportunity to bid farewell to the third-year high school graduates or to peers who were leaving Kano for a mainstream junior high or high school. Some students did not submit an essay. But the overwhelming majority of the students participated, and most of these students alluded to, if not outright detailed, their struggles with being futōkōsei and the transformation they underwent in breaking through the negativity of silence to gain connectedness to others and a reformed, conversing self. Teachers monitored the content and writing of the essays, and most students approached them as a chance to raise the voice that they wish their community to hear.

Marking the end of the 2006-7 academic year, 39 junior high school students submitted essays for the graduation books.³ Thirty-two of the essays referenced aspects of students' periods of absenteeism, the challenges of returning to school, and the

activation of their voices in tandem with the emergence of new selves. A dominant theme in the students' writings was the silence that qualified the experience of being futōkōsei and speaking to others as a means to overcome withdrawal behavior; realizing one's voice marked a return to social life. A female second-year student neatly identified speaking as the means to becoming a new self, someone she "like[d] much better." She described the transformation she'd undergone at the school: "I'm still new here, and it hasn't been long since I left my former self and became someone I like much better. Before I came to Kano, I didn't say much and just stayed at my house in my room. But now that I'm at Kano, I still don't say much in my room, but I've begun to speak a whole lot more."⁴

A female second-year student noted how the ability to speak was critical to connecting with others, becoming accustomed to her new environment, and to "having fun". She wrote, "At the start of my time at Kano I couldn't speak at all but there were a lot of nice girls in the junior high school, and after about two or three days, I was able to speak to others and make friends. Gradually I got used to being at Kano and even had a fun time conversing with the teachers."⁵ This student noted how being surrounded by a group of "nice girls" provided her with the ease to speak up. Another student emphasized that knowing that there were "good people" at the school encouraged her to speak. She characterized her withdraw as a time of fear and mistrust of others, but this changed when the "good people" of Kano Academy provided a context for her to regain trust in peers and teachers:

In September, a friend introduced me to Kano. At that time I didn't trust anyone, neither friends nor adults, and I was scared of everyone. But I repeated to myself, 'It's going to be okay, everyone at this school are good

people.’ Even though I was thinking it, I was cowering in fear. At first, when I got to Kano I was too timid and didn’t trust anyone, but I intended to change that. Even though I had to change, I wasn’t able to. But the teachers and the other students in my class spoke with me and laughed with me, and I’m so thankful for that. For the first time in my junior high school life, I was doing printclub and I was so happy. Little by little I began to trust people again.⁶

A male third-year student likewise discussed how Kano was a school environment that facilitated speaking with others to the extent that he was able to make friends and become comfortable and happy. With his newfound verbal confidence he could even talk to teachers, a significant milestone for him. He wrote: “I’ve been at Kano since around December. At first I wasn’t feeling like I belonged here, but gradually I got used to it and then became quite happy. I made a lot of friends and without taking many days off, I attended school. Even with teachers for the most part I could speak and that made me really happy.”⁷

Merely being present at Kano was not sufficient grounds for these students to regard themselves as having overcome their futōkōsei pasts. Being able to converse with teachers and students was the yardstick they used to measure the distance from futōkōsei to student. And it was an empathetic school environment that provided the impetus to speak. In friendship intimacy-building practices discussed below it is the listener who provides such an environment for speakers to engage in *talk* and *enhanced talk*.

Kano students’ ideas about the silence of withdrawal and the effects of speaking were shaped by their particular experiences as futōkōsei, and these resonate with more broadly shared ideas. In a discussion of Naikan therapy, a psychotherapeutic technique native to Japan, Ozawa-De Silva (2006) reflects on the ambivalence of silence. Naikan

therapy involves spending days seated alone in silence while reflecting on one's indebtedness to others. Therapeutic silence is broken several times in the course of a day, such as when patients say thank you to the person bringing their meal and during periodic fifteen minute interviews for patients to relate their meditative insights to a Naikan therapist. Silence, Ozawa-De Silva explains, is a performative expression of withdrawal from society, and in this way it feels unnatural and lonely. It is also a pure, salutary space for respite where a person can realign his or her approach to parents, teachers, children, friends, and coworkers in order to achieve better relationships and, ultimately, psychological well-being. Clearly there is ambivalence about silence for those engaging in Naikan therapy, and perhaps likewise for Kano students at the time of their initial withdrawal. But with sustained withdrawal students came to identify with the negative qualities of silence. In chapter one I refer to data from MEXT demonstrating that with continued withdrawal from school, absentee students report an increase in mental disorders. By the time Kano students returned to school, their silence has manifested in fear of others and mistrust that could only be overcome by mustering the confidence to speak.

In students' withdrawal narratives, they recalled the experience of reassuring themselves that the school was filled with "good people," which gave them the courage to break their silence and share their voices with others. Speaking was a challenge but there was much to gain, particularly the ability to make friends.

Beckoning, speaking up, and friendship formation

As discussed in chapter three, Japanese acquaintances have the potential to become friends when conditions of friendship like same-sex, same-age, same-institution

and background are met and there is transcendence of instrumental exchange through mutual commitment to an expressive relationship—a relationship for its own sake. Kano students demonstrated commitment to friendship, marking the movement from acquaintance to friend, through *talk*, which confirmed the relationship in the honne domain and an expressive relationship.

Beckoning to (*maneku*) one's peers and speaking up (*hanashikakeru*) are preludes to *talk*. These occur when one is new to a context and as yet forming acquaintances. They are less risky maneuvers than *talk*; the former are well-articulated speech acts related to the interplay of individual and group. Beckoning is done as soon as possible when a newcomer enters a class, company, or any such association. During interviews I asked students if they thought it was the responsibility of the group to beckon to a new person, or if it was the responsibility of the new person to beckon to the group. Every interviewee stated that it was the responsibility of the group to beckon to the new arrival. Students rationalized this duty as a means of reducing the nervousness and anxiety of the newcomer.⁸ Newcomers, they informed me, were categorically exempt from approaching members of a group. A newcomer could not be expected to beckon because he or she would be ignorant of group norms; he or she “didn’t know how to talk to others yet.” Newcomers, for their part, speak up in accepting the gesture to join in activities.

Beckoning and speaking up are acts of politesses and collegiality. They improve *ninjen kankei* (discussed in chapter two), and they are interactional maxims that may be understood as institutionalizations of culturally-valued dependency, *amae*. *Amae* relationships are characterized by a superior-inferior dyad. As the inferior depends on the superior and the superior takes care of the inferior, intimacy is fostered through

dependency interactions. In a “beckoning and speaking up” exchange, the group, the superior party, initiates a dependency relationship with beckoning, and, in speaking up, the individual, the inferior party, accepts it. Nishikawa (2009) brings *amae* and these speech acts together in a personal reflection on her experience as a graduate student in Sweden:

In Japan, with a concept of *amae*, we can expect others to come by and offer help. However, it did not work when I had all Swedish classmates... Once I thought the difficulty in communication was because of the language. When I learned Swedish, however, I realized that it was not about the language. In order to communicate with people, I needed to push myself in front of them instead of expecting them to come to me. (2009: 10)

In contrast to Japan where the group invariably initiates a relationship, and it is within the individual’s purview to speak up and accept the group’s leadership, in Sweden Nishikawa, in the inferior role, had to beckon.

When the individual has been integrated into the group, he or she can beckon to peers to cultivate friendships. Kano students elaborated that once a newcomer was used to a new environment he or she was free to beckon to others by approaching them for conversation, texting them, or suggesting a joint activity. When asked about the length of time for a newcomer between being beckoned to and beckoning to others, students provided answers ranging from a day to a week.

Beckoning and speaking up engendered acquaintance intimacy among Kano peers. When acquaintances began to engage in frequent conversation and hang out between school and home, the context was set for them to begin *talking* with one another. Students distinguished “chatting and conversation” from *talk*, and referred to the former as a potential space for the emergence of friendship and the latter as the domain of

friendship-building. I elicited the process of friendship formation through a series of questions based on initial prompts: “in general, is making friends difficult,” “how long does it take to make a friend,” and “how do you know when you’ve become friends with someone.” In almost half of the interview events, when asked about the friend-making processes, the students, all female, responded similarly: *making friends was difficult if you couldn’t speak to others, but it was easy if you could*. In these interviews students referred to speaking with vocabulary like converse (*shaberu*), speak (*hanasu*), speak up (*hanashikakeru*), and conversation catchball (*kaiwa kyacchibōru*).⁹ This was casual speaking among peers with whom there was an orientation towards the development of friendship.¹⁰

There is a shift in conversation that occurs when a peer is becoming friend. Conversation becomes more fluent and natural; the speaker feels less restrained and self-conscious. This is the beginning of the shift from *tatemae* to *honne* interaction. In chapter two, I discussed how *tatemae* interaction is incompatible with significant intimacy. Open, free conversation is the *sine qua non* of *honne* interaction and likewise of friendship. Among peers in the *nakama*, *tatemae* obtains without friendship. And where there is hierarchy, as between the sexes, it is difficult for conversation to reach the intimacy of *honne* interaction. When asked to differentiate between same sex and opposite sex friends, the most common response on the questionnaire was that males and females could not talk to one another (F=14, M=2).

Students figured *talk* as the interactive space of friendship and engagement in *talk* signaled that they had achieved friendship. On the questionnaires 23 students (F=11, M=12) wrote that they recognized a friendship had formed when they could discuss

“certain things” such as their worries, and their concerns.¹¹ In describing the kind of speaking that indicated friendship, a male second-year junior high school student wrote that he knew a friend had been made when he could “readily talk to someone and discuss things with him.”¹² A male student in the third-grade of junior high school offered that he knew a friend had been made “when he could talk without restraint.”¹³ To the question of how they knew someone had become a friend, half of the interview events generated the most common response on the questionnaire: *you know you’ve made friends when you can discuss certain things with that person.*¹⁴

When referring to speaking amongst friends interview respondents used terms like discuss (*sōdan suru*), conversational fit (*hanashiawaseru, kaiwa ga awaseru*), and talk with one another (*hanashi ni au*). On the questionnaires, in addition to these verb constructions, students described talk with friends as seamless talk (*sumūzu ni hanashi ga dekiru*), authentic talk (*hone de hanaseru*), and normal talk (*fūtsū ni hanaseru*) when they were expressing the evolution from acquaintance to friend.

The second most common response on the surveys, given by fifteen students (F=11, M=4), was that they knew they had become friends when they started hanging out a lot, or when it became normal to hang out a lot. Based on behavioral observation I can specify that student hanging out involved much verbal exchange, and among friend these exchanges seemed more fluent than speaking among classroom peers. A female second-year high school student referred to this correlation in equating *talk* with comfortable co-presence. For her friendship began when “you talked naturally and got along well.”¹⁵ Her female classmate echoed this in joint description of a good friend as “someone you got along with and could talk about anything with.”¹⁶

Additionally, several students responded that friend-realization occurred when their friends were able to tell them something about themselves; put another way, students marked friendship by the ability for their friends to empathize with them to the extent that they could communicate information about the person to the person, or other-reveal. A friendship was established when “a friend got truly angry with me and truly pleased with me,” wrote a first-year junior high school student.¹⁷ Her female classmate offered that friendship occurred when “friends could exchange advice about one another, and emphasize your good points to you.”¹⁸ A female second-year high school student thought friendship had occurred when someone “could teach me about myself.”¹⁹ A pretext for other-revelation was the experience of self-revelation. Attending to information revealed in *talk* allowed students to demonstrate their status as friends through mutual appraisal. These practices of other-revelation might not be agonistic, especially if they occurred at the beginning of a friendship when the intimacy was fresh. Friend agonism necessitates a level of deep friendship intimacy to be differentiated from bullying.

The shift in vocabulary to describe friend speaking in contrast to chatting and conversation indicates the category of *talk*. I derive the categories of *talk* and *enhanced talk* from students’ narratives as a means of describing their intimacy-building practices. In the following sections I examine these categories based on students’ discussions of good friends, bad friends, and best friends. Students represented these ideal types as speakers and listeners, and in so doing, they also indicated ways that *talk* and *enhanced talk* are power practices. I begin my description of these practices with a presentation of students’ responses to the following queries from questionnaires and interviews: ‘a good

friend is what kind of person,' 'what kind of friend do you desire at present,' 'a bad friend is what kind of person,' 'what kind of person would you not want to become friends with,' and 'what is the difference between a friend and a best friend.'²⁰ Following this, I analyze speaker and listener roles in *talk* and *enhanced talk* to demonstrate student elaboration of the subordinate listening role.

Good friends, bad friends, and best friends

On the free response portion of the friendship questionnaire I asked students: A good friend is what kind of person?²¹ By a margin of one respondent, the most frequently mentioned category (F=20, M=6) was a bundle of responses that I termed *open talk*.²² This referred to a friend with whom there was freedom of disclosure and included responses such as "someone I could tell anything to," "someone I could discuss anything with," "someone I could tell all my problems to," and "someone I could share my opinions with." The second most common response (F=15, M=10), was that a good friend was "empathetic, considerate, and kind." A female second-year junior high school described this kind of friend as "someone who was sensitive to others and comfortable to be around."²³ Such a listener would consider the speaker's risk in self-revelation and would allow her friend to unburden with ease. Moreover she would make an effort to understand the nuance and specificity of her friend's narrative.

The third most frequently mentioned category (F=11, M=2) was the set of characteristics: "someone who would tell me about my good/bad qualities" and "someone who would tell me about my right/wrong actions." Responses in this category included one given by a female first-year high school student who described a good friend as "someone who helped me, someone who corrected my bad points."²⁴ A female first-year

junior high school student likewise thought a good friend was someone who “truthfully advised me about my mistakes, someone who got to know the true me.”²⁵ A female second-year high school explained that a good friend was “someone who was good for me and quarreled with me about what was wrong (with me),”²⁶ and a male first-year high school student qualified a good friend as someone who “told me “bad is bad.”²⁷ I interpret these responses as referencing students’ roles in agonistic interaction when speakers inform interlocutors of their good and bad points, and correct and incorrect action.

In interviews, the most common response to the question of what was a “good friend,” was that good friends were empathetic, considerate, and kind (F=3 events, M=4 events).²⁸ Two junior high school female students responded that they would like a friend who “thought about you” and who was “grown up.” When one proposed that it would be nice to have a friend who “took care of me like a mother,” the other heartily agreed. The next most common answers were (1) good friends were people you could talk to (F=3 events, M=2 events), (2) good friends were those who told you when you were doing something wrong (F=2 events, M=2 events), and (3) good friends were those who were straightforward and honest (F=3 events). Two high school males, one in the third grade and one in the second, gave similar answers in separate interviews: one wanted a friend with whom he could “share deep feelings” (HS2) and the other wanted a friend who was “deep and I could talk to” (HS3).

In these responses Kano students referenced performance in doing *talk* and agonism. They focused on the role of the listener and qualified this person as someone who would be sufficiently understanding and deep to kindly receive personal

information, and who would provide an empathic reaction, much like a mother. They also referenced the listener in seeking friends who would be straightforward in correcting the listener's bad points and honest in leading him or her to correct action. The theme of focusing on the role of the listener in a speaking dyad appears again in discussion of bad friend characteristics.

In response to the question, 'A bad friend is what kind of person?' the most common response was "delinquent/bad influence" (F=10, M=10).²⁹ Sixteen students (F=12, M=4) gave the second most common response, "someone who insulted others." The third most frequently mentioned bad friend characteristic (F=5, M=5) was the category of "someone who betrayed others." In six interview events (F=3, M=3) students provided the most common response as the free response section of the surveys: a bad friend was a delinquent/bad influence. When questioned further, students reported that these types of friends would pressure you into smoking and going out when you did not feel like it, and they were the type of person who littered. As in the questionnaire, the second most common interview response was "someone who insulted you" (F=3 events, M=1 events).

When asked about what kind of person they did not desire as a friend, students most often listed personal qualities, including selfish, annoying, snobby, mean, and cold (F=3 events, M=2 events). Students equated a bad friend with a "bad personality" (F=1 event, M=1 event). In half of the interviews, students responded using adjectives to reference individual character, which contrasted with other similar interview responses and in the written surveys where students mainly used action terms in their description of others.

How was this question different? One explanation would be that the question struck students as odd and unfamiliar, and in the absence of an established answer, students were grasping for language. The question, however, followed similar questions such as “what kind of friend would you like” and “what kind of person is a good/bad friend,” which would indicate that the students were prepped to provide a response. Indeed, with alacrity they responded to the question of undesirable friends with adjectival description; the undesirable friend was notably concrete. I suspect that the timing of this question, at the tail-end of the interview, elicited a particular individual—as the interviewer had been seeking specific examples of friend experience throughout the interview—and students conveyed their impressions of this person.

The “delinquent” was many students’ archetype of the bad friend. There were quite a few Kano students, particularly in the high school, who self-identified as delinquent and whom teachers described as delinquents in interviews. Combating delinquency was a Kano faculty imperative. In chapter one I noted that the only “rules” for high school students were (1) obey the law and (2) treat oneself as important. Smoking, drinking, and stealing were the three domains referenced by the former. One afternoon following the lunch recess, the staff was notified by residents of an adjacent apartment building that they had witnessed several Kano students smoking on the street. The school counselor prepared a statement of reprimand, lacking any specific threat of punishment, which he read to each class individually after interrupting the ongoing lesson. The high school students I was teaching at the time were nonplussed. Kano students were familiar with delinquent behavior.

In interviews I asked students to describe delinquents and if they could become friends with delinquents. Most all the students affirmed that they could be friends with a delinquent and many boasted that they in fact had such friends. When Kano students reported that bad friends were delinquents and that they did not desire delinquent friends, they were not necessarily being anti-delinquent, but were referencing the desire for morally-sound leadership that close friends were expected to provide. Figuratively, a law-breaking delinquent, like the insulter, would be unable fulfill this role.

On the survey and in interviews students responded to the question, “in what ways is a friend different from a best friend?” Their answers might be summed up: best friends are those with whom one has *absolute confidence*. Overwhelmingly this was the most common response (F=13, M=8).³⁰ Speakers in best friendships dug deeper in their self-revelation and listeners accumulated greater understanding of their friends. A best friend was someone with whom you could confide, disclose, and discuss anything. Referring to *absolute confidence* a male second-year high school student expressed that a best friend was “someone you could open up to about worries and concerns,” and added that “a friend was someone you couldn’t do that with.”³¹ A male third-year high school student explained that “a best friend was someone you could say anything to from the heart, even if always together, you didn’t get sick of one another, a friend was someone you were close to.”³²

The next most common responses with six students each were (1) a best friend was someone who knew my heart/ the true me (F=4, M=2), and (2) a best friend was someone I trusted (F=3, M=3). Five students (F=4, M=1) also mentioned that a best friend was someone who gave them comfort and was easy to be around. The first two of

these responses indicate *absolute confidence*. Best friends who know the true heart of another are those with whom interactions of *absolute confidence* had occurred. I discuss trust at the end of this chapter and link notions of trust and betrayal to performing best friend duties such as providing *absolute confidence*. The responses that mentioned “giving comfort” and “ease in being around” were concomitant with the duties of the listening role, which I discuss further in the following section.

Interviewed students were most descriptive during the sequence of questions about differences between nakama, friend, and best friend. The most commonly mentioned characteristic of a best friend was *absolute confidence*, someone to whom you could tell anything, tell your secrets to, and confide in from the heart (F=6, M=4). The second most common response (F=3, M=5), was that a best friend was someone you could trust. Five students (F=2, M=3) mentioned the third most commonly characteristic: a best friend was someone who you hung out with regularly. Constancy in affection over time was important to students. As noted at the end of chapter three, students’ closest friends were those they had known the longest.

Table 3: Friend characteristics from questionnaire respondents

	Female (%)	Male (%)	Total (%)
Good friend			
Open talk	56	21	40
Empathetic	42	34	38
Critical	31	7	20
Trustworthy	17	14	15
Bad friend			
Delinquent	26	36	30
Insulting	31	14	24
Betrayer	13	18	15
Best friend			
Confidence	40	35	38
Knows me	12	9	17
Trust	9	13	17
Comfortable	12	4	9

Notes: “I don’t know” and joke responses excluded. Students’ answers were coded for as many items as conceptually emerged from their responses.

Gender and friend qualities in interviews and on questionnaires

Although their responses were generally similar, on the friendship questionnaires male and female students offered differing perspectives on the qualities of “good” and “bad” friends. From the good friend categories respondents (F=37, M=29) more than three times as many female answers were coded for “open talk” as male (F=20, M=6). There was also a notable gender difference in the third most common response to the quality of a good friend: “someone who would point out friends’ good and bad points and correct the bad ones” (F=11, M=2). More students overall responded to the question eliciting characteristics of a bad friend, and the most common response, “delinquent,” was noted by male and female students equally (F=10, M=10). The second most common response, however, was referenced by more female students than male. Sixteen students (F=12, M=4) wrote that a bad friend was someone who insulted others.

These responses could be related to gender differences in friendship dynamics. Perhaps female students feared having friends who would be insulting because they anticipated more criticism in their friend interactions. Excessive female criticism has been linked to extreme dieting and thinness in Japanese women. In a *Washington Post* article (March 7, 2010) Hisako Watanabe, psychiatrist of eating disorders, attributes the phenomena of Japanese women becoming thinner over the past three decades to “women looking critically at other women.” She explains that “Japanese women are outstandingly tense and critical of each other... there is a pervasive habit among women to monitor each other with a serious sharp eye to see what kind of slimness they have” (Harden 2010).³³ Another way that friendship styles could be gendered relates to notions of male superiority. Perhaps in specifying “open talk” as a characteristic of a good friend, female students were referencing a relationship where they could assert themselves as the speaker, in contradistinction to the ideal of the passive woman. Male students, on the other hand, emphasized friends that would listen to them, perhaps having already presumed themselves as assertive speakers. There may also be gender differences in the manner of expressing desirable and undesirable friend characteristics,

From the data collected for this thesis, I cannot conclude that there is a qualitative difference between male and female friendship styles and desired friend characteristics. Any gender discrepancies in the questionnaires may be related to the greater number of female responses. Female students’ responses were more represented in the questionnaire data for several reasons. More female students participated in the questionnaires because female attendance at Kano was higher than male attendance. Additionally, female students’ answers on the questionnaires were more expansive than

those given by male students and thus received more codes per answer. In the classrooms where the surveys were completed, students sat at same-sex tables, and there might have been a peer effect that would have encouraged female students to respond with more detail and male students with less. In interviews there was a lack of gender disparity in responses, which may be grounds to conclude that contextual variables and peer effect generated the gender discrepancies in the questionnaires.

According to Hrushchka (2010) research studies have failed to demonstrate any significant difference in male and female friendship styles. Although anecdotal and behavioral observation have suggested that men and women differ in terms of behaviors and expectations about friendship including the level of self-disclosure, empathy, number of close friends, et cetera, meta-analysis of research studies have determined that the slight gender differences in these measures can be accounted for by women and men recalling different information based on individually held stereotypical notions that men and women indeed have different friendships (143). Studies have demonstrated, however, that there is a gender difference in adolescent friendship in terms of self-disclosure; adolescent females are more often engaged in this activity. Researchers have attributed this to adolescent females maturing faster than their male counterparts (145).

Speakers and listeners in talk and enhanced talk

In describing a good friend and figuring the type of friend they desired, students referenced the speaking dyad, which for them represented an idealized form of friend interaction. And they elaborated the listening, receiving, subordinate role in this dyad. Good friends were the ones with whom students could generate intimacy, and good friends were good listeners. Several students explicitly mentioned listening in their

questionnaire responses. A female second-year junior high school described a good friend as a good listener.³⁴ A female second-year high school student thought a good friend was someone who would simply “listen to me.”³⁵

Listeners enabled self-revelatory *talk*, which progressed the dyad from peer to friend. This made the *talking* dyad dependent on the listener and thus situated the listener as a power-holder in *talk*. *Open talk* and the category of kind, empathetic listener were related responses to the question of what constituted a good friend. In sum, it was a listener who facilitated self-disclosure, or provided a context where speakers could, as male third-year high school student put it, “mutually talk from the heart.”³⁶ Kano students sought interlocutors with whom they were comfortable sharing knowledge about themselves. After all, revealing their true selves exposed them to disdain, criticism, cruelty, and even rejection. Kind and empathetic were two qualities of a good listener and friend.

Additionally, good listeners were neither fussy nor nitpicking, and those who would represent an alternative view from parents or teachers who were likely to exhibit these undesirable behaviors. A female second-year high school student called a good friend “someone who was informal; someone with whom there was mutual understanding; someone you could talk to about anything.”³⁷ This would be a friend who provided space for one’s thoughts to flow without fear of her interlocutor’s reaction. In close friendships conscientiousness should be abandoned. Describing the difference between friend and best friend, a female first-year junior high school student noted that “a best friend was someone who you could talk about anything with in a way that put you at ease and who was informal; formal people make me too nervous to speak.”³⁸

The term translated as “informal,” *ki wo tsukawanai*, means “not to use the *ki*” (mind-spirit energy).³⁹ In practice this entails not being conscientious or fussy about rules, manners, and the behavior of self and others. Likewise it means not worrying about other people scrutinizing your actions. Someone who does not use the *ki* is laid back, but not in the sense of being lazy or lacking in diligence. A more colloquial translation of “someone who is *ki wo tsukawanai*” would be “someone who doesn’t give a shit.” In two instances in the free response section of the questionnaire the term was used in the affirmative: to use the *ki*. Describing a “bad friend,” a female second-year high school student wrote that this would be “someone I had to use my *ki* around” and such a person was someone she “couldn’t be around.”⁴⁰ Responding to the question of the differences in same and opposite sex friendship a male first-year high school student wrote that “with a female friend I had to use my *ki*.”⁴¹ A male student in the second-year high school class likewise wrote that “with male friends we could hang out normally, but with female friends I had to use my *ki* when we hung out.”⁴²

“Using the *ki*” is not always an undesirable state or qualifier of poor character. To use one’s *ki* is to be attentive to others, as in concerned about what others are thinking and feeling towards you. Someone “using the *ki*” is being considerate and empathetic. Nevertheless there is a point, when one crosses the line from empathetic to irritating, and from concerned to needling. Using the *ki* to direct attention to what others are thinking is a form of vigilance vis-à-vis self and others that can be taxing and anxiety-inducing, and it is characteristic of *tatemaie* interactions, but alien to the *honne* intimacy of friendship. Adjusting one’s *ki* is fundamental to the dynamics of *ningen kankei*, and losing it is basic to high quality friendship.⁴³ If a listener were using his or her *ki* when a speaker was

self-disclosing then the speaker would be hesitant to reveal his or her “true self” out of the sense that the listener would evaluate the speaker based on the perspectives of authorities such as one’s parents and teachers, sources of conscientiousness. Friends are listeners who would not smuggle in these judgments, but would provide a space where speakers could unburden with ease.

Qualities of a bad friend mapped on to the qualities of a bad listener in a self-revelatory speaking dyad. In discussing bad friend characteristics students mentioned someone who was “selfish, annoying, snobby, mean, and cold,” someone who would not likely be a very kind listener or generous speaker. In the listening role he or she foreclosed *talk* by being judgmental and cruel and not providing a context for easy self-disclosure. Students paid more attention to agonistic speakers in characterizing the bad friend. As a speaker he or she was “someone who insulted others” and was a delinquent. Insulting others would occur when students in agonistic interactions failed to distance themselves from the hostile voice of the interrogator. In agonistic interactions the speaker is expected to provide leadership to the listener, and the listener in turn trusts the speaker to give morally sound guidance, which a delinquent would be unable to provide.

I characterize *enhanced talk* by *absolute confidence* and agonistic interactions. These interactions take place among friends who have achieved intimacy through *talk*. *Absolute confidence* the most intense form of self-revelation, is reserved for one’s closest friends, those one has been with the longest and who have been constant in their performance of friend duties to the extent that they are reliable and trustworthy. *Absolute confidence*, like self-revelatory talk, is an index of the level of friend intimacy and a means of generating it. Agonistic interactions are also a marker of intimacy and

generator of it among friends. In agonism students tell one another about their “bad points directly.” One has to be a friend in order to correct one’s peers. Agonism without friendship intimacy is bullying; the speaker is someone who “insults others,” and the listener, a victim.

In agonistic exchanges, the speaker tells the listener about the listener, and these practices entail a great deal of risk from speakers who must depend on the affection of their listeners. If listeners do not trust in the speakers’ character or have confidence in the degree of speakers’ empathetic knowledge then listeners may reject the speakers’ leadership, or at least be offended by an attempt to control the listeners’ behavior. Again, the listener is the linchpin; his or her consent permits the speaker to control the course of interaction as well as the listener’s perspective and future action.

I understand agonism as a manifestation of an intimate friend’s empathetic impulse. Performance in this role begins with empathetic listening and cataloging of a friend’s personality, perspectives, and is realized when friends use this knowledge to critique and interrogate one another. In his exploration of adolescent motivation for achievement, Shimizu (2001a) reports that among the youth he surveyed at a private high school, “empathetic” (*omoiyari*) was the trait most desired in others and, unsurprisingly, the one they most wished to do better. One of the greatest expressions of friend empathy is assuming the speaker role in agonistic interaction. Critique, for example, may be a moment in the flow of self-revelation when listeners become speakers and “quarrel” with friends about what is wrong with them, correct their bad points, and forestall mistakes they are about to make. This type of speaker is doing a service for the listener by providing him or her with leadership in self-knowledge and self-improvement. When

speakers take the initiative to tell friends about themselves, they demonstrate friendship love through empathy-in-action.

In interviews I asked students if it was normal for friends to have verbal disagreements and what issues led to argumentation. In only two of 18 interview events did students believe that it was abnormal for friends to argue.⁴⁴ Most students explicitly expressed that argument was healthy for a friendship. In six interview events, students mentioned that they argued with friends about general differences of opinion regarding values and romantic intrigues, for example. Students also noted that disagreement occurred when their friends acted differently towards them outside of school, when their friend's behavior changed, when their friends wanted attention, when their friends were being annoying, and when their friends did not return their possessions. One student recalled that an argument arose among his friends when one of them strove to be elite and the others thought that he should strive to be normal.⁴⁵ In these cases, and in the critique and interrogation I have observed, argument is a one-sided event with the speaker pointing out something wrong with the passive, listening friend.

Lebra (1984), commenting on the monolithic harmony model often invoked to represent Japanese society, observes that "if the Japanese place more value, as I believe they do, upon social interdependence, cooperation, solidarity, or harmony than, say, the Americans, they are more likely to interfere with one another's actions... the cultural value of harmony may intensify, instead of mitigate, conflict" (1984: 56).⁴⁶ She proposes that the Japanese are sensitive to major conflict that would pose a risk to continuity of interpersonal relationships, and, for this reason, are wont to keep low-level pressure on intimate others. Low-level conflict in the form of agonistic interaction, or one-sided

argumentation, may be a marker of interpersonal solidarity; students may be affirming their intimacy with argument.

Agonism serves other purposes. In agonistic exchanges speakers control a proverbial moral compass in becoming a source of reasoning and guidance. Students wanted their closest friends to scrutinize their lives and assert leadership over perspective and future course of action. A male first-year high school student differentiated a best friend from a friend as the person who could “enlighten you when you had concerns/worries and a friend could not.”⁴⁷ Likewise a male second-year high school student thought that good friends had technical reasoning prowess; a good friend was someone who “conveyed the truth to me.”⁴⁸ Agonism was a means for students to assist their friends in ethical calculation.

Japanese ethical decision-making has been described as contextual, relational, and socially relativistic (Lebra 1976; Kondo 1990; Bachnik 1992, 1994). Rather than a set of hard and fast rules regarding truthfulness, duplicity, complicity etc., Japanese extract notions of right and wrong from a situation and proceed based on contextual cues. *Kejime*, distinction, is the cognitive act of assessing the context to discern how to behave in a situation. In a given context, the attitude, disposition, and language used shifts based on the assessments made via *kejime*, and it is through *kejime* that one legitimates oneself as a moral person. I suggest here that the culture of friendship impacts ethical decision-making through the speaker’s reasoning and prescribing of correct action, thought, belief, and attitude for the listener.

Performance of speaking and listening roles in *talk* and *enhanced talk* provided bases for students' intimacy-building and evaluation of their intimacy. Furthermore, it informed their conceptualizations of trust and betrayal.

Trust and betrayal

To presage a discussion of trust and betrayal, I provide an account of a friendship I made during fieldwork with a colleague I refer to as M-san, and describe how my actions amounted to betrayal of our relationship. I begin with a description of how M-san beckoned me and how each of us determined that our relationship could progress to friendship. For M-san our status as peers of similar gender, age, and background was important. For me, I had to feel attracted to M-san as a person in order to desire her friendship. Furthermore, because our relationship began as an instrumental language, I was not framing it as a departure point for friendship, but M-san was. She could project an expressive relationship, and eventually, I could, too. I also note how our self-revelatory *talk* progressed to interactions of *absolute confidence* and the agonism of *enhanced talk*.

2006-2008 Friendship with M-san

M-san and I met at the Friday afternoon graduate seminar in social psychology at the university where I was situated during the research period. M-san took part in the seminar as the professor's doctoral student and I as his sponsored international student. After my first seminar M-san approached me to ask if I would like to do a language exchange with her each Friday following the seminar. This struck me as an annoying request. As a foreign research student, I already had a tutor from the department, M-san's colleague. Tutors use English to address deficits in Japanese language and etiquette

in order to support foreigners' research projects, and I felt that I had enough Japanese language support. Moreover, M-san already had a tutoring arrangement with another foreign research student. Initiating a language exchange with M-san seemed excessive. But I was reluctant to say no and possibly incur the displeasure of our professor, who had brought me into the department partly because of my contributions as an English speaker. Ultimately I agreed to the exchange, reasoning that one could always use another guinea pig for interview and survey questions.

Frankly, I was not attracted to M-san. She struck me as dour, snobbish, and depressive, and she wore all black in a way that I would learn later was more glamour than goth, but when we first met I thought that between her attire and attitude our language exchange would be a chore. In contrast, M-san had every expectation that a friendship would evolve from our language exchange. While I failed to appreciate that this purely instrumental reciprocal exchange could form a basis for enduring intimacy, in beckoning to me to join her in a one-on-one language exchange, M-san was signaling that she thought a relationship was possible. Insofar as we were persons of the same gender, at the same institution, and both recently advanced to doctoral candidacy, to her, I was friend material. But there was one glitch. M-san was five years younger than me. I only realized that this had been troubling her when she demonstrated obvious relief in learning that she was the same age as my boyfriend. Somehow this equalized our ages.

In the nascent stages of the relationship, M-san and I would meet on Fridays after the graduate seminar for the language exchange and socialize at department events. In texts, e-mails, and verbal communication we discovered a comfortable linguistic zone—my spoken Japanese was better than her English, her written English was better than my

Japanese. For the first few months of the Friday exchanges we alternated weeks of Japanese and English. Sometimes we would bring work for the other decipher and edit, and sometimes we just chatted. When we chatted our interaction reminded me of most other interactions with Japanese women I considered acquaintances. We gossiped about students and professors in the department, dished news about Japanese and foreign celebrities, revealed our guy- types, told amusing personal stories, and giggled virtually non-stop.

In attitude and approach toward everyday life, and in terms of professional interests and career trajectory, I came to realize we were quite similar. But we had different tastes in men, music, movies, and potables, and more often than not we diverged in our estimation of others. M-san was fond of a graduate student that I found pompous and rude, and she thought that a grad student I liked was self-absorbed and cruel. Whenever our disagreement generated friction I became insecure about whether this would derail what was turning into a blossoming friend relationship. I found myself keeping track of the things I thought were threatening our bond, but M-san certainly did not. She was surprisingly aggressive and conflict seeking in our interaction, taking advantage of any opportunity to engage me on a point of disagreement and egg me on with comments that I interpreted as fighting words. As much as I had become drawn to M-san and overall enjoyed her company, I was worried that our friendship could not continue. Furthermore, I did not think we had enough in common to pursue shared experiences, which for me was critical to lasting friendship formation. How could we become friends without weekend shopping, hanging out on the phone, happy hour, ski trips, or marathon road races?

We reached a turning point in our relationship when a few months into the language exchange I asked M-san if she would let me practice giving a life history interview in Japanese. She signed the consent forms and I brought out the digital recorder, and not long into the interview I learned that her father had died of a heart attack four years before. As she spoke, tears streamed down her cheeks, and then mine as I fled the room to find a box of tissues. When she was able to speak again, she told me that in agreeing to do the life history interview she knew that this horrible fact about her past, which only one other person in the department knew, would come out, and that she had determined that she was okay with me knowing it.⁴⁹ That M-san had chosen to confide in me was flattering, exciting, and daunting for the care that I would now be obliged to extend this knowledge. Gently, I directed the conversation away from family, but she kept returning to the topic, and I learned about a quite amusing relationship with her demanding educational (*kyoiku*) mama. I took her cue and began making humorous comments, and by the time the three-hour life history interview was over we were in pain from straining our sides with hysterics.

After such an intense encounter early into a relationship, it can be difficult to find a comfortable zone of interaction. I feared she would be embarrassed around me, but the next time we met, it was the same easy banter of past weeks, only with new ground for discussing our lives. We had passed from acquaintance to friend through emotionally intense *talk*, and not through accumulated experiences together or even common interests, both of which I had deemed essential to friendship-building.

About a year into the language exchange we moved our friendship outside the institution. It was M-san who first suggested that we go out to dinner instead of doing the

exchange, and for the next year, until I left Japan, we spent Friday evenings together after the graduate seminar, usually at a restaurant near the school and sometimes just meeting for coffee on those occasions when she had to go to a student's house as part of her home-tutoring job.

As our friendship transitioned to a deeper level of intimacy, I noticed more often that M-san was telling me about me. At first these were comments such as her discovery that I looked like Gwyneth Paltrow and my boyfriend, like Brad Pitt, and I let her explain her reasoning while fending off what I took as frivolous flattery. As we grew closer, she started telling me things that I found more helpful. I'm indebted to her insight that my incessant blushing and nervous energy around unfamiliar people put the Japanese at ease and endeared me to them. I opened up to her about current health and family crises, and as she advised me through these challenges, I came to rely on her friendship.

With greater intimacy our Friday evenings also became more heated. M-san would lash out at me for not asserting my position as researcher at Kano and scold me for letting them take advantage of my teaching skills without reciprocating in the form of much needed research data. Generally, I found her forcefulness motivating and frankly didn't mind having anyone around who cared. But when M-san grilled me about steps I was taking to get my boyfriend to propose and coached me on specific strategic ultimatums I **must** deploy, it approximated my mother chastising me for going to an expensive salon or my best friend picking on my hair color after a few too many drinks, for which she'd doubtless apologize the next day, but M-san never did. Consistently, she took friendship confrontation to a level I would not ordinarily have authorized. It felt like bullying and tested my friend endurance.

When it was my turn to advise M-san I invariably underperformed. I was fairly capable of admiring her strength, pointing out that she had left home for undergraduate studies, unusual for a Japanese, and calling her out for generosity to others, which she disavowed on the grounds that she was not a kind person. I had a harder time being as critical about her as she was about me. Exchanges begging agonism from me usually began with her question, ‘what should I do.’ Finding a boyfriend and taking on part-time jobs were enduring quandaries for M-san, and my suggestions such as, “why don’t you text that guy,” and “how about just working more hours at that school you like in Shinjuku,” always seemed to register with her as too pedestrian, as though I was holding back my true opinion and being insincere. I knew by then that when one was giving counsel both honest and from the heart, one was supposed to turn emphatic to the point of enragement: “You must quit that job or it will ruin any chance of completing your dissertation and the rest of your life will be a complete failure,” would have sufficed, had I been able.

Toward the end of my research term, M-san turned to me for advice when she was considering changing doctoral advisors after having made it through her candidacy exams. This move would entail leaving the research lab of the professor who was adviser to us both. Knowing this professor, I had opinions about how he would react and I also thought that the other professor’s personality and research were a better fit for M-san. We spent hours one night discussing her dilemma, but the whole time I couldn’t bring myself to muster the “you must do this or else” posture like a good friend. My unwillingness to convince her to commit to changing professors, which I knew she really wanted to do and what she eventually did, was based in reluctance to impose my will and

limit her free choice. Moreover, I did not want to take responsibility for directing her actions. She departed for the train that night without the resolution she craved, and her affect conveyed the same disappointment in me that I felt.

At the time of this incident, M-san and I had reached the stage of *enhanced talk*. She had disclosed her father's death, a grievous and life-altering situation, and I had opened up about my private crises. As far as *absolute confidence* was concerned, we were moving in tandem. And M-san had provided me with advice in the forthright agonistic manner of a friend. But I could not reciprocate and apply my knowledge of her to "help her solve a problem," as K-san put it in describing the calligraphy teacher's interrogation of the math teacher. I failed her. For more than a year she had been a good listener and a good speaker and in not fulfilling my responsibilities to our friendship, I broke her faith in our relationship.

Trust and betrayal at Kano Academy

Issues of trust and betrayal have been recognized as relevant in adolescent friendships across cultural milieus (Brown and Larson 2009). But definitions of these terms is often left unexamined, perhaps for the difficulty this task poses; not only does defining these concepts necessitate sensitivity to cultural particularity, but within a cultural milieu trust and betrayal may obtain distinct meanings depending upon variables such as ethnicity and age. Sociocultural analyses referencing notions of trust in Japan have neither specified its meaning nor explored how it may differ from connotations in another cultural milieu. The bundle of trust sentiment: "having trust," "being able to rely on someone," "feeling cared for," and "knowing someone is watching out for you," is expressed in the terms *shiyō suru* (信用する), *shinrai suru* (信頼する), and *tayoru* (頼る

), all of which translate to the term “trust.” The term *shiyō suru* (信用する) is often used in the sense of contractual trust as between a debtor and creditor. The term *shinrai suru* (信頼する) refers to trust in the sense of having faith in another person or entity, as in trust vis-à-vis God. The third term *tayoru* (頼る) is often translated as “to depend or rely on,” and it is used to reference relationships with a person one could rely upon to keep his or her promises, for example. Notably the second character in the second term for trust in the sense of having faith in someone is the same as the character for “to depend/rely on.”

These notions are interwoven, and in interviews and on questionnaires, students used the terms interchangeably to describe trust in a relationship, and no meaning pattern emerged that mapped on to these terms. Perhaps adolescent students, depending upon levels of education, socioeconomic background, and religious circumstances used a certain term to gloss “trust.” Moreover, they may have been deploying stylized speech patterns and the choice of term could be an aesthetic one or one of peer affiliation.

Kano students made trust a significant component of good and best friendships. When referencing trust as characteristic of friends, one student wrote that a best friend was someone you really, really trusted (*shinrai* 信頼). A female third-year junior high student wrote that “a best friend was someone you could trust (*shiyō* 信用) from the bottom of your heart.”⁵⁰ Her male peer offered that a good friend was someone you can trust (*shinrai* 信頼). A female first-year high school student described a good friend as someone who was “kind, trustworthy (*shiyō* 信用) and fun.”⁵¹ A third-year high school female student wrote that a good friend was someone who you believed you could

trust/depend on (*shinjitoreru* 信じ頼れる). The latter is a compound expression representative of the interplay between trust and belief in one's friends.

Students at Kano were unusually concerned about trust, I was told by teachers when I began working there. They cautioned, “whatever you do, don't be fake with the students. Show your true self. Students will see right through you if you try to be someone you're not, and then you'll never gain their trust.” Trust between teachers and students, it was felt, was crucial to breaking the cycle of absenteeism. Kano students, upon arriving at the school, were yet unable to rely on their peers due to histories of betrayal in the form of traumatic bullying incidents including physical violence from a friend-turned-bully, ostracism from a friend-group, and being targets of name-calling, gossip, and rumor by so-called friends. These incidents alienated them from their schools, left them unmoored from their peers, made them vulnerable to absenteeism, and rendered assimilation at Kano difficult. Teachers thought that trust between students and teachers satisfied students' needs to feel cared for until students had made friends.

Trust for Kano students was operationalized in the performance of friend-responsibilities. Students' best friends were those with whom there was the greatest degree of trust, and performance of best friend duties related to *enhanced talk* established and maintained trust. Characterizing a best friend, a female second-year junior high school student wrote that “I think a best friend is someone who could speak about the real me. (Even if from the opposite perspective).”⁵² Such a friend would be able to challenge her because she knew her friend better than her friend knew herself. She gained this knowledge by being an empathetic listener and performed friend responsibilities by practicing agonism in taking the opposing perspective. A male first-year junior high

school student made the distinction between friend and best friend in asserting that “a friend was someone you could talk to, a best friend was someone you relied on.”⁵³

Reliance went beyond *talk*; for Kano students “trust” was built on the bundle of friend responsibilities, and particularly the components of *enhanced talk*—*absolute confidence* and agonism—as these were the means and ends of friend intimacy.

Shirking friend duties was likewise grounds for betrayal, and those who failed in these would be “bad friends.” When students wrote about the bad friend, they described him or her as violating *talk* by being “insensitive and not empathetic” (female second-year junior high school) and someone who “didn’t understand others’ feelings” (male second-year junior high school).^{54,55} In critical and interrogative interactions, friends had to be stern and aggressive, but there must be a distanced and theatrical aspect to this stance. If friends were genuinely hurtful or cruel, they would not be extending empathy and would be considered bad friends. A female first-year junior high school student wrote that a bad friend “didn’t exactly bully, but pointed out the other’s failings” and a female second year high school student wrote that a bad friend was someone who “harshly insulted, someone who was cruel, someone who betrayed.”^{56,57} Students did not want their friends to be cruel, harshly insult, or bully when they were being direct. One’s style of interaction should not lead the other to perceive genuine antagonism.

A harsh stance toward one’s peers, however, is considered healthful sociality. Japanese teachers encourage peer authority through organization of the class *nakama* and by instructing students in empathetic listening, admonishment, and advice-giving. Likewise, Metzler (2003) observed in a Japanese juvenile rehabilitation facility that for five days each week the young men were required to attend a one-hour group reflection

in the evening followed by an hour of individual reflection. Metzler describes one such group reflection meeting (*hansei-shūkai*): “one resident was put on the ‘hot seat’ and criticized by peers for his daily habits and lifestyle” (2003: 234). The director of this meeting reported to Metzler that “the other peers “knew about his bad as well as his good sides and habits and they provide him with appropriate feedback... the meetings are focused on the principle that every single person is responsible for keeping of the group norms, for the ‘success of the whole’” (ibid.). In interviews with former residents of the facility, however, Metzler learns that these group reflection meetings bordered on “harassment and bullying,” and that former residents consider these “one of the most frightening components of the educational program” (ibid.). The structure of group reflection at Metzler’s rehabilitation facility resembles class reflection at junior high and high schools. Through the encouragement of peer authority, educators promote a pattern of interaction that is played out in the friendship dyad, albeit in a friendlier form.

Another way of failing in one’s duties in *enhanced talk* was by giving ill-advice, or being a poor leader. Two male third-year high school students offered that a bad friend was someone who was “raised without knowledge of bad/wrong, someone with good grades but didn’t understand what was bad/wrong” and someone who had “one-sided, unilateral thinking.”^{58,59} Such friends would be unable to provide good advice and counsel. In describing failure in leadership, a female first-year junior high school student wrote that a bad friend was someone who “invited others to do bad things.”⁶⁰ Likewise, a male second-year high school student wrote that a bad friend was someone who “told me to do bad things, someone who was not good for me” and a first-year male high school student noted that a bad friend would be someone who “didn’t benefit me.”^{61,62} Some

students recognized that they, too, could provide poor leadership. A female first-year high school student wrote that a bad friend was someone with whom there was “mutual dragging down” and a third-year female high school student wrote that a bad friend was someone with whom there was a “mutually negative relationship.”^{63,64} In an interview with a male third-year high school student, when asked what kind of friend he did not wish to have, he replied that he would not want someone who would trick him or fail alongside him.⁶⁵ Among Kano students, betrayal and trickery came in the form of allowing a friend to fail.⁶⁶

Enmeshment and friendship

When Kano student friends were together, they were usually not engaging in deep self-revelation or any kind of agonistic interaction. These were moments for the private sphere. At school and after the school day, which constituted the bulk of time that friends spent together, students hung out, gossiped, played hand held video games, ate, or discussed where, when, and what the afterschool snack was going to be. When prompted to reflect on what brought them closer, students referenced the private sphere and cited frank, open talk, moral reasoning on the other’s behalf, and authoritative posturing in delivering this assessment as constitutive of intimacy-building.

Self-revelation and agonistic practices were marked experiences in the ebb and flow of their everyday lives; these consecrated the relationship and created conditions for deepening of intimacy. Their power to generate intimacy may be rooted in their association with positively-valued interaction in hierarchical relationships such as the parent-child dyad, the sempai-kohai dyad, male-female romantic dyad, teacher-student dyad, et cetera, which are understood to be structured on *amae* intimacy. I consider *amae*

more fully in the next chapter in tracing the evolution of a sense of power through practices of ethical sociality. Here I would like to note that students referenced *amae* in their friendship at the early stages of their association in beckoning and speaking up. Once they were established as friends, they created further dependencies through *talk* and *enhanced talk* by revealing themselves, leading one another to correct action, and mutually receiving advice. These practices are akin to *amae* insofar as they smuggle in hierarchy. Peers assume superior-inferior roles in friendship intimacy-building practices. And, like *amae* interactions, in friend interactions power is identified with the subordinate role.

Yamaguchi (2004) makes two points about *amae* interactions that indicate Japanese elaboration of subordination in *amae* activities: first, the locus of control is in the inferior role, and second, *amae* interactions are characterized by an inappropriate request.⁶⁷ Yamaguchi gives the example of a ten-year-old boy who asks his mother to dress him. By accepting this tiresome request, the mother furthers her son's dependency and cultivates his love, thus controlling his actions. In making this request, the child is eliciting his mother's actions on his behalf. Power is being exercised in both directions, but elaborated in the inferior role. The child makes an age-inappropriate request that provokes the action; from a Japanese perspective he has power.

In describing their friendships, students idealized themselves in the speaking dyad, one of a superior speaker and inferior listener, and they indicated how power was a property of both speakers and listeners. Speakers exercised power by controlling the course of interaction, burdening the listener with their self-revelations, eliciting the listener's empathy, and affecting listeners' self-regard and perspective; listeners exercised

power by providing a context for self-disclosure, eliciting speakers' attention and advice, and indulging speakers' aggressive agonistic behaviors. In spite of mutual power activities, students identified with the subordinate/ listener role. When Kano students reflected on what made a friend good, bad, and best, they elaborated the duties incumbent upon the listening role. In hailing the inferior/passive role as the power holder, students emphasized the "control from below" also characteristic of *amae* relationships.

¹問題を解決

² Peter Cave (2007) describes the process of writing testimonials for the graduation books at a primary school where he conducted ethnographic research. The teacher urged students to "write something that only you can write" (178).

³ All junior high school students are *futōkōsei* but only about 80% of high school students have *futōkōsei* backgrounds. The essays being considered here are only those written by junior high school in order to have a group representative of Kano *futōkōsei*.

⁴まだ入学して、日が浅いけど昔の自分より今自分のほうが好きになりました。松実に入る前は、口数が少なく家にいつも部屋にいるばかりです。でも、松実に入学してからは、部屋に言うことも少なくなり口数も多くなりました。

⁵最初は全然話せなかったけど、カノ中等部にはいい子がたくさんいて、入って2・3日して友達が出来て話すようになりました。だんだんカノが良くなって慣れて先生とも楽しく会話したりしています。

⁶.私は今年の9月、友人の紹介で松実に入りました、その頃は友人と大人しか信じられなくて怖くていました。頭の中では「大丈夫。ここにいる人はみんないい人だ」そう思っているけど身体がつくむ動けません。そもそもカノの入学したのは臆病で人間不信な自分を変えるためです。そのためにも自分を変えなくてはならないのに実行に中々移せませんでした。でもそんな私に話しかけてくれ笑いかけてくれる松実の同級生や先生には本当にありがたいを思いました。初めて中等部のそんなとプリクラを撮った時は嬉しかったな。少しずつみんなを信じようを思えてきました。

⁷僕は、12月ぐらいからこのカササギに来て、最初の頃は、あまり馴染めなかったけど何回か来るたびに慣れてきて、結構楽しいと思います。友達も何人か出来て、まあ休まず来て、先生とも大分話が出来るようになって、すごく楽しいです。

⁸ Two students reckoned it was a means of preventing absenteeism in their peers.

⁹ Two female second year students used this term to describe conversation that proceeded like an amusing game.

¹⁰ In eight of the remaining interviews, students presented a variety of answers about the development of friendship. Three students mentioned shared interests as motivational. In one interview a student noted that cell phone communication facilitated friendship. In

another interview a student determined that friendship happened after trust has been established—clearly she had higher standards than other Kano students.

¹¹ Of the questionnaires being analyzed, sixty-four students responded to the question, how do you know when you've become friends with someone? Of these, six students (F=2, M=4) replied that they did not know. I analyzed responses from the remaining fifty-eight students (F=34, M=24). Twenty-three ways of knowing categories were generated from students' answers.

¹²普通に話せたり相談が出来るようになってから

¹³気がねなく話せる

¹⁴ In one interview the students were not asked the question, which was an interviewer omission.

¹⁵話して自然と仲良くなる

¹⁶仲良く、何でも話せる友達

¹⁷本気で怒ってくれたり喜んでくれたりするとき

¹⁸しゅい（主意）をいいあえるようになったり、よいところをいえるようになったら。

¹⁹自分の事を教えてくれる

²⁰ Conducting a study to consider the theory of cultural competence, Hruschka (2009) explores the extent to which cultural models of good friend and bad friend are shared among U.S. high school students. He concludes that “Taken as a whole, student interviews revealed a broadly shared model of appropriate friendship behaviors. Notably, friends should be there for each other in times of need, they should be fun to be around, they should want to hang out and do things together, they should be able to talk to each other about deeply held personal issues, they should be sensitive to each other's personal problems and concerns, and they should be able to tease and criticize each other as long as they do so without malicious intent. (209). Data I present suggests a similar model among Japanese junior high and high school students. The difference lies not in the content of the model, but in its arrangement and meanings. Considering students' rankings of good and bad friend characteristics there are striking and intriguing differences. U.S. students' top four desirable friend characteristics, for example, were (1) cares about you, (2) doesn't lie to you, (3) is there in times of need (4) can be trusted with secrets. It seems that Kano students valued self-disclosure and mutual knowledge more than Hruschka's U.S. students.

²¹ “Good” here refers to friendship abilities, not in the English language sense of being close or intimate as in “he is a good friend of mine.”

²² Seventy students responded to the question of what constituted a good friend, and after excluding “I don't know” (F=1) responses and joke responses such as “A good friend is someone who is a good friend” (F=1, M=2), the remaining sixty-six (F=37, M=29) students' answers generated 117 codes that I sorted into 38 “good friend” characterizations. I further bundled “good friend” characterizations into categories. Listed here are the categories most frequently mentioned: (1) open talk, (2) empathetic, gentle considerate, kind, (3) conveys good/bad points, right wrong action, (4) trustworthy, (5) easy/comfortable to be around.

²³相手を想いやれる人居心さやがいい人

²⁴何でも話せて、助けてくれて、悪いところは直してくれる。

²⁵自分の間違いを本気で注意してくれたり、自分のことに本気になってくれる人

²⁶自分にとってプラスになる人。悪いことを言い合いできる人。

²⁷悪いことは悪いといってくれる人。

²⁸ During interviews, questions regarding qualities of a “good friend,” “bad friend,” and “best friend,” and “how students knew they’d achieved friendship” were posed in the middle of the interview after students had described their friendship histories and the processes involved in making friends. Questions about the kind of friends presently desired and not desired were posed towards the end. All students were asked about good, bad, and best friends, but at some interviews the desirable/undesirable friend questions were omitted due to time constraints. In all but one interview students discussed how they knew a friend had been made.

²⁹ Seventy-three students responded to this question (F=41, M=32), and after excluding two male respondents who offered, “I don’t know” and five joke responses (F=1, M=4), I generated 33 codes for bad friend characteristics from respondents (F=40, M=28).

³⁰ In total 66 students (F=38, M=28) responded to the query. Two students (F=1, M=1) wrote “N/A” (not applicable, which I interpreted to mean that they had not had/did not have a best friend), and seven students (F=3, M=4) replied that they did not know. Of the remaining 57 respondents (F=34, M=23) 19 best friend characteristics were coded from their answers.

³¹親友は、悩みをうちあける事が出来る人でそれが出来ないのが友達

³²親友に心から話せる、ずっと一緒にいても苦にならない人、友人＝親しい仲の人。

³³ Watanabe believes that women internalize the eyes of others and become self-critical, which motivates extreme dieting and eating disorders. Her conclusions are anecdotal and could be a departure point for future research in gendered friendship styles.

³⁴ちゃんと話をきいて

³⁵話を聞いてくれる人

³⁶心から話し合える人。

³⁷気をつかわなくて。お互い理解できている人。何でも話せる。

³⁸親友はなんでもきがるにきをあんまりつかわないで楽しく話せる。きをつかってしんちょうにはなしたりです。

³⁹ *Ki* has been a challenge to translate. It can be interpreted as an energy flow, not hereditary given, but one that varies according to the physical and social environment in which the person is embedded. When one is doing well, one has a stable flow of ki, or personal energy, between the body and the environment and is *gen-ki* or “has a stable ki.” “*Genki*” is the response to the greeting “how is your ki?” equivalent to the English “how are you?” Attention to the ki is important because disturbance in the ki manifests in the body as an illness. If the ki is disappointed (*ki ga shimazu*) due to a broken romantic date, for example, the thwarted party may anticipate a resultant headache due to a weak constitution (*taishitsu*) and take aspirin as a preventive measure against the

somaticization of the distressed ki. Drawing on the concept of ki, Lock sums up the Japanese conceptualization of the body as a “relatively fixed container... largely determined by hereditary constitution and in which a dance of the exchange of energy is ceaselessly enacted” (Lock 1980: 85). This conceptualization of the body and illness has been given as the reason why psychotherapeutic techniques are less popular than medicine (synthetic and herbal) in treating mood disturbance—one does not treat the origins of illness, only the manifest symptoms. A state of health is relative to the ki as it is an outcome of the relationship between the person and the physical and social environment. It is the individual’s responsibility to be vigilant of the body and the environment in order to achieve and maintain good health. One must have knowledge of one’s constitution, *taishitsu*, personal health issues *jibyō*, and the state of the ki in order to be able to compensate for inherent bodily weaknesses and to rectify any temporary disturbances in the ki that would impact one’s health.

⁴⁰ 気を使わなきゃ、いっしょにいれない人

⁴¹ 異性は気を使ってほう

⁴² 同性が普通につき合えるが異性は気を使ってつき合わないといけないから

⁴³ When Japanese describe becoming aware of their feelings of disappointment or feeling inadequate in the presence of someone who is better educated, they use terms related to ki. Kumagai (1988) defines ki as “the fervor of vitality” (176). Inventorying the vocabulary of emotional and cognitive processes associated with ki, Kumagai points out that ki is a Japanese linguistic marker for consciousness of the individual self. Ki activates consciousness of self in the flow of experience. Students did not want to have to use their ki around friends. They want a more uninhibited, natural experience of the others’ presence. Much better for friends is the interactional ideal of *medetai*, the carnivalesque state of being so enraptured by the energy of the group that one forgets his or her individual existence.

⁴⁴ Another student, a male in the first year of high school, agreed that it was normal for other people to argue with their friends, but it was not normal for him. He suspected that arguments were usually over personality differences. Another male high school student informed me that conflict was normal, but admitted that he had only experienced friend conflict in junior high school when he had argued with friends about borrowing money. Two male students in the first year of junior high school informed me that arguing helped friends to get along better because it provided an opportunity to apologize, make-up, and improve the friendship relationship.

⁴⁵ 出る杭は打たれる。The stake that sticks out gets hammered down.

⁴⁶ She is referring to scholarship that characterizes Japanese sociality as one of extreme conflict avoidance, and Japanese society as structured to perpetuate harmonious relationships among all.

⁴⁷ 親友ならなやみを明かすけど、友人には明かない

⁴⁸ 自分の本言を相手にそのまま伝えられるかどうか

⁴⁹ M-san told me that her father’s death was her secret and shame. See Allison (1994) for a description of how growing up in a one-parent family negatively marks an individual.

⁵⁰ 心の奥そこから信用できる人物が親友

-
- ⁵¹ 優しくて信用できて面白い人
- ⁵² 自分の本者を言えるかどうか。(逆の立場でも)
- ⁵³ 友人ははなせる人で親友はたよれる人
- ⁵⁴ 居心はしかが悪い人想いやれない人
- ⁵⁵ 人の気持ちが判らない人
- ⁵⁶ いじめじゃないけどおしっぽいかんじをする人
- ⁵⁷ すぐ人の悪口をいう人。人をいじめる人。うらぎる人。
- ⁵⁸ 悪さもしずに育って、成績がいいやつほど何が悪いかわかってない。
- ⁵⁹ 一方的な考えの人
- ⁶⁰ 悪いことを、さそったり。。。。
- ⁶¹ 悪い事を進めてくる人。。。？ 私には判りません
- ⁶² 自分の不利益になる
- ⁶³ 一緒にまきこもうとする人。
- ⁶⁴ お互いにマイナスに走ってしまう関係。
- ⁶⁵ だます；一緒に落ちる
- ⁶⁶ I was surprised at how few students mentioned secret-keeping in describing good, bad, and best friends, and I suspect that students assumed that even in instances of quotidian self-disclosing *talk*, what I've termed 'open talk,' friends observed the principle of non-disclosure. Perhaps they smuggle in secret-keeping with the notion of being able to confide in someone. Nevertheless this was unclear in the questionnaires and interviews.
- ⁶⁷ He defines *amae* as the "presumed acceptance of one's inappropriate behavior or request" (Yamaguchi 2004:29).

Chapter Five: A Sense of Power

In the previous chapter I described how practices of *talk* and *enhanced talk* are a site for the exercise of power even as they generate friend intimacy. I also demonstrated how power in the subordinate role is affirmed in friend intimacy-building activities. In this chapter I identify friend intimacy-building practices as practices of ethical sociality and locate them in the evolution of a Japanese sense of power at adolescence. A sense of power is socially intelligent, deployed in everyday interaction in how persons recognize, approach, and interact with one another, and it is integral to Japanese sociality. It is also important psychological armature, and, in this respect, the content of this chapter addresses psychological dimensions of friend relations.

In chapter two I presented three themes in anthropological approaches to friendship—the structural-functional, the cultural, and the psychological. In psychological approaches to friendship, the relationship is often presented as a context for the individual to reach optimal cognitive, emotional, social, and even physical functioning (Bell 1981; Duck 1983; Allan 1996; Pritchett 2007).¹ Literature on friendship suggests that for adolescents this is particularly true.² Adolescence has been understood as a stage of human development when peer friendship relationships become equally, if not more, individually salient than relationships with parents and other adults (Brown and Larson 2009). Adolescent friend relationships contribute to psychological health by providing relational stability at a time of instability in personality and identity (Duck 1983). Bukowski (2001) argues that for adolescents, friendship serves four functions: development of self-concept, protection from psychological distress, exploration and acquisition of new skills, and mutual influence in culture norms of

behavioral standards, goals, and expectations (2001:95). Krappmann (1996) likewise notes that adolescent friendship contributes to processes of enculturation insofar as friends affirm shared, culturally particular, conceptualizations of personhood that become significant to the development of adolescent self-concept.³ Absence of adolescent friendship can lead to negative outcomes both in adolescence and adulthood such as sickness, criminality, alcoholism, suicide, violence, and career instability (Duck 1975). When children lack friends they express more loneliness and internalizing problems than peers in friend relationships (Fenstrom and Rubin 2008).^{4,5}

Japanese adolescent friend relationships contribute to formation of what Bourdieu calls the habitus insofar as through friendship interaction adolescents are socialized to particular dispositions vis-à-vis intimate peers, which hone a sense of power. The notion that dispositions culminate in culturally particular senses opens space for discussion of medium- and long-term outcomes of adolescent peer socialization practices. In the aforementioned literature on the psychological outcomes of friendship, investigators generally focus on immediate or short-term effects of friendship. I use *sense* to consider how adolescent experience may influence medium and long-term individual well-being. Sense informs individual action over time; they cleave the past to the present; through the senses experiences of the past endure. A notion of sense thus offers a way of understanding how seeking affirmation and rebuke from one's friends at fifteen contributes to psychological well-being in one's twenties, thirties, and forties.

Based on research at Kano Academy I suggest that participation in friendship at adolescence is critical to the development of a sense of power characterized by the elaboration of subordination. My emphasis on elaboration is near to what Levy (1973)

describes as hypercognition. Levy synthesizes psychological, cognitive, and cultural approaches to emotion in arguing that emotional experience may be hypercognized or hypocognized based on cultural values related to feeling-sets. Hypercognition occurs when there is a rich cultural repertoire of language and practices to apply to a feeling-set; hypocognition occurs when there are few linguistic and other means to recognize a feeling-set. Feeling-sets are thus experienced in relation to the availability of communicative resources in a cultural milieu. Where there are many resources for cognition, emotional experience is more likely controlled. For example, hypercognized anger gives an individual the cognitive resources to control an emotional experience that might manifest in violence. Where there are few cultural resources for emotional control the individual “‘feels’ considerably more than cultural forms may make consciously accessible” (Levy 1973: 324). Hypocognition of a feeling-set may mean that emotional experience manifests in illness.⁶

I take a cue from Levy in formulating the dynamics of a sense of power, but my focus is on how a sense of power emerges from practices. Rather than considering communicative resources as an explanatory tool for the elaboration of subordination, I show how subordination is elaborated in the course of development through practices of ethical sociality, modes of interaction with positive moral valence—such as empathy, *amae*, and group affiliation practices. A sense of power takes on new contours as children approach adolescence and begin to develop a will, or personal volition. Accompanying the development of will is a period of rebellion, *hankōki*, which culminates in a shifting of intimate affiliation away from parents and other authorities and toward intimate peers.

Friendship relationships become a context for adolescents to exercise power and as they approach adulthood and assert independence from parents and other authority figures.⁷

Evolution of a sense of power

In this section I describe the evolution of a sense of power through childhood and adolescence with attention to practices of ethical sociality, modes of interaction with positive moral valence. Anthropological literature on Japanese childhood indicates that practices of ethical sociality including empathy (*omoiyari*), *amae*, group affiliation (*shudan shugi*), and presentation of individual will (*ishiki*) are foundational to how Japanese children regard themselves, others, and their power vis-à-vis others. The order of this list reiterates the sequence that these ideals of ethical sociality are made significant to the growing child. Empathy and *amae* are learned at the earliest ages in the home, group affiliation is taught in early childhood educational contexts, and the formation of individual will is fostered in pre-adolescence and realized in adolescence.⁸

Doing ethical sociality is a way of being a good person, and conceptualizations of personhood are entwined with ethical sociality.⁹ From an early age, children learn that positive performance in these domains signifies their identification with the ideals of a “good child.” At the same time, in engaging in practices of ethical sociality children also come to understand that there is power in the subordinate role. A sense of power reaches a turning point at adolescence when the person is understood as obtaining personal volition. Accompanying adolescence there is a period of rebellion, *hankōki*, and friends become the significant context for the exercise of power. A sense of power is therefore honed in the intersection between volition, rebellion, and friendship.

Early childhood to pre-adolescence

Over the course of infancy and into the beginning of early childhood, empathy and *amae* are learned primarily through interaction with the mother (DeVos 1973; Lebra 1976; Clancy 1986, 1999). The mother as primary caregiver is an ideal in Japan and in the literature on Japanese childrearing there is little mention of male guardian, grandparent, or older sibling caregivers, even though this may be the reality for families in contemporary Japan (White 2002). Characteristic of intimacy between Japanese mothers and their infant children is the near-constant holding of the child during daily activities such as housework or shopping and sleeping next to their children at night. This pattern of interaction is termed *sukintsuppu* (transliteration of English word “skinship”), or skin-to-skin contact, and it is considered necessary for the development of a healthy child. Fathers, siblings, and grandparents also give *sukintsuppu*, but mothers and their young children are not often apart from one another.¹⁰ In the Japanese household the mother-child dyad is considered primary to the family the way that the husband-wife dyad is considered foundational in a Western family (DeVos 1973; Lebra 1976).

DeVos (1973) explains that mothers demonstrate empathy through a persistent gauging of the child’s physical and emotional condition, personal preferences, and interests in order to determine the child’s needs and desires. Mother anticipates the child’s needs, and the child learns that empathetic caretaking is an expression of love. Clancy (1986) observes that mothers are forthright in teaching empathy skills. Japanese children undergo “empathy training” (Clancy 1986: 232) wherein the mother explicitly teaches the child to read communicative signs of others’ needs, opinions, and perspectives. This training also teaches the child that eliciting empathy is a way of

controlling the actions of others. From the recipient (passive or subordinate) position a person can make known his or her needs and motivate caretaking from others. Engaging in empathic action not only aligns the child with the ideal of a good person (Shimizu 2001a), but demonstrates power in the subordinate position.

Anticipating and unconditionally indulging the needs of the child are ways that the Japanese mother expresses affection for the child. Love emerges in an interactive context where the child is dependent on the mother's indulgence. The child comes to understand that *amae* in a relationship signifies intimacy. Much emphasis has been placed on the ability to engage in *amae* behaviors as undergirding intimacy in Japan. Dependence as characteristic of Japanese patterns of interaction and intimacy was given its fullest initial description in the seminal work *The Anatomy of Dependence* (1971). In this work, Doi considers *amae* behaviors to be the basis for Japanese conceptualization and experience of multiple forms of interaction occurring in domains from the national level to intimate dyadic level.¹¹ Since its publication, anthropologists of Japanese psychology, notably Lebra (1976) and DeVos (1973), have deployed this concept in broad descriptions of Japanese psychological traits and socialization patterns, but theoretically there have been two important advances in the concept. Kumagai and Kumagai (1986) expand on Doi's work by showing that *amae* is self-gratifying insofar as when one is indulging the dependence needs of another it brings positive attention to the indulger. *Amae* in this iteration is less about generating interpersonal intimacy and more about narcissistic personal indulgence. As discussed in the previous chapter, Yamaguchi (2004) points out that *amae* interactions are characterized by an inappropriate request from this inferior.¹²

In amae interactions the child recognizes that he or she achieves power and control over others not only in the role of indulger, who can provide or withhold care for the other, but also in the role of the indulged, who controls the indulger's behavior through his or her needs.¹³ Caretaking, indulging the needs of others, and allowing oneself to be cared for and indulged are actions of the "good person." As such these are significant to the child's self-concept, emotional well-being, social functioning, etc. (Parish 2008). Kano faculty associated an inability to securely depend on others with students' withdrawal, depression, anxiety, and self-harm. They believed that weak intimacy over the course of childhood in the form of bad parenting, indifferent teachers, and bullying peers deprived students of empathy and thwarted their ability to depend on others. Another way of conceptualizing the faculty position is to understand students as being unskilled in practices of ethical sociality due to lack of intimate context where they could exercise power in ethical ways.

There are limits to amae interactions as the child ages. Amae expressions are positively valued in infancy and early childhood and retain positive moral valence in intimate relationships beyond childhood. But as the child ages and especially upon entering elementary school, amae behaviors in certain contexts are actively discouraged. Self-consciously displaying helplessness or making inappropriate requests, such a request to tie one's shoes or cut one's food, become negatively regarded behaviors. The verb, to amae, used in reference to an elementary school student or older child implies that the child is acting spoiled. The noun for a spoiled child is *amaenbo*, a child that does amae. In pre-adolescence children are expected to restrict amae and only exercise dependency

in the domain of intimate relations, which includes family and friends. Eliciting empathy, as far as I have observed, is not explicitly restricted.

Ethnographers of Japanese childhood have observed that qualities of a good child are related to group affiliation behaviors. In addition to empathy and *amae*, good children exhibit *sunao* (obedience), *ganbariya*, (perseverance), *konki* (patience), *yasashii* (kindness), *hakihaki* (alacrity), and *akarui* (brightness, cheerfulness) (Lock 1981; White and LeVine 1986; White 1987; Tobin 1989). These traits are inflected with a high degree of other-orientation. U.S. children are likely to be encouraged to be clever in conversation and draw attention to themselves when they are demonstrating alacrity. In defending their rights to say what they want, when they feel like it, they persevere. For the Japanese child and adolescent, these characteristics are demonstrated in the interactive context (White and LeVine 1986); perseverance, patience, and other qualities of a good person are oriented to maintaining the relationship. For example, *sunao*, obedience, is near in sense to the English term “compliant” and it signifies the role of the individual vis-à-vis the group to offer compliance in order to foster group harmony (Lebra 1976). To persevere and to be patient are also inflected with the other-orientation; one perseveres through annoyance at one’s peers and patiently waits for a speaker to finish complaining so as not to disrupt the *nakama*. Good children promote stable and enduring relationships by subordinating self-interest and personal preferences for the sake of group relations. In controlling the quality of group relations through subordination, the power of the individual vis-à-vis the group is affirmed.

Being bossy, disruptive, and needy are excused in early and middle childhood, as the child is thought to be lacking in skills of self-control and moral discernment. These

behaviors are regarded as problematic when the child is approaching adolescence and begins to manifest volition. Japanese children develop a will, or personal volition around the start of pubescence. At this point they become capable of ethical action. In early childhood the person is considered incapable of determining good and bad, right and wrong action, and likewise of intentionally doing harm to others or purposefully misbehaving. Lewis (1999) notes that the explanation for a child's bad behavior is often that he or she has forgotten a promise to be good or does not yet understand how to behave properly (Lewis 1999: 92).¹⁴ Parents and teachers allow the children to act out and misbehave reasoning that they mean no harm in hitting and biting classmates or they have forgotten their manners. They reason that their inherently good children will "grow out of" bad behavior as they approach pubescence and discover their volition.

Approaching adolescence, children are expected to begin figuring out the difference between right and wrong and exhibiting greater self-control. Controlling amae behaviors and school attendance are ways pre-adolescents demonstrate their volition. The good child will limit amae behaviors to family and friends and attend school because the development of volition not only entails self-discipline, but also submission to peers. Seemingly paradoxical, with the development of will, adolescents actively seek out guidance in forming perspective and determining correct action. Schools and parents encourage children at the beginning of junior high school to turn to their peers for this task. In the previous chapter I noted how Kano students wanted friends who informed them of the difference between right and wrong and good and bad. Their strategy for moral reasoning involved submitting to the leadership of their friends. Thus the subordinate role is desirable position even as one develops his or her volition.

Intimacy, empathy, *amae*, group affiliation, and the formation of will are interwoven; through intimate interactions, children learn about the limits and possibilities of their ability to act on the actions of others. Children come to identify with the subordinate role through practices of ethical sociality, as they learn that about the power inherent in this position. Although the dominant party has the power to respond to empathy, indulge *amae*, and overcome the will of the individual, children affiliate with the subordinate role that elicits empathy, initiates *amae* actions, facilitates group life, and obtains moral guidance from others. This pattern is encouraged in adolescent friendships particularly during and after *hankōki*. With this period of rebellion, the newfound will manifests in the adolescent asserting independence from parents. *Hankōki* is considered normal and healthy; the path to adulthood proceeds through a period of teasing out the limits of will. Through *hankōki* adolescent intimacies shift from parents toward friends, and within the friend dyad or small group, adolescents hone a sense of power as they advance their skills in identification with subordination through a new set of practices of ethical sociality, *talk* and *enhanced talk*.

Hankōki

In seven years of living in Japan, I had come to understand adolescent *hankōki* as the second significant period of resistance in the individual's life after the toddler stage when the child asserts preferences, needs, and demands. Kano teachers and students, as well as my colleagues at the University of Tokyo, used the term with great frequency to characterize the adolescent life stage, qualify adolescent well-being—*hankōki* was essential to it—and to explain their own and others' deviant behaviors. But *hankōki* has received little attention in English-language scholarship on Japanese adolescence.

LeTendre (2000) devotes a single page to the period in his full-length comparative ethnography of Japanese and Western conceptualizations of adolescence, and White (1993) in her loosely comparative full-length ethnography of teenagers in the U.S. and Japan also grants the concept only a page of discussion. LeTendre and Akiba (2001), however, delve more deeply into this period in describing Japanese notions of the rebellion period. The teachers they interviewed understood *hankōki* as resistance to rules, which was a contrast to the U.S. teachers they interviewed who characterized this stage by resistance to adult authority. Moreover, they demonstrated that Japanese teachers recognize *hankōki* as a period beginning with pubescence and ending with the completion of junior high school (age 15).

This timeline is similar to the one given to Murphy (2006). Her informants, teachers at a private Tokyo girls school, also located the beginning of *hankōki* at the onset of pubescence, concurrent with the emergence of will, which would be in the final years of elementary school at around eleven-years-old. The teachers she interviewed, however, surmised that recently the *hankōki* period had begun occurring later in child development. Murphy reports that

in contrast to the ideal *hankōki* pattern, teachers reported that contemporary Yama high school girls were entering and exiting *hankōki* at later ages than their counterparts had in the past. Teachers reported that *hankōki* was occurring later because children were emotionally maturing at later ages than they had in the past. According to teachers, an emphasis on exams and preparing for exams means that grade school children spend valuable time perfecting their test-taking skills while sacrificing time with classmates and family... (2006: 42)

Teachers reported to Murphy that they worried about the impact of delayed *hankōki* on the long-term emotional development of children.¹⁵

Teachers and students at Kano located *hankōki* in junior high school, and most teachers told me that *hankōki* ended with junior high school, consistent with LeTendre and Akiba (2001) and Murphy (2006). But student timelines often extended the period into high school, which may be related to the student population at Kano. Students and teachers believed that *hankōki* was desirable and healthy for motivating students to assert their independence, a point I elaborate below.

In interviews I asked teachers whether they considered *hankōki* normal, and, if they considered it normal, if there was healthy and unhealthy *hankōki*. I also asked them to describe how students expressed resistance and whether there were differences between how male and female students went through *hankōki*. All of the teachers thought that *hankōki* was normal, and described the period as concomitant with the junior high school years. They explained that *hankōki* was a form of resistance to the authority of parents, teachers, and society that manifested in agitation, disobedience, non-communication with adults, and ignoring parents with the “silent treatment.” Several teachers mentioned hitting parents as a manifestation of adolescent *hankōki*, and two teachers mentioned hitting teachers as a form of *hankōki*. One teacher explained that *hankōki* occurred for junior high school and high school students when they saw the lies of adult society and turned authorities into “enemies.” Furthermore, this teacher explained, acting out resistance might be a means for students to gain recognition from adults.

By the time of the teacher interviews, I had become impressed by the number of students who would sleep, or at least pretend to sleep, in class. Sometimes half of the class would close their eyes and rest their heads on the tables until I announced that class

was dismissed, and their eyes would pop open and they would begin seeking out peers with whom they could play handheld video games or chat during the break between classes. I asked teachers if they thought sleeping in class was a form of resistance and only one teacher agreed with me. She thought that students were trying to get the teacher to ask if they were feeling okay. Gaining adult recognition and empathy were maneuvers aimed at controlling adults' actions. Attempting these vis-à-vis adults, having their attempts thwarted, and reconciling themselves to independence were aspects of a healthy hankōki.

Unhealthy hankōki was found in resistance directed toward classmates. This would be a denial of peer authority, which is anathema to adolescent sociality. Teachers also responded that hankōki was deviant when students directed resistance toward school authorities, or when rebellion manifested in violent behavior. One teacher summed up the differences between normal and abnormal hankōki: healthy hankōki was resistance toward parents while the student continued to do well in school, and unhealthy hankōki was directed toward other adults, toward school authority, and toward friends, or when a student violated the law or other rules.

Only three teachers thought that hankōki was different for male and female students. One teacher offered that girls have a more difficult hankōki period than boys, but that they go through it faster. One teacher distinguished boys from girls in their forms of rebellion: girls were more indirect in using language and style to rebel, whereas boys used violence and other overtly resistant behavior. Another teacher echoed this sentiment in citing the difference as being that girls used their words to rebel and boys used violence.

I asked students whether they thought *hankōki* was normal, who was the object of rebellion, how rebellion manifested, and if it was different for males and females. I also inquired about their experiences of *hankōki*. All students reported that *hankōki* was normal. Resistance activities directed at their parents included not listening, talking back, staying away from home, using harsh language, not greeting parents, roughing up the house, and not studying. Students emphasized a shifting perspective toward parents. One student explained that *hankōki* happened when students began to question: “why are my parents here anyway?” One student confessed that he felt badly about having made his mother cry through his resistant behaviors. In several interview events students mentioned resistance directed at teachers in the form of not going to school, not talking in class, and bullying the teacher.

Four students reported not having been through *hankōki*: one student's father was deceased and she explained that she had no one to rebel against; another student, who by my judgment had an overprotective mother, had yet to rebel; another student was awaiting the onset of her *hankōki* since her mother had told her that it would happen in the second or third year of junior high school; a fourth student was worried that she had not gone through *hankōki* because she'd heard that not having *hankōki* might make her sick as an adult. This student was speaking to the notion that those who do not express resistance vis-à-vis parents are thought to grow into adults who exhibit pathological shyness and anxiety such as those who live as *hikikomori*. Such persons would not be able to assume adult responsibilities. Independence from parents and assumption of personal responsibility for one's financial and emotional well-being are essential to the achievement of adulthood, as I discuss below.

When students were asked about gender differences in *hankōki*, their responses were similar to those of teachers. In five interviews, students cited gender differences between rebellion performances. “Boys were more physical and violent than girls” was mentioned in all of these cases. One interview specified that boys were likely to do things like throw cigarette butts on the street. In another interview, the students mentioned that girls were more likely to keep to themselves and make bad friends as a method of resisting. As discussed in previous chapters, making bad friends has different implications in Japan where friendship entails submission to the authority and advice of the friend. Making bad friends may be a form of resistance to parents who would want their child to secure the company of brilliant, law-abiding peers.

The elaboration of *hankōki* is consistent with a Western conceptualization of adolescence as a period of stress, strife, and discontent, a notion that has been argued against by anthropologists, including anthropologists of Japanese adolescence. Precisely because stress at adolescence was considered universal at the time she began her research, Mead (1928), who was interested in questions of nature versus nurture, took up the topic of adolescence.¹⁶ She argued that in Samoa, young women experienced the period following pubertal development as joyous and carefree because they had license to engage in sexual behaviors with multiple partners. Furthermore, among adolescent lovers there was an absence of deeply emotional ties, the kind that lead to jealousy. Samoan adolescent women indulged their sex drives, unlike American girls whose virginity was guarded and sexual expression limited. Mead concluded that adolescence was not inherently—for her, biologically—stressful, and that adolescent stress in the United States was due to social mechanisms repressing sexuality. Her position, however,

was counter-intuitive to anthropologists who had done fieldwork among the Samoans, and Mead's findings have continued to be debated throughout the twentieth century.¹⁷

Over the course of the last century some cultural anthropologists have taken up Mead's mantle and sought to explain why adolescence was or was not necessarily stressful, and pointed to sociocultural stressors that would account for varying degrees of adolescent volatility. Anthropological explanations for the source of adolescent stress have used Turner's (1969) concept of the liminal (see Rampton 1997). Turner, drawing on the work of van Gennep (1960 [1908]), located the source of adolescent stress in the state of liminality. Like other scholars of his generation, van Gennep believed that the physiological changes at puberty created a "very difficult moment" (van Gennep 1960 [1908]: 67-8), but, he contended, ritual behavior eased the stress associated with this trying period. Rituals such as tattooing or circumcision transformed adolescents from children to adults, creating movement between two stable identities.¹⁸

Turner added that not only was the experience of undergoing the ritual between childhood and adulthood liminal, but the whole period of adolescence was a state of "betwixt and between." Adolescents occupied an insecure position within their societies insofar as they were between the more definitive statuses of child and adult. Turner theorized that the liminal adolescent social life was characterized by informal community, *communitas*, when organizing structures of the social context impinged less on the person. Turner described the *communitas* ethos as one of unity, totality and equality. But, this state was also "dangerous and anarchical, and [had] to be hedged around with prescriptions, prohibitions, and conditions" (Turner 1995 [1969]:109). This was a time when children formed their own social groupings and adhered to standards

they created rather than to the standards of greater society, which was why adolescents were given to being antisocial, clannish, and subversive, and engaged in gang behaviors and delinquency.¹⁹ On the one hand, according to Mead, sexual freedom contributed to a less stressful adolescence, and on the other, according to Turner, the freedom of self-rule led to social and personal deterioration.

Comparative research between Japan and the West has sought to demonstrate that the Japanese conceptualization of adolescence diverges from a Western one, and thus the Japanese period by default would be less stressful. The root of this difference is found in adolescent aims. For Western adolescents the goal of this period is identity formation, and for the Japanese adolescent the aim is scholastic achievement. Discourses on *hankōki*, however, complicate this division, which may be why *hankōki* has been deemphasized in the literature. Indeed, *hankōki* points to areas of overlap in the conceptualizations and experiences of adolescence. *Hankōki* indicates a period of stress for adolescents and their parents and teachers, which is not unlike the stress of the prototypical Western adolescent. In Japan *hankōki* may be likened to an epilogue of childhood. The pubescent child discovers his or her personal volition and the limits of it. This period of resistive behavior motivates independence from parents and greater dependence on intimate peers. Teachers and parents encourage this shift through positive valuation of peer authority. Among peers, adolescents cultivate new dependencies, exercise power, and further identify with the powerful subordinate role. Through the experience of *hankōki* and adolescent friendship they evolve healthy sense of power that undergirds adult identity.

Later adolescence to adulthood

The end of adolescence is marked by the channeling of volition, energy, attitude, attention, effort, et cetera into separation from family and the assumption of self-responsibility. Becoming financially independent from parents and shifting emotional dependence away from parents are how Japanese evince adulthood. Friendship, in providing an intimate context that facilitates independence from parents, and one where adolescents can practice and hone skills in empathy, *amae*, group affiliation, and volition, is thus central to alignment with adult personhood. Patterns associated with hikikomori such as financial reliance on parents and violence directed at parents (*katenai boryoku*) (Zieleniger 2006) may be understood as evidence of how crucial friendship is to the achievement of Japanese adulthood and personal well-being. Without intimate peers with whom to exercise power and establish emotional independence from parents, childhood patterns of familial dependence continue with results detrimental to individual and familial well-being.

The notion of emotional separation from parents as a marker of Japanese adulthood contrasts a prevailing view of Japanese psychological development. Based on an examination of three decades of comparative literature on parent-child relations in Japan and the U.S., Rothbaum et al. (2000) argue that there are different paths of relational development in these cultural milieus. In Japan parents and children foster “symbiotic harmony” manifest in enduring attachment to parents, whereas in the U.S. parents and children experience “generative tension” over childhood and gradual individuation from their parents. The authors surmise that in a given cultural environment human beings develop a “predisposition for relatedness,” and for the Japanese this predisposition “passes through the lens of accommodation” (Rothbaum et

al. 2000:1123). The result, they argue, is that parent-child relationships retain equal importance to friend relationships during adolescence; Japanese adolescents desire to accommodate the perspectives and preferences of parents and peers equally. U.S. adolescents, in contrast, reject parental relationships for peer friendships from a desire to individuate. During U.S. adolescence, there is “a transferability of attachment from parents to peers leading to increased distance from parents” (2000: 1125), but in Japan there is “stability of relationships with both parents and peer” (ibid.).

Results from interviews with Kano faculty and students, however, indicate support for Crystal et al. (2008), who emphasize the importance of Japanese adolescent peer relations over those with parents. Managing friend relationships was a marker of maturity for Kano students, and separation from parents physically, emotionally, and financially indexed adulthood. Students and faculty indicated that the latter process began during the early adolescent period. According to Kano faculty, increasing assumption of responsibility for one’s daily routines, relationships, and future distinguished junior high from high school students. Even if the “enduring attachment” to parents described by Rothbaum et al. (2000) obtained for Kano students and teachers, their conceptualizations of maturation and adulthood emphasized the standard of independence.

I asked Kano faculty to describe the differences between first-, second-, and third-year junior high school and high school students. They generally considered junior high school a time when students began to transition out of childhood and assert independence from parents and other authorities, like teachers. Pace Turner, some regarded this period as liminal. One teacher explained that junior high school was when students felt

adulthood coming on, but were stuck in the middle between childhood and adulthood. Another teacher described emerging awareness in junior high school; at this point students began to understand they were part of a social context that demanded they follow rules, and with this they began to question, “why do I have to do this?” Students were caught between the sheltered world of childhood and greater society. One teacher mapped the changes in students over the three year of junior high school. In the first year, students thought of themselves less as children. In the second year, they recognized that they had become junior high school students. They were still reliant on parents even though there was a pull towards adulthood. At this point they could express feelings and conceptualize difference between friends and family. In the third year of junior high school student really began seeing the world around them, think about their goals, and, as they did so, they were less likely to take their parents for granted, which generated thankfulness to parents. This teacher’s response indicates students, over the course of junior high school, backgrounding relationships with parents for relationships with friends. Students become cognizant of the process as evidenced in feelings of guilt about taking parents for granted.

High school was a time when students calmed down, became assertive, and demonstrated self-responsibility. The settling down characteristic of high school was motivated by students feeling that they had earned their place in the institution. With Japanese compulsory education ending after junior high school, students must test into high school, and high school is usually the first chance for adolescents to directly determine their future course. One teacher explained to me that in high school students began to see the world as something they have chosen for themselves, and in this way

conceived of themselves as having responsibility to control it. Other teachers told me that the prospect of choosing work or school following high school graduation forced students to become more assertive. Likewise, another teacher referenced impinging graduation from secondary education as motivating student self-responsibility when he opined that responsibility was linked to understanding one's dreams for the future.

The term responsibility (*sekinin*) came up often in faculty descriptions of high school students. The school counselor, for example, told me that high school was when students started taking responsibility for themselves. In contrast to junior high school students, high school students had more freedom, one teacher offered, and with this freedom they had to look out for themselves. Kano teachers described self-responsibility as doing things for oneself, on the one hand, such as washing one's clothing and maintaining personal hygiene, and on the other hand, as taking control of their studies.

I also asked faculty and students when they thought a person had become fully adult. The term for adult used in this query (一般的に、人はいつ一人前の大人になると思いますか) is not the term for the legal age of adulthood, which occurs at twenty when citizens can vote and legally purchase controlled products like tobacco and alcohol. I used (*ichininmae no ottona* 一人前の大人) which may be translated as "full-fledged adult." Kano faculty and student responses were consistent with the notion that a person is expected to become a full-fledged adult during the period of young adulthood, *seinen*, a demographic designation that refers to persons between twenty and thirty-five years of age. I tallied the answers from faculty and students and the following chart lists responses mentioned more than once.

Table 4: Markers of adulthood

	Get/ look for a job	Self- respon- sibility	Separate from parents	Own money	Respon- sibility for others	Settled into a job	Do what one wants	Member of society
Faculty (N= 19)	4	4	1	3	3	3	2	2
Students (N= 20 events)	7	4	6	3	2	1	1	1
Total	11	8	7	6	5	4	3	3

In general, faculty referenced financial responsibility in this discussion. A-sensei, the hip teacher mentioned in chapter one, who told me that one became an adult when one had complete control over one's life, pointed to financial independence as a condition for this freedom. Work was an important theme in faculty's responses. They explained that adulthood occurred when one had settled into one's professional career, had mastered work tasks, and when one had saved enough money to support oneself. They speculated that these events took place a few years after entering the workforce. I also asked whether becoming a full-fledged adult occurred in the same way for men and women. To this question the faculty were quick to answer "no," but had difficulty articulating their reasoning. The part-time teacher in her forties offered that women just do it faster than men. A female staff member thought that female adulthood came with marriage and if not, then definitely with children. A high school male teacher was the only faculty member who thought that adulthood for women occurred only with childbirth. Other teachers mentioned that upon childbirth both men and women become adult.

The top four answers "get/look for a job," "self-responsibility," "separate from parents," and "own money" challenge Rothbaum et al. (2000) in indicating the

desirability for separation from parents and self-sufficiency in Japanese adulthood, a goal that begins to come into sight in early adolescence. Student interviewees often cited separation from parents as a signifier of adulthood. Separation for them meant being able to take care of oneself physically and financially, as in being able to manage the routines of daily life, living separately from parents, and not taking money from parents. One student said that an adult was independent of parents and could do things for him or herself. Another student said that people were adults when they received a salary, lived without parents, made their own meals, got their own money, and eventually supported their own families. The student then added that this was about taking responsibility for oneself. Notably, the only adult who cited separation from parents as a marker of adulthood was the school counselor, who may have been influenced by her interactions with students. I also asked about gender difference in the achievement of adulthood and most students thought that there was no difference, although some reported that women reached adulthood sooner than men.²⁰

Kano students planned to achieve full-fledged adulthood by finding work and gaining independence from their parents. This would occur during a time in their lives when they were secure in a sense of power developed over the course of adolescence through intimate friend interaction. At the beginning of chapter two I presented a quotation from Nakane (1970): “just how much a Japanese depends on, and expects from, his friends may be incomprehensible to the outsider. There are no clear lines which divide one’s own from another’s responsibility...” (Nakane 1970: 121). Mutual responsibility in friendship gains importance following *hankōki* as parental emotional and

financial support wanes. Identification with adult personhood is thus also facilitated by friendship.

A gendered sense of power

In this section I consider how friendship practices, in manifesting a gendered sense of power, may inform gender participation in the Japanese workforce. The imperative of same-sex friendship at adolescence genders a sense of power insofar as women and men enact friend intimacy-building practices among members of the same sex. The sense of power emergent from this same-sex context may contribute to a comfort barrier between the sexes that informs Japanese gender relations and participation in the Japanese workforce.

Anthropological accounts of gender socialization in Japan have pointed to how children learn to express gender through the performance of familial roles (Kondo 1990) and in their experience of the educational system (Tobin 1989; Cave 2006).²¹ At school children are socialized to gendered identities through sex-specific activities, behavioral modification, attitude, and attire, namely the school uniforms. I have described some ways that gender was implicated in the school environment of Kano Academy such as in the uniforms and sex-segregated seating in the classroom. On a daily basis male and female students rarely interacted during free time at lunch, between classes, and after school, at least while on school grounds. Male students played hand-held video games, chatted lazily with one another, and roughhoused, and female students groomed their hair and make-up, talked, and giggled with one another. There was camaraderie and friendly teasing between male and female students in all grades, but I never noted mixed groups of friends or one-on-one friendships between male and female students. None of the

students asked that their friendship interviews be conducted with a mixed-sex group. At Kano, as in adult friendship described in chapter two, friendship was a same-sex relationship. On the friendship questionnaire I asked students about the difference between having same-sex and opposite-sex friends and only twelve students of the fifty-eight respondents (F=36, M=26) reported that there was no difference. The remainder cited incompatibility in talk, opinion, thinking, humor, and biological sex as barriers to opposite-sex friendship.

At adolescence gender becomes piqued in contemplation of future social role. Gender may be expressed through multiple modalities from posture and adornment to aspiration and ideology. In Japan the link between performance of gender and performance of social role is rigid compared to the link between the performance of gender and appearance. Robertson (1998) demonstrates that in Japan the expression of gender in bodily adornment and comportment is regarded as playful. “Crossing” in dress is accepted as a natural, if curious, expression of individuality. But “crossing” in one’s social role is deviant; men and women commit themselves to social roles wherein the standards for achievement are synonymous with the standards for performance of masculinity and femininity. The icons of the housewife and the salaryman exemplify the divergent paths that men and women take after schooling (Dales 2009). These modes of being “contributing members of society” (*shakaijin*) gained in prominence over the course of the twentieth century and persist in contemporary Japan.

The ideal masculine identity since the end of the Second World War has been the white-collar salaryman. From the beginning of the Meiji era (1868-1912) and through the Second World War, the ideal masculinity was expressed through achievement in *bu*

(artistic mastery) and *bun* (military skill). These ideals coincide neatly with the title of Ruth Benedict's widely-read ethnographic monograph, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946). As soldier-scholars men were also positioned as the head of the household (*ie*), the organizing unit of the population from the Meiji period through World War II. The term salaryman was coined in a cartoon series by Kitazawa Rakuten in 1916 entitled *Salaryman Heaven and Salaryman Hell* (Dasgupta 2000). This new breed of citizen was more scholar than soldier and likely in the occupation of bureaucrat or corporate manager where his labor enumerated by monthly—not hourly—pay. Concomitant with this modern male identity was a new set of masculine concerns including relationships with the boss, avoiding overtime, and enjoying long weekends away from the office (Dasgupta 2000). During pre-World War II mobilization for the Japanese imperial colonial enterprise, the salaryman identity ebbed in popularity, but concomitant with demilitarization following the war, the salaryman replaced the soldier-scholar as the dominant masculine identity. Within twenty-five years, over seventy-five percent of Japanese working men identified themselves as salaryman, even if they did not receive salaried compensation for their work (Roberson and Suzuki 2003). Non-ideal masculinities of the blue-collar worker and the artisan have been neither ridiculed nor presented as the desirable course for the male child.

The salaryman has retained links to the samurai of an idealized feudal past. He is a corporate warrior (*kigyō senshi*), but his battle involves hard work in junior high and high school leading to entrance into a top-tier university followed by an offer of employment from a large corporation and about forty years of rush hour, overtime, marriage to a housewife, children, and a financially secure retirement. Meeting this ideal

takes a personal toll in the form of physical stress and mental exhaustion. Company retreats (Kondo 1991) and after-hours socializing (Allison 1994) are designed to cultivate the desire and energy for meeting the demands of the salaryman role. But when these resources are not available, and even when they are, the salaryman lifestyle puts men at risk for physical alienation from the home in the form of work-transfer, psychological alienation for not having time to spend with family, alcoholism, death by overwork (*karoshi*), and middle-age suicide. The salaryman is nevertheless considered the pinnacle of masculine achievement.

The Meiji government (1868-1912) promoted a modern feminine identity in the “good wife, wise mother” (*ryōsai kenbo*), and this identity has persevered as an ideal for contemporary women, albeit in the role of the professional housewife (*sengyō shufu*). Non-normative feminine gender identities in the first quarter of the twentieth century—the risqué “modern girl” (*moga*) and the “new working woman” (*shinshokugyō fujin*)—were foils for good wife, wise mother. These alternative identities have taken new forms in contemporary Japan in the *kōgyaru* (young women known for dressing and behaving provocatively) and the career woman, who appears in afternoon dramas as deeply unsatisfied with her hectic, barren life (White 2002).

For adolescent females, the roles of spousal/child/elderly-caretaker and part-time worker are presented as markers of having achieved an ideal life (Pike and Borovoy 2004).²² Career ambitions can make it impossible for women to achieve a desirable feminine identity and can be experienced as a felt contradiction in personal identity. Adolescent women reckon with the irony that years of schooling toward a career are not likely to manifest in long-term employment as adults.

The fusion between gender and social role is nowhere more evident than in the sex-segregated Japanese labor market where women are less likely to assume a managerial position in a business corporation or a career-track profession than in any other major industrialized nation (Charles et al. 2004). In a discussion of Japanese masculinity Castro-Vázquez (2007) points out that “although Japanese men change, question and reexamine the present day male dominated society, Japan is still identified as the most impenetrable patriarchal country among the major powers” (2007:57). Participation of women in the labor market has conformed to an m-shaped pattern since the end of the Second World War. Nearly two-thirds of women quit their jobs at marriage and reenter the workforce at the end of their children’s secondary education often as part-time workers (Lee and Hirata 2001:98). Brinton (2001) explains this phenomenon as a result of a combination of Confucian patriarchal familial principles and the husband’s preference for the wife to remain close to home.

Nevertheless, most married men and women favor female work after marriage and childbirth in order for the family to meet the lifestyle standards of the middle class including home ownership and child education costs, as long as the mother does not demonstrate devotion to her work by working full-time (Tsuya and Choe 2004). There is neither structural support for working mothers in the form of maternity leave nor are there day care services after childbirth (Hendry 2003). As Kondo (1990) puts it, “in the larger context of Japanese culture, women’s narrative productions of identity in work are not part of the central story” (Kondo 1990: 259). Rosenberger (2001), however, points out that the ability to either work outside of the home or remain in the home to raise children grants Japanese women flexibility. Moreover, she argues that younger women

increasingly embrace their careers as a marker of adulthood. Rather than viewing the choice between the role of housewife and career woman as a gendered one, Japanese women consider these options in moral terms; being career-oriented does not make them less of a woman.

In spite of legal apparatuses granting women significant protection against sexual discrimination in the workplace, the actualization of gender parity in Japan has not occurred in part because female workers generally do not assert their rights (Dales 2009).²³ Indeed, it seems that Japanese women do not wish to enter a male workforce. This has been explained as a feminist stance against the rigors of the salaryman lifestyle and, alternatively, submission to gendered expectations and aspirations. And it remains irksome to feminists—Japanese and foreign alike—that Japanese women, living in a society that protects their rights as workers and whose schooling stresses equality and prepares them for the same occupations as men, cannot overcome gender ideologies to seize opportunities for a career and financial independence.

Holding women back may be the prospect of working with men. That this is a daunting and discomfoting prospect may be related to the evolution of a sense of power in same-sex friend relationships. A sense of power emerges through and finds its expression among members of the same-sex. In this way, friend relations and the emergent sense of power may support a comfort barrier to a gender-integrated work environment. And it would be felt in both directions: Why would men encourage women to enter their workplace when women's presence precludes a healthful assertion of power? Sex-segregation of friendship and the realization of a sense of power in the

company of same-sex peers may inform a comfort barrier between women and men, and thus contribute to workplace segregation.

¹ Bell (1981) argues that friendship presents individuals with an opportunity for emotional expression, enhances an individual's self-worth, and provides an opportunity for change in self-perception. Over a lifetime friendships nurture stability in personal identity in a context of radical political and economic changes (Pritchett 2007). Allan (1996) argues that by virtue of friendship occurring among persons of equal social status, friendship affirms individual identity. During life changes such as marriage, entering university, divorce, or work, friends provide support that buttresses self-regard when it is challenged. Friends may also fulfill unconscious needs. Duck (1983) argues that friendship in confirming values, practices, and conceptualizations is foundational to personality maintenance and well-being. As a consequence, the loss of a friend is experienced as a loss of self insofar as it "leaves bits of our personality floating in the air; it can make us fall apart psychologically" (1983:28).

² Although research from psychology has demonstrated through observational studies that young children have a conceptualization of friendship and friends, and that children put effort into building and maintaining friend relationships, these have been understood as more distinct from adult friendships than the friendships of adolescents (Dunn 2004). Reisman (1979) offers that adolescent friendships may serve to resolve three developmental themes of this life stage: narcissism, identification, and projection. Adolescents indulge narcissism through attraction to friends similar to themselves, they satisfy a need for identification in seeking friends whose attributes they wish to acquire, and they respond to the need to project through attraction to friends with characteristics they disavow. Drawing on developmental psychiatrist Harry Stack Sullivan (1953) Bukowski (2001) explains through peers children develop the "me-object" that Mead (1934) referred to in his distinction between I and me in the human subject. Bukowski also points out that because friends provide a zone of anxiety-reducing intimacy concomitant with a context of mutual challenge, friendship is a powerful context of all types of learning.

³ Krappmann (1996) criticizes Whiting and Whiting for not undertaking peer relations in their cross-cultural exploration of adolescence in the 1980's. He supposes that they did not expect youth friendships to be a means of cultural transmission (1996: 26)

⁴ Cross-culturally French et al. (2003) corroborate these findings for Indonesian children and add that Indonesian children without mutual friendships also show aggressive behavior and have trouble with schoolwork.

⁵ Indeed, as Giordano (2003) points out, much of the academic literature on adolescent friendship treats the relationship as good for the individual and society. Rubin, Fredstrom, and Becker (2008) explain that friendship as discussed by psychiatrist Harry Stack Sullivan (1953) has influenced studies of adolescent friendship in orienting these to the positive consequences of friendship. According to Sullivan friends are thought to provide

affection, good company, and fun; emotional security; helpfulness, advice, and instrumental aid; validation of interests, hopes, and fears; opportunities for intimate disclosure; and prototypes for later romantic, marital, and parental relationships... and perhaps the most important function of friendship is to offer children a pleasurable, extra-familial safe haven that reassures their exploration of the effects of their behaviors on themselves, their peers, and their environments. (cited in Rubin, Fredstrom, and Becker 2008: 2)

Giordano (2003) argues that even though there is little empirical support for the notion, research programs are designed based on an assumption that adolescents with intimate friendships will either not engage in deviant behaviors, or, if they do, then they do not have any friends (2003: 260). Bearman and Moody (2004) demonstrate that male and female adolescents are more likely to engage in suicidal ideation and attempts when one of their friends had attempted or completed suicide. And, groups of friends may bully others and engage in acts of violence that any individual would not undertake alone.

⁶ Like Levy, Levenson et al. (1992) explore cognition and the subjective experience of emotion. They found that although West Sumantrans could recognize, identify, and discuss an emotion, they could not describe the subjective experience of it, even though there were physiological changes indicating that an emotion had been experienced. They conclude that culturally, for West Sumantrans emotional experience is implicated with others and not experienced alone.

⁷ A sense of power is enmeshed with other senses related to personhood such as a sense of ethnicity, a sense of class, a sense of gender, et cetera. A sense of power is classed and ethnic identity is implicated in its contours. My population of students was not ethnically diverse enough to discuss the relationship between ethnicity, friendship, and a sense of power, and since I was unable to determine the class of participants, I refrain from making conclusions about class values and ethnicity in friendship relationships and how these may be implicated in a sense of power. Certainly, both of these themes would be interesting to pursue in further studies of Japanese friendship.

⁸ I use the terms early and middle childhood and adolescence to approximate the ages when these constructs are expected to be taught and realized by the Japanese child. I am not suggesting that they follow as general human developmental pattern, nor am I implying that these age ranges are given as absolute in the Japanese conceptualization of social and moral development.

⁹ The literature does not support a thorough examination of practices of ethical sociality as these are inflected by gender, class, or other meaningful categories of personhood. Concerning gender for example, Tobin (1989) demonstrates that preschool sociality differs in terms of roles that male and female students play in negotiating disagreements, which could be understood as gendered practices of empathy. But other scholars have noted gender similarity in empathy practices at a similar age (see Clancy 1986). Moreover, Shimizu (2001b) demonstrates that Japanese male adolescents have the same “care orientation” in interpersonal relationships as female adolescents. This is an important area for further research.

¹⁰ *Skinship* and attention to the needs, desires, and physical condition of the child through monitoring the child's food intake, bowel movements, body temperature, height, weight, and the first signs of preference for certain foods, colors, shapes, animals etc. are non-verbal expressions of a mother's care (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984). These behaviors are referenced when anthropologists and psychologists explain why Japanese mothers do not speak to their children as much as American and British mothers, and why Japanese children acquire speech habits later than their Western counterparts (Lock 1981).

¹¹ As a psychoanalyst, Doi was concerned with the relationship between *amae* love and psychic and emotional phenomena. He explains how emotional terms for reservation, *enryō*, and solidarity, *medetai*, are inflected with *amae*. Reservation is experience in connection to being unable to express *amae*, and solidarity is experience when one is free to *amae*. But *amae* is not only a Japanese pattern of intimacy; dependency in interpersonal relationships, Doi observes, is a panhuman phenomenon. Johnson (1993) in a book-length discussion of *amae* argues that the desire to *amae* is based in "nonsexualized desire for affiliation, cherishment, and dependent indulgence (*amae*) that is in conflict with traditional psychoanalytic explanations of dependency and affiliation as secondary drives" (1993: 151). Conceptualizing *amae* as a process with specific behavioral-cognitive features may allow for cross-cultural elucidation of how the desire for dependence, the panhuman phenomenon, is locally articulated.

¹² Borovoy (2001) critiques the use of *amae* to explain Japanese behavior. She argues that when *amae* is self-consciously embraced as a characteristic of the Japanese, it manifests as an excuse for power abuses. She writes that "the concept of *amae* suggests a world where social order is orchestrated and legitimized through intimate social relations rather than top-down commands: the presumption of mutualism, the notion of harmony through division of labor or benevolent hierarchy, trust through intimacy rather than contractuality, the pursuit of one's own ends through presuming on the good graces of others, and the notion that one need not look out for oneself but rather can trust to be looked after" (2001: 100). Borovoy confirms *amae* as an emic methodology for intimacy-building and maintenance, even as she points out its obfuscation of power relations. I share Borovoy's concerns, and acknowledge that giving *amae* behaviors attention may make me complicit with work in the field of *amae*. But I would distinguish my perspective from others insofar as I am interested in using *amae* as a tool to describe the cultural processes of friendship building and not offering it as a Japanese characteristic.

¹³ This totalizing context for the young learner has contributed to what Lebra (1976) calls the "mother fixation." She observes that as adults Japanese recall their mothers as paragons of sacrifice and experience guilt over their mother's suffering on their behalf when they were children. They also feel a debt of gratitude towards the mother for her encouragement and practical support for their educational goals and eventual achievements. The mother fixation, she argues, opens space in the life of the adult Japanese for the continued influence of the mother. Allison (2000) suggests that the Japanese mother is powerful, similar to the way that the father is powerful in the West, and she shows parallels in psychoanalytic theories in Japan and the West. According to the Freudian paternal principle, the father-figure is pivotal in the psychic development of the

individual and is foundational of sociality. In Japan, argues Allison, the mother-figure functions in both capacities, and there is a maternal principle at work. Kosawa Heisaku, founder of psychoanalysis in Japan, believes the ancient Japanese Ajase myth is the Japanese equivalent to the oedipal myth insofar as each iterates the foundational moments of personhood and sociality within the context of the family. In the Ajase myth, a queen kills an aged sage, whom she is told will be reborn as her son, in order to hasten the birth of her future progeny. After the birth of her son, however, the queen becomes fearful of being cursed by the spirit of the sage and attempts to kill her son. Unable to carry out this task, she resigns herself to raising the child, who grows up healthy and strong. One day the son discovers that the mother attempted to end his life and becomes angry, tries to kill her, fails, and ends up with a terrible disease. The queen nurses her son back to health, and they forgive one another and live compatibly for the rest of her days. Heisaku reasons that the Japanese cultivation of the mother-child bond, in contrast to its severance in the oedipal myth, presages the Japanese person as embedded in intimate relationships, or socially relational. He also finds the Japanese disposition towards one another of fulfilling duty, which is at the core of Japanese sociality, is a continued reenactment of the child doing penance to the mother for his or her ingratitude or any emotional pain his or her negligence, failure, or misbehavior caused her. Thus, in Japan there is a maternal principle; mothers are figured as the “condition of sociality” (26), just as the father is in the West. Allison (2000) argues that Japanese children come to internalize prohibitions against expecting motherly indulgence and expressing aggression.

¹⁴ Tsuneyoshi (2001) compares the conceptualization of Japanese children to that of plants: in a good environment they will thrive and prosper naturally. There are no inborn limits on a child’s potential. All children regardless of their personal volition are capable of flourishing and experiencing success. Tobin (1989) observes that preschool teachers could not commit themselves to accepting intelligence as an innate attribute, but measured intelligence by the child’s ability to express certain character traits. Furthermore, he notes that the teachers and administrators who expressed this sentiment were unwilling to accept the notion of inborn intelligence because it conflicted with their ethic of educational equality that figures all students as equal in intellectual capacity.

¹⁵ The period established by Murphy is earlier than the one that I found predominated among Kano teachers and some students. There may be a class bias in Murphy’s results: students and teachers at an urban private girls’ school were likely of a higher socioeconomic status than those at Kano, and they might associate *hankōki* with childishness because it does not conform to dominant middle class ideals of adolescent personhood as a time when a child’s energy is directed at vigorous study and formulating future goals. It may also be that for Kano students, and even their teachers, rebellion was a more significant construct given their experiences as *futōkōsei*.

¹⁶ The first anthropological foray of the twentieth century into the topic of adolescence was the seminal monograph by G. Stanley Hall (1905) entitled *Adolescence: Its psychology and its relation to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion, and education*. This provocative title iterates the dogma of a volatile adolescence as biological destiny and in its exotic and erotic tenor bears the mark of the preoccupation with human sexuality in the latter Victorian era (Tuzin 1994). *The Sexual Life of Savages*

(1929) a seminal early twentieth-century ethnography was informed by the interest in the behavioral manifestations of the human sex drive. In this monograph Malinowski reports that among persons of the Trobriand Islands adolescence marks the transition between the infantile and playful sexualities of the child and the serious permanent relations of adulthood that precede marriage. During this intermediate period, Malinowski explains, “love becomes passionate and yet remains free” (Malinowski 1929: 57). A later ethnography, *The Muria and their Ghotul* (1947) continued this trend in casting adolescence as a period of unbridled sexuality. Elwin, the ethnographer, introduces readers to the *ghotul*, a dormitory where unmarried adolescents live, work, and engage in sexual relationships.

¹⁷ Mead’s inquiry has been provocative mainly because of its relationship to the classical anthropological issue of the degree of biological determinism in personality, deviant behavior, psychopathology, and cross-culturally similar practices such as courtship and marriage. In a direct attack against Mead’s empirical findings, Freeman (1996 [1983]) accused her of distorting her evidence to impress her mentor, Franz Boas. Freeman supposes that Mead emphasized evidence that would verify her mentor’s position concerning cultural influence on character. Also, he contends that Mead did hasty research in order to spare time for her collection of ethnographic data for Bishop’s museum in Hawaii. In 1996, he revealed that Mead’s informants confessed to telling the ethnographer fictional stories to satisfy her curiosity about private matters they would never reveal about themselves to such a stranger. Freeman musters this evidence against Mead to promote biologically informed cultural anthropological research that would divide factors influencing behavior and personality into ‘genetic’ and ‘exogenetic’ factors. I believe this is a misleading approach since exogenetic and genetic factors are dialectically articulated and mutually informing.

¹⁸ He analyzed rites of passage, the rituals marking social status changes, which he organized into three stages: separation, transition and incorporation. This ritual sequence, he argued, functioned to make easier these shifts in status.

¹⁹ Ikuya (1991) has made use of Turner’s theory of the liminal in his description of how the Japanese adolescent’s quest for identification with a community of peers can lead to affiliations with youth gangs wherein general social norms are kept at bay and criminal activities aimed at greater society may become the rule.

²⁰ Teachers seemed to relish the chance to answer the questions about achieving adulthood, but students hesitated in their replies, perhaps demonstrating their uncertainty and lack of immediate concern in contrast to the mostly seinen faculty.

²¹ Cave (2006) notes that there has been less research on the educational system and gender in Japan than in the U.S. and Britain. Furthermore, he argues that “gender stereotyping and discrimination” at the primary schools where he conducted ethnographic research was less intense than in Japanese society at large and that “many of the gendered features observed at the schools were generated by children themselves, or brought into the school by them,” as opposed to being socialized by the school (154).

²² Pike and Borovoy (2004) point out that along with preparation for the rigorous examinations necessary for entrance into high school and university, from junior high school female adolescents are trained in “domestic education” (*kateika*) wherein they are

taught that female maturation means accepting the responsibilities of becoming a mother and wife (Pike and Borovoy 2004: 502).

²³ Feminists in Japan over the twentieth century have embraced varying approaches to furthering women's interests, but women-centered feminist movements have dominated. When emphasis has been on achieving equality in the workplace and under Japanese law, however, there has been progress. In 1986 the government passed the Equal Employment Opportunity law, which outlawed sexual discrimination in the workplace. This law also eliminated provisions specific to women such as maternity leave, as a measure of parity between men and women. These were reinstated in 1992, however, through the Parental Leave Act, a triumph of women-centered feminism.

Conclusion

Although Japanese identify power in age, gender, educational attainment, and economic status, they value power in the subordinate role. At adolescence friend relationships serve as a context for affirming power in the subordinate role and honing a healthy sense of it that inflects self-, other-, and interactive-regard in contexts beyond the friend dyad or small clique. Friendship thus plays a crucial role in Japanese adolescent personal, social, and ethical well-being.

In the course of fieldwork at Kano Academy, I observed a transformation in students who secured intimate friend relationships. These students expressed self-confidence, positive future orientation, and enthusiasm for school life. Moreover, they attended school regularly. Friendship, it seemed, was implicated in the transformation from futōkōsei to student. Although Kano faculty did not recognize that student friendships contributed to their goals of fostering independence and interdependence, I suggest that these made a significant contribution, and that friendship more generally promotes independence and interdependence for Japanese adolescents.

With respect to independence, friendships facilitate the transition from emotional and financial dependence on parents to self-responsibility, a marker of adult personhood. With respect to the interdependence, having intimates among the nakama supports this critical peer group. Students who lack friends or have friend-conflict may become alienated from their class group, and, as the Kano faculty averred and MEXT implies, alienation motivates absenteeism. Rosenberger (2001) and Nakane (1970) demonstrate how friendship can be a source of emotional and practical support in the workplace.

Likewise, student experience of nakama life may be enhanced by dyadic and even small clique intimacy.

Additionally, friendship promotes a sense of power characterized by elaboration of the subordinate role, which is fundamental to a self that is socially relativistic (Lebra 1976), sociocentric (Rosenberger 1989), relationally defined (Kondo 1990), and interdependent (Markus and Kitayama 1991, 1994). From a posture of subordination sociocentric individuals align themselves with others to maintain the quality of their relationships. Concomitant with effort at alignment are introspective practices of self-critique and negative self-regard, effectively practices of personal subordination that foster interdependence.

The experience of friend intimacy-building practices at Japanese adolescence is vital to the development of culturally desirable self-, other-, and interactive-regard. Psychopathologies such as TJK and conditions of social withdrawal like hikikomori are characterized by fear, mistrust, and discomfort around peers, and these conditions typically emerge during a period when Japanese turn to their friends for honing a sense of power that informs this triad of regard. Resistance to peer interaction typical of these conditions may be related to friend responsibilities like self-disclosure and agonistic interaction, which can be daunting. For those who muster the volition to engage with peers in these practices, however, the rewards of friendship are many. When Kano students, many of whom had histories of and contemporary struggles with behavioral and emotional challenges, were able to find their voices and engage in these friend intimacy-building practices, they realized a healthy sense of power that manifested in personal transformation: they could identify with cultural notions of a good adolescent and they

experienced improvement in behavioral, emotional, and social health. In speaking up, beckoning to others, self-revealing, listening to others, and providing moral guidance, Kano students reoriented the course of their adolescence.

Appendix One: Kano Faculty Interview Questions

先生方・事務員の方々とインタビュー質問のサンプル Sample questions for the faculty and staff

以下の質問はサンプルです。全ての質問をインタビューで尋ねるとは限りません。一方、質問によってはより詳しく尋ねることもあるかもしれません。The following questions are a sampling of the questions I ask in the interview . I may ask faculty to expand on their answers in greater detail.

1. 小学生、中学生、高校生、大学生とでは、どんな特徴の違いがあると思いますか。 Among elementary, junior high, high school, and university students what do you think characterizes each type in the following ways?
 - a. どんな性格の違いがあると思いますか。 How do they differ in personality?
 - b. どんな考え方の違いがあると思いますか。 How do they differ in ways of thinking?
 - c. どんな価値観の違いがあると思いますか。 How do they differ in values?

2. 中学生でも、学年よって中1、中2、中3とでは、どんな特徴の違いがあると思いますか。 Among the three grades of junior high school, what do you think characterizes each grade in the following ways?
 - a. どんな性格の違いがあると思いますか。 How do they differ in personality?
 - b. どんな考え方の違いがあると思いますか。 How do they differ in ways of thinking?
 - c. どんな価値観の違いがあると思いますか。 How do they differ in values?

3. 高校生でも、学年よって高1、高2、高3とでは、どんな特徴の違いがあると思いますか。 Among the three grades of high school, what do you think characterizes each grade in the following ways?
 - a. どんな性格の違いがあると思いますか。 How do they differ in personality?
 - b. どんな考え方の違いがあると思いますか。 How do they differ in ways of thinking?
 - c. どんな価値観の違いがあると思いますか。 How do they differ in ways of thinking?

4. Kano 学園でも同じような違いがありますか。Are these differences the same at Kano Academy as they are at other schools?
5. Kano 学園で、働き始めた前に、Kano 学園はどんな学校だと思っていましたか。どうやって Kano 学園の存在がわかるようになりましたか。How did you imagine Kano Academy before beginning work here? How did your impression change after beginning work at the school?
6. 世間で、Kano 学園は どんな学校と思われていると思いますか。What is the community's impression of Kano Academy?
7. 一般的に、中学生と高校生が持っている目標は何だと思えますか。In general, what do you think are junior high school and high school students' aspirations?
 - a. Kano 学園の生徒さんの目標も同じですか。Is this the same for Kano students?
8. 先生が中学生に教えなければならないことは、何だと思えますか。What do you think teachers must instruct junior high school students in?
 - a. 先生が高校生に教えなければならないことは、何だと思えますか。What do you think teachers must instruct high school students in?
9. 親が中学生に教えなければならないことは、何だと思えますか。What do you think parents must instruct junior high school students in?
 - a. 親が高校生に教えなければならないことは、何だと思えますか。What do you think parents must instruct high school students in?
10. 中学生が学ぶべきこと、経験するべきことは何だと思えますか。What experiences do you think junior high school students must have?
 - a. 高校生が学ぶべきこと、経験するべきことは何だと思えますか。What experiences do you think high school students must have?
11. 中学生の心理的な発達に一番影響を与える経験は何だと思えますか。What experiences do you think have the most impact on the psychological development of junior high school students?
 - a. 高校生の心理的な発達に一番影響を与える経験は何だと思えますか。What experiences do you think have the most impact on the psychological development of high school students?

12. 思春期はだいたい、いつごろ始まって、いつごろ終わると思いますか。
When does puberty begin, end?
- 反抗期は普通だと思っていますか。Is an adolescent rebellion period normal?
 - 反抗期になる子供はだれに反抗するのですか。Who do adolescents rebel against?
 - どんなふうに反抗するのですか。How do adolescents rebel?
 - あいさつできない生徒さんは反抗していると思いますか。Is it a form of rebellion not to greet others?
 - 先輩・後輩関係はどんな関係だと思いますか。What do you think characterizes a sempai/kohai relationship?
 - 不良とは、どんな人だと思いますか。What kind of person is a delinquent?
 - いじめは普通だと思いますか。Do you think that bullying is normal?
 - ほとんどの不登校は思春期になった子と聞きましたが、そうだと思いますか。なぜ。Many students become absentees during pubescence, do you think that there is a relationship between puberty and absenteeism?
13. 一般的に、人はいつ一人前の大人になると思いますか。In general, when do you think a person becomes a full-fledged adult?
14. 今現在、先生の立場からみて、一般的な中学生の友人関係とはどのような関係だと思いますか。At present from your standpoint, what do you think a typical junior high school friendship is like?
- 理想的な中学生の友人関係とはどのような関係だと思いますか。What do you think an ideal junior high school friendship is like?
 - 健康的な中学生の友人関係とはどのような関係だと思いますか。What do you think a healthy junior high school friendship is like?
 - 不健康的な中学生の友人関係とはどのような関係だと思いますか。What do you think an unhealthy junior high school friendship is like?
15. 今現在、先生の立場からみて、一般的な高校生の友人関係とはどのような関係だと思いますか。At present from your standpoint, what do you think a typical high school friendship is like?
- 理想的な高校生の友人関係とはどのような関係だと思いますか。What do you think an ideal high school friendship is like?
 - 健康的な高校生の友人関係とはどのような関係だと思いますか。What do you think a healthy high school friendship is like?

- c. 不健康的な高校生の友人関係とはどのような関係だと思いますか。
What do you think an unhealthy high school friendship is like?

16. Kano 学園の生徒さんの友人関係と、ほかの中学生、高校生の友人関係とは、もし違うとすれば、どのような点で違うと思いますか。How do you think that Kano Academy students' friendships are different from your own friendship experience or the friendship experiences of mainstream junior high and high school students, if they are different at all?

Appendix Two: Kano Student Interview Questions

生徒さんとインタビュー質問のサンプル

以下の質問はサンプルです。全ての質問をインタビューで尋ねるとは限りません。一方、質問によってはより詳しく尋ねることもあるかもしれません。This is a sampling of the questions that I will ask in the interviews. I may ask students to provide more detail in their answers.

1. 小学校に入る前は、誰と遊びましたか。Before entering elementary school, who did you play with?
 - a. 友達は何人ぐらいいましたか。How many friends did you have?
 - b. 友達は主に男の子でしたか、女の子でしたか。Were your friends mostly girls or boys?
 - c. どんなことをして遊びましたか。What kinds of things did you do?

2. 小学校（低学年、高学年）の頃は、誰と遊びましたか。In the first three/last three years of entering elementary school, who did you play with?
 - a. 友達は何人ぐらいいましたか。How many friends did you have?
 - b. 友達は主に男の子でしたか、女の子でしたか。Were your friends mostly girls or boys?
 - c. どんなことをして遊びましたか。What kinds of things did you do?
 - d. その友達はみんな学校の友達でしたか。学校以外の友達は誰でしたか。（例えば近所の友達、いっこ、塾の友達など）Were all of your friends school friends, or did you have friends outside of school?

3. 中学校の頃は、友達は何人ぐらいいましたか。In junior high school, who did you play with?
 - a. 友達は主に男の子でしたか、女の子でしたか。Were your friends mostly girls or boys?
 - b. どんなことをして遊びましたか。What kinds of things did you do?
 - c. その友達はみんな学校の友達でしたか。学校以外の友達は誰でしたか。（例えば近所の友達、いっこ、塾の友達など）Were all of your friends school friends, or did you have friends outside of school?

4. 今現在、友達は何人ぐらいいますか。Now, how many friends do you have?
 - a. 友達は主に男の子ですか、女の子ですか。Are your friends mostly girls or boys?
 - b. どんなことをして遊びますか。What kinds of things do you do?

- c. その友達はみんな学校の友達ですか。学校以外の友達は誰ですか。
(例えば近所の友達、いっこ、塾の友達など) Are all of your friends school friends, or do you have friends outside of school?
5. 今一番親しい友達とはどのぐらい長く付き合っていますか。 How long have you known your closest friend?
6. 年上の友達は何人ぐらいいますか。 How many older friends do you have?
a. 年下の友達は何人ぐらいいますか。 How many younger friends do you have?
b. 同い年の友達は何人ぐらいいますか。 How many same-age friends do you have?
c. (男性、女性) の友達はそれぞれ何人ぐらいいますか。 How many male and female friends do you have?
7. 親友はいますか。 Do you have a best friend?
8. 友達の数について
a. 現在、友達は何人ぐらいいますか。 How many friends do you have?
b. 友達は多い方ですか、少ない方ですか。 Are you the type of person who has a lot of friends, a few friends?
c. 今よりもう少し多い、あるいは、少ないがいいと思いますか。 Would you like to have more or fewer friends than you do now?
d. 友達の数は何人ぐらいがいいと思いますか。 Ideally, how many friends do you think is good?
9. 日常生活において、友達は大切だと思えますか。 Are friends an important part of your everyday life?
10. 自分自身の幸せにとって友達はどのぐらい重要だと思えますか。 How important are friends to your happiness?
11. 人と友達になるのは難しいと思えますか。 Is it difficult to make friends?
12. 「親友」と「ただの友達」はどう違うと思えますか。 What is the difference between a friend and a best friend?
13. ———さんは、友達とはグループで一緒に過ごしたいですか、それとも二人で過ごしたいですか。 Do you prefer hanging out with one other friend, or in a group?

14. 友達とグループで一緒に過ごすときと、二人で一緒に過ごすときとでは、どのように違いますか。 How are friend interactions different in a group and a dyad?
15. ———さんは、誰かと友達になるのに、時間がかかるほうですか。 Does it take you a long time to make friends?
16. どうやって友達になりますか。 How do you make friends?
17. その人と友達になれたことはどのように分かりますか。 How do you know when you've made friends with someone?
18. 一般的に、学校に新しい人が入ってきたとき、周りの人からその人に話しかけてあげるべきだと思いますか。 In general when someone is new to school, are the people supposed to beckon to the new person?
 - a. 逆に、新しい人が、自分から周りの人に話しかけるべきだと思いますか。 Or, is the new person supposed to beckon to the group?
19. 一般的に、お母さんと友達のような関係であることは良いことだと思いますか。 In general, do you think it's a good thing for children to have a friend-like relationship with mother?
 - a. 現在、お母さんと友達のような関係ですか。 At present, do you have a friend-like relationship with mother?
20. 一般的に、お父さんと友達のような関係であることは良いことだと思いますか。 In general, do you think it's a good thing for children to have a friend-like relationship with father?
 - a. 現在、お父さんと友達のような関係ですか。 At present, do you have a friend-like relationship with father?
21. 兄弟、姉妹はいらっしゃいますか。 Do you have any siblings?
 - a. 一般的に、お兄さん、お姉さん、弟、妹、と友達のような関係であることは良いことだと思いますか。 In general, do you think it's a good thing for children to have a friend-like relationship with siblings?
 - b. 現在、お兄さん、お姉さん、弟、妹、と友達のような関係ですか。 At present, do you have a friend-like relationship with siblings?
22. 友達と口げんかをするのは普通だと思いますか。 Do you think it's normal for friends to argue?
 - a. 友達とよく口げんかをしますか。 Do you often argue with your friends?

23. ファッション、服装や外見などがあなたと似ている、あるいは、似ていない友達はそれぞれ何人ぐらいいますか。 How many friends are like you and how many are not like you in terms of fashion and appearance?
24. 性格があなたと似ている、あるいは、似ていない友達はそれぞれ何人ぐらいいますか。 How many friends are like you and how many are not like you in terms of personality?
25. 今まで受けてきた教育があなたと似ている、あるいは、似ていない友達はそれぞれ何人ぐらいいますか。 How many friends are like you and how many are not like you in terms of educational history?
26. どんな人と友達になりたいですか。 What kind of person would you like as a friend?
 - a. どんな人とは友達になりたくないですか。 What kind of person would you not like as a friend?
27. 同性の友達と異性の友達はどのような点で違うと思いますか。 How are same-sex and opposite-sex friendships different?
 - a. 女性同士の友達関係と男性同士の友達関係はどのような点で違うと思いますか。 How are female friendships different from male friendships?
28. 友達のような存在のペットや動物はいますか。 Do you have a pet or another animal that is like a friend to you?
 - a. アニメやまんがなどのキャラクターはいますか。 Do you have a favorite animation character or graphic novel/comics character who is like a friend to you?
 - b. 芸能人で友達みたいな人はいますか。 Is there a celebrity who you would like as a friend?
29. 友達と家族では、どちらの方とより親しいですか。 Are you closer to your friends or family?
30. 友達と家族では、どちらの方と時間を過ごしたいですか。 Do you prefer to hang out with friends or family?
31. 恋人関係と友人関係はどのような点で違うと思いますか。 How do you think relationships with romantic partners are different from friendships?

32. 友達が自分以外の人と親しくしていると嫉妬したりすることはありますか。
Do you ever get jealous of your friends' friendships?
33. 友達に裏切られたことはありますか。Have you ever been betrayed by a friend?
a. 友達を裏切ったことがありますか。Have you ever betrayed a friend?
34. 友達と仲が悪くなったために、付き合いがなくなったことはありますか。
Have you ever lost a friend because of a bad event in your friendship?
a. 友達と仲が悪くなったわけではないけれど、自然と付き合いがなくなったことはありますか。Have you ever just drifted apart from a friend?
35. 友達関係を終わらせたいとき、どのようにしますか。How would you end a friendship?
36. 友達や家族や先生などの中で、誰を一番信用していますか。Out of friends, parents, and teachers who do you trust the most?
37. 秘密は誰に話しますか。Who do you tell your secrets to?
38. 友達や家族や先生などの中で、誰について一番悩むことが多いですか。
Out of friends, parents, and teachers who do you worry about the most?
a. 友達や家族や先生などの中で、誰との関係について一番悩むことが多いですか。Out of friends, parents, and teachers which relationship do you worry about the most?
39. ———さんは日記や手帳をつけますか。Do you keep a diary?
a. どのように使いますか。How do you use it?
b. 友人関係について書きますか。Do you record items about your relationships with friends?
40. 友達や家族や先生などの中では、誰の意見を一番大切にしていますか。
Out of friends, parents, and teachers whose opinion do you consider the most?
41. 友達は———さんのことをどう思っていると思いますか。(親友、同級生、学校以外の友達) What do your friends think of you?
a. 両親や兄弟は———さんのことをどう思っていると思いますか。What do your parents and siblings think of you?
b. 先生は———さんのことをどう思っていると思いますか。What do your teachers think of you?

42. 友達をあだ名で呼んでいますか。Do you have a nickname?
- 親しい友達に（学校で、携帯電話で）どのようにあいさつしますか。How do your close friends greet you at school or on the phone?
 - あまり親しくない友達には（学校で、携帯電話で）どのようにあいさつしますか。How do people you aren't as close with greet you?
43. 一般的に、性格がいい人は友達が多いと思いますか。In general, do you think that people with good personalities have a lot of friends?
44. 一般的に、性格が悪い人は友達が少ないと思いますか。In general, do you think that people with bad personalities have few friends?
45. いい友達とは、どんな人だと思いますか。A good friend is what kind of person?
- 悪い友達とは、どんな人だと思いますか。A bad friend is what kind of person?
46. 思春期はだいたい、いつごろ始まって、いつごろ終わると思いますか。When does puberty begin, end?
- 反抗期は普通だと思っていますか。Is an adolescent rebellion period normal?
 - 反抗期になる子供はだれに反抗するのですか。Who do adolescents rebel against?
 - どんなふうに反抗するのですか。How do adolescents rebel?
 - あいさつできない生徒さんは反抗していると思いますか。Is it a form of rebellion not to greet others?
 - 先輩・後輩関係はどんな関係だと思っていますか。What do you think characterizes a sempai/kohai relationship?
 - 不良とは、どんな人だと思っていますか。What kind of person is a delinquent?
 - いじめは普通だと思っていますか。Do you think that bullying is normal?

友人に関するアンケート

- あなたの友人に関する考え、及び、現在・過去の友人関係についてお聞きします。ほとんどの質問は、選択肢を選んで番号に○をつけていただくものです。回答には15分程度かかります。
- この質問紙に回答してもよいと思われる方に、ご協力をお願いいたします。答えたくない質問がありましたら、回答していただかなくても結構ですし、回答をいつ中断されてもかまいません。
- 回答は統計的に処理されますので、あなたの回答が個別に分析されることはありません。
- 回答を研究以外の目的で利用することは絶対にありません。
- 以下の例にならってお答えください。

I. あなたの一般的な考えをお尋ねします。あなた個人の経験ではなく、一般論でお答えください。あなたの回答に最も近い番号に1つだけ○をつけてください。

例。一般的に、朝の散歩は健康的である。

非常にそう思う ややそう思う どちらとも言えない あまり思わない 全くそう思わない
1.....2.....3.....
4.....5

II. あなた自身に関してお尋ねします。以下の質問について、何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。実際に、今現在何人いますか。

例。あなたの住んでいる市では、警察官の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。

ゼロ人 1・2人 3・4人 5人-10人 10人以上人
1.....2.....3.....
4.....5

実際に、今現在何人いますか。_____人

II. あなた自身に関してお尋ねします。以下の質問について、どのぐらいあてはまる、あるいは、あてはまらないかを回答してください。

例。自由な時間は私自身の幸せにとって重要である。

あてはまる ややあてはまる どちらとも言えない あまりあてはまらない あてはまらない
 1.....2.....3.....4.....5

I. 以下の質問について、どのくらいあてはまる、あるいは、あてはまらないかを回答してください。

1. 友達との関係は私自身の幸せにとって重要である。

あてはまる ややあてはまる どちらとも言えない あまりあてはまらない あてはまらない
 1.....2.....3.....4.....5

2. 初めて会った人とすぐに友達になることができる。

3. 家族よりも友達とのほうが親しい。

4. 現在、兄弟・姉妹とは友達のような関係である。(いらっしゃらない場合は、空欄にしてください。)

5. 現在、母親とは友達のような関係である。(いらっしゃらない場合は、空欄にしてください。)

6. 現在、父親とは友達のような関係である。(いらっしゃらない場合は、空欄にしてください。)

7. 自由な時間は家族より友達と過ごしたい。

8. グループではなく、特定の友達と二人で過ごしたい。

9. 現在の学校の友達は、それ以外の友達よりも親しい。

10. 友達とよく口げんかをする。

11. 一番親しい友達とは長い付き合いである。

12. 友達が自分以外の人と親しくしていると嫉妬することがある。

たくさんある かなりある 少しある あまりない 全くない
 1.....2.....3.....4.....5

13. 友達と関係が悪くなったために、付き合いがなくなったことがある。
14. 友達と、関係が悪くなったわけではないが、自然に付き合いがなくなったことがある。
15. 友達に裏切られたことがある。
16. 友達を裏切ったことがある。

III. あなた自身に関してお尋ねします。以下の質問について、何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。今現在どのぐらいいますか。

1. 友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。

ゼロ人 1・2人 3・4人 5人-10人 10人以上人
 1.....2.....3.....
 4.....5

実際に、今現在何人いますか。 _____人

2. 年上の友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。
3. 年下の友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。
4. 同い年の友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。
5. 異性の友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。
6. 出身地の違う友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。
7. 現在、学校や職場以外の友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。
8. 育った家庭環境の似ている友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。
9. 今まで受けてきた教育の似ている友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。

10. ファッションや外見などの似ている友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。

11. 性格の似ている友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。

12. 親友の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。

IV. あなたの友達、家族、恋人についてお尋ねします。いらっしゃらない場合は空欄にしてください。以下の例にならって質問にお答えください。

例。以下の動物の中で、ペットにしたいものから順番に1～4の番号を記入してください。

犬	猫	うさぎ	その他 (ハムスター)
(4)	(2)	(1)	(3)

犬	猫	うさぎ	その他 (ハムスター)
(4)	(1)	(1)	(3)

※同じ番号を二度
使わないでくださ

1. 以下の人物の中で、信用できる人から順番に1～4の番号を記入してください。

友達	家族	恋人	その他 ()
()	()	()	()

2. 以下の人物について、悩むことが多い方から順番に1～4の番号を記入してください。

友達	家族	恋人	その他 ()
()	()	()	()

3. 以下の人物の中で、誰の意見を大切にしますか。大切にする順番に1～4の番号を記入してください。

友達 家族 恋人 その他 (_____)
 () () () ()

4. 以下の人物の中で、誰があなたの学校での部活動選択に影響を与えてきましたか。影響を与えてきた順番に1～5の番号を記入してください。

友達 家族 恋人 学校での先生 その他
 (_____)
 () () () () ()

5. 以下の人物の中で、誰があなたの進路選択に影響を与えてきましたか。影響を与えてきた順番に1～5の番号を記入してください。

友達 家族 恋人 学校での先生 その他
 (_____)
 () () () () ()

6. 以下の人物の中で、誰があなたの恋人選択に影響を与えてきましたか。影響を与えてきた順番に1～3の番号を記入してください。

友達 家族 その他 (_____)
 () () ()

IV. あなたの考えを自由にお書きください。

1. 良い友達とは、どんな人ですか。
2. 悪い友達とは、どんな人ですか。
3. 友達になったことはどのようにして分かりますか。
4. 親友と友人はどのような点で違いますか。
5. 異性の友達と同性の友達はどのような点で違いますか。
6. 嫌いな人と友達になれますか。なぜそうだと思いますか。

V. 最後に、あなた自身に関してお答えください。あてはまるものに○をつけてください。() には数字を記入してください。

性別 1. 男性 2. 女性

年齢 () 歳

質問はこれで終わりです。
ご協力有難うございました。

Appendix Four: Friendship Questionnaire in English

友人に関するアンケート

I.以下の質問について、どのくらいあてはまる、あるいは、あてはまらないかを回答してください。Please report how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. 友達との関係は私自身の幸せにとって重要である。Friends are important to my happiness.

Absolutely affirmative, affirmative, can't say, disagree, absolutely disagree

あてはまる ややあてはまる どちらとも言えない あまりあてはまらない あてはまらない

1 2 3 4 5

2. 初めて会った人とすぐに友達になることができる。I become friends with someone shortly after meeting him or her.

3. 家族よりも友達とのほうが親しい。Friends are more important than family.

4. 現在、兄弟・姉妹とは友達のような関係である。(いらっしゃらない場合は、空欄にしてください。) Now, my siblings and I have a friend-like relationship. (Skip this question if you don't have any siblings)

5. 現在、母親とは友達のような関係である。(いらっしゃらない場合は、空欄にしてください。) Now, my mother and I have a friend-like relationship. (Skip this question if you don't have a mother)

6. 現在、父親とは友達のような関係である。(いらっしゃらない場合は、空欄にしてください。) Now, my father and I have a friend-like relationship. (Skip this question if you don't have a father)

7. 自由な時間は家族より友達と過ごしたい。I prefer to hang out with friends over family in my free time.

8. グループではなく、特定の友達と二人で過ごしたい。I like hanging out with a certain friend(s) over a group.

9. 現在の学校の友達は、それ以外の友達よりも親しい。I'm closer with friends at school than I am with friends outside of school.
10. 友達とよく口げんかをする。I often fight with friends.
11. 一番親しい友達とは長い付き合いである。My closest friends are those I've known the longest.
12. 友達が自分以外の人と親しくしていると嫉妬することがある。I get jealous of my friends' relationships with other friends.

A lot, a little, a very little, not really, not at all

たくさんある かなりある 少しある あまりない 全くない
 1 2 3 4 5

13. 友達と関係が悪くなったために、付き合いがなくなったことがある。I've lost friends over the relationship going badly.
14. 友達と、関係が悪くなったわけではないが、自然に付き合いがなくなったことがある。I've lost friends naturally (translation comment: as in someone moving away).
15. 友達に裏切られたことがある。I've been betrayed by friends.
16. 友達を裏切ったことがある。I've betrayed friends.

II. あなた自身に関してお尋ねします。以下の質問について、何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。今現在どのぐらいいますか。These questions ask you about yourself. For the following questions what is the number of people in this category that you think is good, and what is the actual number of people in this category.

1. 友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。How many friends do you think is good?

Zero, one to two, three to four, five to ten, over ten

ゼロ人 1・2人 3・4人 5人ー10人 10人以上人
 1 2 3 4 5

In actuality how many people are in this category?

実際に、今現在何人いますか。 _____人

2. 年上の友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。 How many older friends do you think is good?

3. 年下の友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。 How many younger friends do you think is good?

4. 同い年の友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。 How many same-age friends do you think is good?

5. 異性の友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。 How many opposite sex friends do you think is good?

6. 出身地の違う友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。 How many friends from another hometown do you think is good?

7. 現在、学校や職場以外の友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。 How many friends from outside of school and work do you think is good?

8. 育った家庭環境の似ている友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。 How many friends who grew up in the same kind of home environment as yourself do you think is good?

9. 今まで受けてきた教育の似ている友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。 How many friends with the same educational history as yourself do you think is good?

10. ファッションや外見などの似ている友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。 How many friends with similar fashion/appearance as yourself do you think is good?

11. 性格の似ている友達の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。 How many friends with a similar personality as yourself do you think is good?

12. 親友の数は何人ぐらいが良いと思いますか。 How many best friends do you think is good?

III.あなたの友達、家族、恋人についてお尋ねします。いらっしゃらない場合は空欄にしてください。These questions ask you about your friends, families, and romantic partners. If you don't have someone in this category leave it blank.

1. 以下の人物の中で、信用できる人から順番に1～4の番号を記入してください。From among the people below, who do you trust the most? Rank these people in order from one to four.

Friends, family, romantic partner, other

友達 家族 恋人 その他 (_____)
 () () () ()

2. 以下の人物について、悩むことが多い方から順番に1～4の番号を記入してください。From among the people below, who do you worry about the most? Rank these people in order from one to four.

Friends, family, romantic partner, other

友達 家族 恋人 その他 (_____)
 () () () ()

3.以下の人物の中で、誰の意見を大切にしますか。大切にする順番に1～4の番号を記入してください。From among the people below, whose opinion do you hold most important? Rank these people in order from one to four.

Friends, family, romantic partner, other

友達 家族 恋人 その他 (_____)
 () () () ()

4. 以下の人物の中で、誰があなたの学校での部活動選択に影響を与えてきましたか。影響を与えてきた順番に1～5の番号を記入してください。From among the people below, who influenced your choice of extracurricular activities the most? Rank these people in order from one to five.

Friends, family, romantic partner, teachers, other

友達 家族 恋人 学校での先生 その他 (_____)
 () () () () ()

5. 以下の人物の中で、誰があなたの進路選択に影響を与えてきましたか。影響を与えてきた順番に1～5の番号を記入してください。From among the people below, who influenced your future career path the most? Rank these people in order from one to five.

Friends, family, romantic partner, teachers, other

友達 家族 恋人 学校での先生 その他 ()
 () () () () ()

6. 以下の人物の中で、誰があなたの恋人選択に影響を与えてきましたか。影響を与えてきた順番に1～3の番号を記入してください。From among the people below, who influenced your choice of romantic partner the most? Rank these people in order from one to three.

Friends, family, other

友達 家族 その他 ()
 () () ()

IV. あなたの考えを自由にお書きください。Please freely write your thoughts about these questions.

1. 良い友達とは、どんな人ですか。A good friend is what kind of person?
2. 悪い友達とは、どんな人ですか。A bad friend is what kind of person?
3. 友達になったことはどのようにして分かりますか。How do you know when you've become friends with someone?
4. 親友と友人はどのような点で違いますか。How is a best friend different from a friend?
5. 異性の友達と同性の友達はどのような点で違いますか。How are opposite-sex friendships different from same-sex friendships?

6. 嫌いな人と友達になれますか。なぜそうだと思いますか。 Could you become friends with someone you hated, why or why not?

V. 最後に、あなた自身に関してお答えください。あてはまるものに○をつけてください。() には数字を記入してください。 Finally, please respond to these questions about yourself. Circle or write your answer.

性別 (sex) 1. 男性 (male) 2. 女性 (female)

年齢 (age) () 歳 (years-old)

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