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A PATTERN OF PREDELINQUENCY
FOR YOUTH IN TWO SUBURBAN
JAPANESE COMMUNITIES

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN SOCIOLOGY
AUGUST 1986

By
Robert Stuart Yoder

Dissertation Committee:
Gene Kassebaum, Chairman
Kiyoshi Ikeda
Yasumasa Kuroda
Patricia Steinhoff
George Yamamoto
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A great number of people generously contributed to this study and without their assistance it is unlikely that the dissertation could have been completed. Researchers at the National Research Institute of Police Science in Tokyo helped in starting the study off in the right direction. Three persons in particular were most helpful: Ms. Uchimoto, Mr. Hoshino, and Mr. Kiyonaga. They spent many working hours offering expert advice, provided invaluable materials, and put me in contact with the right persons. Mr. Kiyonaga gave encouragement at the times it was most needed.

I thank persons who provided me with their time and gave me valuable information on Juvenile Counseling Centers and Crime Prevention Associations.

A group of bi-lingual sociology students at Sophia University helped in the translation of the taped interviews. They unselfishly offered their services on the promise of future payment since funding was not available for the study. They seriously went about and completed this task doing an excellent job of translating these tapes.
The committee members of this dissertation have helped me in so many ways that I will never be able to pay them back. All of them have influenced the study and I am grateful for that.
ABSTRACT

The present study is the result of field research of "predelinquency" in Japan. It consists of an analysis of two populations of youth in two Japanese suburban communities. Comparison of environmental factors and relative conditions, equally applicable to both groups yielded a coherent pattern of predelinquency for understanding the differences in predelinquency found in each community. Youth living in a lower-middle class community were subjected to extensive delinquency prevention programs in their area where they attended troubled schools. A minimal form of delinquency prevention operated in an upper-middle class community where youth attended relatively trouble free and prestigious schools in their area.

Field research continued in both settings for more than a year. The main methods used were participant observation, interviews, case studies (repeated follow-up interviews on a sub-sample of youth), questionnaires and secondary data collection from persons and events in the two communities. Various method control devices indicated no substantial flaws in the validity and reliability of the data.
Family socioeconomic status (measured by father's occupation, mother's working status and family type) and educational career emerged as the two most significant forces in patterns of predelinquency. Youth from the lower class community had more police contacts and voiced greater opposition to delinquency prevention than youth from the higher class community. Youth with disadvantaged family backgrounds did poorly at middle school and were sent to low ranked, strict high schools. Harsh social control measures at these schools included teachers' physical punishment and enforcement of strict school regulations. These problems, in turn, resulted in conflict at home. These students rebelled against such controls and reported, by far, a greater average number of predelinquent acts than youth from the upper-middle class community.

The pattern of predelinquency was consistent with labeling theory explanations for deviance and these are applied in various parts of the study.
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INTRODUCTION

The Concept of Predelinquency

Prior to the modernization and urbanization of societies criminal behavior was defined in relation to adults (Ahrenfeldt and Gibbens, 1966). The community and parents dealt out punishments for misbehavior to youth as much as to adults. If youth committed a serious crime, they faced the same sanctions as adults. The modernization and urbanization of societies brought greater dependency of the child on institutionalized services, especially education and a subsequent decline in the power of the family and community to define and punish the delinquent behavior of youth (Kassebaum, 1974). Youth problems now became a public issue and the state gradually increased its power in the program administration, law enforcement and punishment for delinquent behavior. The concept of juvenile delinquency became an invention of industrialized societies (Ahrenfeldt and Gibbens, 1966:21-23; DeVos, 1973:311-326; Kassebaum, 1974:81-85). And, although there are differences in laws, enforcement and punishment for juveniles in modern societies, the juvenile delinquent is a recognized deviant in all of them.
This study treats predelinquency and its control as social and legal aspects of juvenile delinquency. Predelinquency refers to behavior which adults consider indicative of a youth's proclivity toward delinquency. Special laws or juvenile codes define or outline acts of "predelinquent behavior" otherwise known as "misbehavior." The Japanese juvenile code empowers the police to enforce these laws against offending youth while "delinquency prevention activities" are carried out by the adult community, schools and officials or agencies of the juvenile justice system. In short, the legal definition and attempts to control predelinquency in Japan are special measures that distinguish the status of youth from adults as in other modern societies.

Since these laws do not apply to adults, their imposition on youth constitute a deliberate adult attempt of social control over youth. The following acts of predelinquency defined in the juvenile code of both Japan and the United States indicate the nature of this control: "immoral" conduct, association with "vicious" or "immoral" persons, curfew violation, habitual truancy from school, refusal to obey parent or guardian, use of intoxicating liquor and smoking cigarettes in public (Criminal Justice in Japan:22; Kassebaum, 1974:11-12; Kiyonaga, 1982:2).
As summarized by Kassebaum (1974:11) the efforts to control predelinquency are handled contrary to the theory and practice of adult criminal law and procedure:

Many children are subjected to police and court attention because of a suspected violation of a statute defining an act that also would be a misdemeanor or felony if committed by an adult. But a larger number of children are before the court because of laws couched in language far more diffuse than would be tolerated in adult criminal procedure. Indeed, the definition of juvenile delinquency is not limited to statute offenses, it merely starts there. Delinquency goes on to include a myriad of other actions, conditions, and statutes.

The Application of Predelinquency and Social Control in This Study

The control of predelinquency is particularly extensive in Japanese society; where conformity and the maintenance of social order are highly valued. It appears to be greater than in the United States (also see Chapter I). Mizushima (1973:331) states:

In assessing the comparability of material from Japan with that from the United States, we have the impression that official action in respect to delicts or potential delicts by minors is in some respects more careful and more stringent in Japan than it is in the United States. Youths in Japan are more likely to be officially sanctioned for lesser delicts, or even for "tendencies" toward what might be defined as delinquent behavior, than they are in the United States. Anticipatory attention to younger individuals, termed "predelinquents," is more careful than in the United States...
Such a preoccupation with "predelinquency" suggests that labeling effects are very important, more so than in the United States. The greater efforts exerted to identify and take action against "predelinquents" makes it more likely for youngsters to affix that label upon themselves. Of particular importance are the conditions under which youth are likely to be confronted with predelinquent social control and its consequences.

Studies of delinquency in the United States are in basic agreement that lower class individuals run a greater risk of being officially apprehended for delinquency than middle or upper class individuals (Cohen and Short, 1976:63; Kassebaum, 1974:43-45). In furthering an understanding into why lower class youth are singled out for their misbehavior more than middle or upper class youth, Chambliss (1975) found that lower class boys were treated with greater suspicion and mistrust by the police, in the community and at school; the class structure dictates bias in the anticipation, detection and punishment of their misbehavior. This resulted in them having more troubles with community members, the school and the police. He (Chambliss, 1975:207) concluded:
Selective perception and labeling-finding, processing and punishing some kinds of criminality and not others—means that visible, poor, nonmobile, outspoken, undiplomatic "tough" kids will be noticed, whether their actions are seriously delinquent or not. Other kids, who have established a reputation for being bright (even though underachieving), disciplined and involved in respectable activities, who are mobile and monied, will be invisible when they deviate from sanctioned activities.

The question how social class and community differences in Japan play a part in predelinquency is particularly important since social class in Japan has been downplayed in American sociology, especially in the field of crime control: I found the role of social class at an early stage of a youngster's life can tell us much about what lies ahead in his future. My field work in a lower-middle and upper-middle class community explored the interaction and sequences in predelinquency and its control on the identity, perspectives and behavior of the youth living within these contrasting environs. The unraveling of the sequences in predelinquency from this study begins in the next chapter with a discussion on the general situation of predelinquency and social control in Japan.
CHAPTER I
PREDELINQUENCY AND SOCIAL CONTROL IN JAPAN

Predelinquency and Police Actions

In Japan, the concept of predelinquency is based on the Penal Code and the term covers just about every type of misbehavior:

Any juvenile "prone to commit offenses or violate criminal law or ordinance in view of his character or environment" and who shows such symptoms as disobedience to his parents, frequently staying away from home without good reason, mixing with delinquent or immoral persons, frequenting immoral places, or showing a disposition to engage in morally harmful behavior must be sent by the public prosecutor, police official etc., to the family court for an inquiry and hearing there (Criminal Justice in Japan:22).

There is a slight distinction made between "crime-prone" (guhan shōnen) and "misbehaving juveniles" (furyō koi shōnen). Crime-prone juveniles are "youth under twenty years of age who, it is feared will commit crimes in the future, to judge by their personality and actions" while misbehaving juveniles are "youth under twenty who engage in acts injurious to the moral character of themselves and others, such as smoking, drinking and fighting" (Ames, 1981:77). The former are classified as delinquent juveniles and the later as misconduct juveniles (White Paper on Police, 1984).
The major difference between them is in the disposition of the youth. According to Hanzai Hakusho (White Paper of Crime) (1982:250-252) guhan shōnen (predelinquent juveniles) are the youth who are sent to the family court or child guidance centers for misbehavior, while furyō kōi shōnen (misbehaving juveniles) are given warnings for misbehavior.

In practice the police are expected to give guidance and direction to juveniles who are caught smoking, drinking, gambling, frequenting establishments off-limits to youth, engaging in delinquent group or gang activities believed to be detrimental to their well being, loitering, being a nuisance to others, sexually mischievous (sexually enticing others or engaging in "unhealthy" sexual behavior) or having contact with "immoral persons" (Kiyonaga, 1982). Guidance and direction by police to youths for predelinquent behaviors initially entails giving the offending youth a lecture on her or his "unhealthy" habits. Later the policeman files a report with the juvenile-unit having jurisdiction over the offending youth. The police also notify the youth's parents, employers in the case of working youth and her or his elementary or middle school counselors; high schools are usually not contacted by the police because the police do not agree with their punishment of the
offending youth and, on the other hand, schools often are reluctant to report student misbehavior to the police (Ames, 1981:82-83; Clifford, 1976:71; Tokoro, 1979). This guidance and direction procedure very seldom involves sending youth to the family court or child guidance clinic. Of all the youth cited for predelinquent behavior in 1983 only 5,195 or approximately 0.4% were referred by the police to the family court or child guidance clinic (White Paper on Police, 1984:92).

Guidance rates for predelinquency have been steadily increasing year by year since 1979. If rates are standardized for 1979 at 100, rates increase to 154 by 1983 (see Chapter II and Appendix V for a specific breakdown and definitions of guidance rates for misbehavior acts) (White Paper on Police, 1984:97). In 1983 1,429,898 youth were given guidance. If these were all separate individuals this would be approximately eight percent of the youth population between ten and twenty cited and punished for misbehavior. However, recidivism probably deflates the population percentage.

The police patrol those places where youth often go. Juvenile-units composed of plainclothesmen and plainclotheswomen and sometimes guidance workers or volunteers go out on street patrols (gaitō hodo).
They usually patrol entertainment districts, shopping centers, train stations and parks where youth hang out (Ames, 1981:82). Some neighborhoods are also patrolled by a juvenile-unit or local neighborhood crime prevention association (bohan kai). The police cite youth for misbehavior, question mischievous looking youth as possible predelinquent or delinquent candidates and, in entertainment districts, warn youth about the unhealthy atmosphere of the area.

Ames (1981:82), describing Japanese youths reaction to police guidance for predelinquent behavior, states: "The youths invariably stand sheepishly with bowed heads and do what the juvenile-unit members instruct them."

However, participant observation on a patrol with a juvenile-unit in Tokyo and in interviews with the youth of this study (see Chapter IV) who had been stopped by the police reveals a different story. For example, on one patrol in a popular amusement area in Tokyo, eighteen youth were stopped and questioned and only one visibly misbehaved: he had a pack of cigarettes in his front pocket. Although some of them acted deferential toward the police, the majority were angry, embarrassed or treated the whole affair as a joke. In another such encounter, for example, four boys were questioned for no apparent reason, other than, possibly, as with other
predelinquent suspects they were dressed in "young" fashion. During the questioning one of the boys moved behind the policeman and made funny faces, putting his friends in the uncomfortable position of having to hold back a burst of laughter.

Police behavior observed during this patrol varied, seemingly dependent on how the police perceived the situation. In most cases the police asked youth to show some kind of identification, questioned them on what they were doing and wrote down the youths' name, address and the name of their school. A boy with cigarettes in his pocket was made to tear the pack up and throw it away and was given a lecture on the unhealthy habits of smoking. In another incident two young girls whom the police suspected of being runaways were sent to the police station to see if their story could be validated by their parents. All the others were warned about the unhealthy atmosphere of the amusement area and let go.

Guidance activity on patrols varies depending on the juvenile-unit. Field work carried out in one of the study areas involved participant observation with the juvenile-unit on patrols (see Chapters II and III). On a patrol with the members of the juvenile-unit the police
and guidance workers were only concerned with catching youth for misbehavior. We went behind temples and shrines, patrolled the streets and visited game centers on the lookout for sniffing paint thinner or smoking cigarettes or young couples frolicking in the bushes. Only one boy was approached by the juvenile-unit and that was because he was smoking in a game center while wearing his high school uniform. He was made to tear up the pack of cigarettes, given a lecture on the unhealthy habit of smoking and later the policeman dropped off a guidance report on him at the nearest koban (police box).

Suzuki and Matsumoto (1974) did a study of 118 high school youth that received a first time guidance for smoking in Aichi prefecture. Youth's perceptions of the police officers who gave guidance differed. Most youth thought the guidance worker was not very receptive to what they had to say. Perceptions of the guidance worker by youth ranged from "really nice" to "really scary" with most replying that the guidance worker was a "little nice" or a "little scary." Most (62.5%) said that their guidance had both a plus and minus after-effect but more (23%) said it resulted in only a minus after-effect than those (8.5%) reporting only a positive after-effect. These variations were dependent on their general attitudes about guidance activities and evaluations of
their own actions; i.e., youth who did not oppose
guidance or gave thought about their past mistake had a
more positive view of the guidance worker and experienced
less negative after effects than youth who opposed
guidance or did not think what they did was wrong.

The extensive police preoccupation with
predelinquency means youth often come in contact with
them even when not "doing something wrong." All
situations of youth-police contacts are important. In
fact, youth stopped and treated as potential
"predelinquents" may be more resentful from being
falsely identified and treated as a "predelinquent."

This study found that due to locality (proximity to
an entertainment district) and social class differences
(see below) the police are more active near and in the
lower-middle class neighborhood. Further anticipation of
youth misbehavior and more effort to control and manage
it lead to more police-contacts which in turn produced
significantly different results between communities.

Organizations Providing Delinquency Prevention Programs

Some of the organized counseling, surveillance and
controls to which youth are subject is directly provided
by the police. Some is from various public and
semi-official volunteer groups which support police efforts or exert independent influence. These efforts range from direct stop-and-interrogate contacts with youth to providing public information posters around the community.

There are a great number of persons who assist the police in "predelinquency" activities. Chart I lists those organizations most pertinent to these activities (sources: Ames, 1981; Clifford, 1976; Hoshino, 1983a; Seishōnen Hakusho (White Paper on Youth), 1982; and contacts made with Juvenile Counseling Centers and Crime Prevention Associations in the two areas of this study).

Delinquency prevention activities by the organizations listed in Chart I are quite extensive. The Volunteers of the Police or Youth Assistants (shōnen kyojōin) are volunteer adults appointed by the police to assist them on street-guidance activities. Members of the Crime Prevention Association (bohan kai) patrol their neighborhoods, sometimes with an accompanying policeman. They give guidance to youth and keep the neighbors informed on delinquent activities in the area by neighborhood meetings, crime prevention literature passed out to each house in the neighborhood and word of mouth. Guidance workers (counselors) in
CHART I

DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ORGANIZATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Organization</th>
<th>Number of Workers or Agencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volunteers of the Police (shōnen kyōjōin)</td>
<td>There were 52,605 volunteer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adults in 1981.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Prevention Associations (bōhan kai)</td>
<td>A part of the neighborhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>association (chōnai kai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and active in most neighborhoods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile Guidance Centers (seishōnen sōdan senta)</td>
<td>There is one in each municipality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Check Points (bōhan renrakusho)</td>
<td>Families in neighborhoods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>serve as informants to the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>police on crime in the area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School-Police Coordinating Councils (gakko keisatsu renraku kyōgikai)</td>
<td>Ninety percent of all schools (grades 1 to 12) in Japan have such councils.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Juvenile Guidance Centers (seishonen sodan senta) coordinate their activities with the police and other volunteer crime prevention organizations. These public employees often go on patrols with the police, organize delinquency prevention activities with the police and other delinquency prevention organizations in the city and provide counseling services for youth and their parents. About one of every 50 homes in both urban and rural areas are so-called Police Check Points (bohan renrakusho). The adult members of the family inform the police on any actual or suspicious activities of the neighbors (including the youth). The police also may contact these informants when investigating crime in the neighborhood to get their opinions on likely suspects. The School-Police Coordinating Council (gakko keisatsu renraku kyōgikai), a basis for police-school exchanges, focus attention on: "trends in juvenile delinquency, traits of delinquency, causal factors of delinquency in the environment, places where delinquency is likely to be committed and methods for controlling delinquency, and patrols and guidance to juveniles on the streets or in amusement quarters (Hoshino, 1983a:10)." Other noteworthy delinquency prevention organizations not listed in Chart I are the Local Assembly for Youth
Development, P.T.A., Women Clubs, YWCA and YMCA and Big Brother and Big Sisters Organization.

Although delinquency prevention organizations are both extensive and well organized the scope and strength of their activities vary by area. Some cities are more organized in preventive activities than others. This occurs because the police and other delinquency prevention organizations operate under separate administrations. The Japanese police system, under the supervision of the National Police Agency, operates autonomously within prefectures. Police stations exercise jurisdiction over districts within the prefecture and have no formal administrative ties to the municipalities (towns or cities) (Ames, 1981). Juvenile Guidance Centers are administratively tied in with the city or ward office (shi yakusho or ku yakusho) and the schools and neighborhood associations (chōnai kai) also operate separately from the police. The police must, therefore, seek out the cooperation of these agencies. Schools and in particular neighborhood associations have been known to vary in their cooperation with the police (Ames, 1981; Tokoro, 1979).
Neighborhood associations differ in their cooperation with the police and in the magnitude of their delinquency prevention activities. Ames (1981:42) states: "Their level of activity, which seems to be correlated with the neighborhood's overall cooperativeness with the police, depends on the general characteristics of the neighborhoods and the motivations of those who head the association." He reported that in Kurashiki city, Okayama prefecture police officers felt that long established neighborhoods, largely because of strong interpersonal bonds between households, are both less cooperative with the police and less active in crime prevention activities than the more newly formed neighborhoods.

Neighborhoods in an area with a high official delinquency rate are also likely to be active in crime prevention activities. Hoshino (1983a:4) commenting on community organizations for preventing delinquency in Japan said: "The principle involved in community organization projects for preventing delinquency is that the persons who reside in an area of high delinquency are induced to form an organization for the purpose of reducing their own delinquency rate."
A scattering of evidence indicates that delinquency prevention activities are greater in lower class communities. Crime control significantly differed by social class and ecology among the neighborhoods reported on by Ames (1981). The neighborhoods most unwilling to cooperate with the police and with the least amount of crime control were: the richest one (indicated by a low percent of residents receiving public welfare assistance and by highest quality housing) and a danchi (apartment complex) neighborhood of a large company. The poorer neighborhoods, characterized by cramped living conditions and a high percent of residents on welfare (in Japan public welfare largely consists of unemployment insurance or subsidies for those unable to meet the daily cost of living) were cooperative with the police and engaged in a number of police-support activities. Delinquency prevention activities in Arakawa ward, a low class area of Tokyo with a high rate of juvenile delinquency, were reported to be extensive with an organized and coordinated delinquency prevention network involving a number of volunteer groups, welfare agencies, schools, the police and volunteer probation workers (hogoshi) (Wagatsuma and DeVos, 1984). The Kobe ghettos with a high percentage of Burakumin (a large minority group in Japan also referred to as Eta) have delinquency
rates at least three times higher than other areas in the city (Wagatsuma, 1973). It is reasonable to assume that the active police enforcement in the ghettos is complimented by active delinquency prevention efforts because of generally concerted action in areas with a high delinquency rate.

While delinquency prevention is apparently more active in lower class areas, what it means to the youth has been less apparent. Hence this study's focus. The greater efforts directed at youth behavior in the one neighborhood are described and its implications for youth-adult relations in the community and the consequences of it on youth identity and perspectives toward these control tactics are explored.

Conditions of Predelinquency

Although misbehavior is anticipated to be greater in lower class areas previous studies have not directed their attention to community differences by social class and delinquency in Japan. This study considers such differences to be important particularly so in the relation of community differences to educational career in predelinquency.
Education in Japan is geared toward college attendance (a strong determinate of future occupation) and the chances to enter college gradually narrow with each successive step, beginning from elementary school. The schools differ in providing the proper academic training for college entrance examinations. Parents have two basic ways (and not necessarily inseparable) to increase the probability of their child's chances to go to college: 1) send them to private (and expensive) college-preparatory schools (most beginning from elementary or middle school) and, 2) pay for private tutoring and exert careful supervision over the whole gamut of the child's education from the very start. All of this requires a surplus of capital and much parental supervision both of which favor youth of a higher socioeconomic status.

Family socioeconomic status in a locality would appear to be related to ecological circumstances of the schools and home as follows: the greater anticipation and most likely actual misbehavior in lower class areas indicates the local middle schools' atmosphere and student control. Students attending these schools are more exposed to "predelinquency" and, parallel with more formally organized delinquency prevention activities,
the schools anticipate and pay particular attention to student behavior. These students are thus more likely to be identified and treated as a "predelinquent" than students attending local middle schools (and in particular private college-preparatory middle schools) from middle or upper class areas. Obviously, financial limitations make it difficult for parents in a low socioeconomic community to send their child to private schools away from home while having academic and behavioral problems lessen the students chances to attend high schools leading to college; for all practical purposes, the high school rank determines college attendance (the higher the rank the more probable a student will go on to college).

The combination of socioeconomic status and locality is thus very likely to result in students from similar family backgrounds ending up at equivalently ranked high schools. Students from a lower family background and in lower socioeconomic areas are most likely to attend lower ranked high schools. Here an additional dimension of "stigma" is brought into the "predelinquent" picture; high schools vary in their prestige by name and academic ranking; low ranked high schools not only have low prestige, they also would appear to exert tighter control of students
behavior in anticipation of "problem" students there. The consequences of different atmosphere and control following high school rank is central to understanding this most important contextual condition of predelinquency.

In considering the different educational opportunities this study explored the sequences in educational career from middle school through educational attainment. Particular attention is given to the atmosphere of the school and the school's control of students and its variation by locality and rank. These effects on the student's identity, perspectives, misbehavior (and for older youth ability to go on to higher education) are looked at directly from interviews with the youth.

Three other conditions (proximity to entertainment districts, youth-parental relations and intergenerational conflict) are also considered as major conditions of predelinquency for the two youth groups of this study. Entertainment districts or "play areas" have been reported to be places where youth engage in delinquency (predelinquency as well) and the study explores the relation of proximity to one (the lower class community is adjacent to a large entertainment district) and predelinquent behavior (Kiyonaga, 1983; Mizushima, 1973).
Lower class families in Japan are said to be stable and youth-parental relations by class as insignificantly related to delinquency (Wagatsuma and DeVos, 1984; Mizushima, 1973). However, these studies have not considered circumstances related to class (i.e., school attendance) as interacting with youth-parental relations. This study looks into contrasts in youth-parental relations as an interacting feature of school life which is tied in with community differences by social class.

Intergenerational conflict is less tied to social class and ecology than other conditions of predelinquency (largely because of universal generational differences). Nevertheless, youths' perspectives of significant adults vary because of their life experiences in the community and at school. It is regarded as one link in a chain of interacting circumstances of predelinquency.

The main purpose of this study is to provide an in-depth understanding of a sequence of events and situations involving predelinquency that are considered to differ for youth because of social class and community differences. The particular concerns and methods employed in the carrying out of this study are detailed in the next chapter.
An Ethnographic-Ecological Field Study Utilizing Two Settings

Ethnographic accounts of deviant behavior in particular settings normally provide descriptions of the on-going activities of participants within their social context (Gans, 1976; Gould et al., 1974; Liebow, 1967; Suttles, 1968; Weppner, 1977). They naturally focus on different features of individuals or groups within these settings. For example, a white anthropologist, living in a lower class black district of Washington D.C. was able to be accepted by a small number of the men living there and developed close relations with them. He often met with these individuals at Tally's corner, a carry-out food shop and mentions:

In this setting, and on the broad corner sidewalk in front of it, some twenty men who live in the area regularly come together for 'effortless sociability.' They are not, in any strict sense, a group. No more than eight or ten, and usually fewer, are there at any one time. There is nothing to join, no obligations, no one to say whether you belong or do not belong (Liebow, 1967:22).
This participant observation study gave details on the lives of these men and their women at work, play and in the home, their dependency on social welfare and encounters with the law. In contrast, Suttles' (1968) ethnographic field work done in a slum area of Chicago focused on segmentation in this setting based on age, sex, ethnicity, youth gangs and territoriality. Ethnic group membership for its inhabitants and often gangs for the youth, together with living in a defined territory within the community gave protection allowing for established networks to provide security and a sense of belonging for its members. He thus described how interactional activities and individuals in groups created order in a seemingly disorganized area in structural terms while Liebow (1967) traced through the maze of interpersonal relations used to make sense out of life circumstances using emotive terms.

Currently, most ethnological accounts of deviance in settings focus on the subjective and interactive situations of deviance as opposed to viewing it as action in violation of an all encompassing set of binding social rules or norms equally considered by everyone as appropriate or just. Deviance is obviously a relative term with norms outlining "appropriate" behavior in given situations and for certain persons or social
categories and not necessarily others (Riley and Waring, 1976:372). The actors themselves, at least at the outset, may or may not view their behavior as deviant. The process of defining deviance approaches a political act. The labelers of deviance, more often than not having greater power than those being labeled, justify needs for a given act or acts to be judged as violations of acceptable behavior and possess the means of enforcing it. This also suggests the transitory nature of deviance itself as a self or group-serving device that changes according to time and place (see Kassebaum, 1974:68-70 and Steinhoff, 1984:175).

Along with most ethnographers, this study also acknowledges that deviance involves a wide range of people with different interests toward "something as being wrong" (see Gould et.al, 1974:xiii-xxx). This study holds that behavior is a consequence of each person's particular relation or vulnerability to situations W.I. Thomas meant in his dictum on the "definition of the situation" (Coser, 1977:521). It has been the task of this field work to get involved with the participants, locate the most relevant situations and interpret the varied perspectives of the parties concerned and their actions.
The main problem this study attempts to overcome is a general weakness in representation and control in field studies (cf. Babbie, 1979; Golden, 1976; Weppner, 1977). The sacrifice of generalizability for validity is a well known aspect of most field work (Babbie, 1979; Weppner, 1977). Field observations usually take place under conditions that are relatively un-controlled (see Yinger et.al., 1977 for an exception to this). While the field worker pays particular attention to the natural unfolding of events, interactions and actions in the given environment, such attention can inhibit the worker from clearly establishing what it is about certain situations and not others that accounts for the behavior of individuals (see Smelser, 1976:152-162; and Takane, 1979 on the different capability of various techniques to deal with problems of control in the social sciences).

This study operates on the premise that deviant behavior in one setting should be compared with that in another setting with different ecological features of interest. The early ecological studies on crime and delinquency did just that. However, socioeconomic or structural characteristics of areas and their official crime rates said to be linked together were based on aggregate data restricting them in the interpretation of
what is of most concern to ethnographic accounts of
deviance in settings: the interplay between the social
context and individual behavior (see Kassebaum,
1974:53-59 on these ecological studies and Scheuch,
1970:365-386 on the limitations involving the
interpretations of aggregate data). An ethnographic­
ecological field study contrasting two settings, however,
could exert some control on the situations while
providing potential for a penetrating descriptive account
of the interpersonal process occurring within defined
social contexts. Representation of at least the main
unit of analysis would bolster the credibility of such
comparisons.

The design of the present study, compares youth
in two communities within areas that differ on important
features of predelinquency. The contrasts of ecological
features (play areas, level and style of law enforcement,
community delinquency prevention activities,
socioeconomic aspects of residence, access to schools
and other characteristics of the neighborhood) account
for a different patterning of predelinquency and its
social control in each area described from participant
observation in both settings. By holding area
characteristics constant, the influence of situations not
necessarily tied to ecological circumstances (such as youth-parental relations, school life and intergenerational conflict) may then be discussed and compared with ecological conditions.

Three basic questions were developed to follow this comparative design while recognizing the interrelated features of predelinquency and social control. This study seeks to assess: 1) if there are any differences in self-reported acts of predelinquent behavior between the youth in the two settings; 2) if the reactions of youth and the consequences of a greater amount of delinquency prevention activity in one area differed from the other and, 3) if there are any sizeable differences in self-reported acts of predelinquent behavior, what role do the different settings play in regards to predelinquent behavior. This design and search for answers to the above questions required the location of two suitable study areas and the establishment of contacts with the youth living there.

The actual names of the two cities and communities where the research took place are not given in order to protect the identity of persons living there. Instead fictitious names are provided. One city is called Shonan (in Japanese, the name of a regional area in Kanagawa) and the community within Shonan is referred
to as Minami (in Japanese, "South"). The other city is called Kaigan (in Japanese, "Coast") and the community within Kaigan is referred to as Hoku (in Japanese, "North"). A personal file is used as a reference when citing materials obtained from these cities and communities.

The Selection of Minami and Hoku

A search for two areas with contrasting features of predelinquency in Japan began August 4th, 1983 at the National Research Institute of Crime in Tokyo. I was aided by an introduction from two professors who knew the researchers there. After introductory formalities we discussed my interests in locating two urban areas: a lower class community believed to be delinquency prone ("predelinquency" included) and having extensive delinquency prevention activities and an upper-middle class community. One of the researchers suggested two areas where he thought there would be active juvenile delinquency but in regards to observing class differences or the relationship between delinquency and delinquency prevention activities they were uncertain where suitable locations could be found. One of the researchers there agreed to introduce me to youth counselors at a juvenile guidance center (seishonen sodan senta) to get a
general picture of the situation of predelinquency in Kanagawa prefecture.

Two weeks later she introduced me to a juvenile guidance counselor who suggested that interviews with teachers would be a good way to understand the predelinquent behavior of youth in particular areas. I mentioned, however, interest in talking with the youth themselves and asked if there was any information on the distribution of predelinquency in Kanagawa prefecture. She then presented figures on the number of youth that received counseling for misbehavior in the cities of Kanagawa prefecture. Two cities with approximately the same size population had substantially different counseling rates (Kanagawa Ken Ken Kaino Shōnen Hikō (Delinquency in Kanagawa Prefecture), 1983). The logistics of these two areas were ideal for observations. The city with the low counseling rate, Kaigan city, was where I lived and the city with the high counseling rate, Shonan city, was only thirty minutes away by train. The turning point in deciding to carry out observations, however, came after getting off the train at Shonan city.

Upon arriving at Shonan city, many youth were seen lingering around a huge entertainment and shopping district in front of the station. This sight was quite different from the historical atmosphere and absence of
an entertainment district nearby the local community of Hoku. At this moment I decided to snoop around Shonan city some more.

The juvenile counselors at the juvenile guidance center in the city said they did not know of any particular community near the entertainment district where youth were especially mischievous and were taken aback by the thought of someone looking for such a place in their city. They did, however, mention that it is in the entertainment district where youth in the city misbehave and they provided a pamphlet listing the activities and names of community delinquency prevention organizations in the area. With this information in hand a search for a residential community near the entertainment district began.

All of the communities with a delinquency prevention organization near the Shonan city train station were visited. After a week of looking and walking many kilometers one community appeared to have the right characteristics (see Chapter III for specific ecological features). The neighborhood of Minami was close to the entertainment district, about 10 minutes by foot. It was located next to large physical structures with little greenery in or around the neighborhood. Inside the neighborhood delinquency prevention posters
were plastered everywhere and the literature showed that it had one of the most extensive delinquency prevention organizations in the city. It also had features of a lower-middle class neighborhood with wall-to-wall housing, a fair number of run down houses and apartments, some unpaved roads and small shops with adjoining rooms providing shelter for the shop owners and their families.

The ecology of Hoku sharply contrasted with Minami. There was no entertainment district nearby the local train station nor any other places for youth to hang out in or near the community. Most people owned their own homes on a spacious plot of land. Hoku homes nestled in a mountain of greenery surrounded by temples and shrines. There was a total absence of any commercial activity within the community. They had no delinquency prevention organization nor delinquency prevention posters.

The contrasts in official counseling rates for misbehavior in the two cities, the ready access to an entertainment district in the one community, different living conditions in both communities and the presence of a delinquency prevention organization in one and not the other were indications for anticipating different patterns of predelinquency. It was now necessary to get acquainted with what went on in Minami while at the same
time paying more attention to what was happening near home in Hoku.

Being familiar with what goes on in the entertainment districts of Japan and having once lived in a neighborhood in Tokyo similar to Minami helped knowing what to look for in Shonan city and Minami. An apartment was rented in this area and from September 1983 to January 12th 1984 (the day letters were sent out for interviews) forty-eight days of observation were completed there (see Chapter III). Information on the delinquency prevention activities in the community was gained from conversations with members of the neighborhood association (chōnai kai) and in particular the persons involved with crime prevention or youth affairs. Notes were taken on the lay out of the neighborhood and whenever possible visits were paid to the local shops for informal conversation. The greatest amount of time was spent going to the places where young people hang out and watching what they do there. A basic understanding of the neighborhood and knowledge of where youth go and what they do there was an invaluable asset to the establishment of rapport with youth in interviews that soon followed.
Contacting Minami Youth for Interviews

In December, 1983, by special permission from the Shonan city office, a list was obtained giving the names, sex, birthdates and addresses of all persons dwelling in Minami. All youth to be 14 years of age by January 1st, 1984 and not yet twenty years of age by this same date (the legal ages of juvenile status in Japan) were selected from this list and efforts were made to contact them and arrange interviews. On January 12th letters were sent to the mothers of these youth or if no mother were in the home, to the head of household. The letter stated that this was an independent study on youth and the community as part of research being done for a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Hawaii. It gave a few details about the study and, to quell possible fears and doubts about a study being conducted by an unknown person, mentioned that the neighborhood Crime Prevention Association approved of the study. Other background information was given that included my affiliation with a Japanese University as a sociology instructor and home phone number and address. Inside the letter was a stamped self-addressed postcard for them to indicate the convenient days and times for an interview with their adolescent children.
The response to this letter was dismal. Of eighty-seven youth in sixty-six families only three families with one youth in each family consented to the interview. A second letter was sent out giving more details about the study emphasizing clearly that it was an independent Ph.D. dissertation study with the University of Hawaii and that Minami was chosen simply because of its small population size and ideal location with further apologies for being an inconvenience to the respondent. Only five families totaling seven youth consented this time. Then with a Japanese male colleague door-to-door contacts in the neighborhood were made and with two more follow-ups an 82% response rate was achieved.

The details on the door-to-door experiences are given in Appendix III and only a brief account of how these contacts were made will follow. Keeping in mind the intrusion into the lives of these people, in going around to each house, most of the time together, apologies were given for disturbing them and their cooperation was asked for. At each house my calling card was given to those contacted at the door, mostly the mothers, expressing hope that perhaps at some future time assistance could be rendered to them. Interviews were scheduled or in most cases, done immediately. Twenty-three interviews were completed this way.
There were some instances where the mothers or youth hesitated to agree to the interview during the visit but they did not refuse it outright. Thinking that another return visit would make them look bad my wife (who is Japanese) telephoned these mothers at a time when the youth were likely to be home. Many mothers upon receiving the telephone call and after getting the youth's consent immediately set up a time and day for an interview. Eight interviews were accomplished this way.

Thirty-one youth remained that could not be interviewed because of refusals at the door or on the telephone. An open-ended questionnaire, with fewer but mostly the same questions as the interview schedule, was prepared and if possible handed to the mothers. After apologies expressing full understanding how unreasonable an interview is, they were nevertheless requested to give their children the questionnaire and have them return it at their convenience. A very detailed letter again explaining the study and the reasons it was being done in Minami plus thanking the community members for their cooperation was put inside an envelope together with a pen and self-addressed stamped envelope for return of the questionnaire. Eighteen of thirty-one youth returned the questionnaire.
Although this process was very time consuming, taking more than three months and was a nuisance to the community there probably is no easier way to attain an acceptable response rate from a community when one is not known by the community members. A Japanese researcher of crime and delinquency and university criminology instructor in Japan, once said in a conversation that it is difficult for any outsider, Japanese or foreign, to get an acceptable response rate from a Japanese community and he was surprised at the relatively high response rate achieved. The success in moving from a very low response rate to a high one perhaps was due to the considerations given at each stage of contacts (see Appendix III).

Contacting Hoku Youth for Interviews

Hoku youth were initially contacted in the middle of April. By special permission a list was obtained from the local city office with the names, sex, birthdates and addresses of all persons living in Hoku. All youth on this list were selected but a slightly different contact procedure from that of Minami was carried out. Only one letter was sent out. My wife then telephoned all the mothers who did not respond to the letter. She is a mother in this community and her calls
saved time and resulted in the greatest number of interviews. Door-to-door contacts then followed by me going to the houses of those persons uncertain about granting an interview after telephone contact. The giving out of open-ended questionnaires proceeded in the same manner as in Minami. Eighty-four percent of all youth contacted cooperated most being interviewed. Table I gives a breakdown of the response rate for all youth living in Minami and Hoku excluding those who had moved.

The Study Populations

The study populations as defined in this study consist of all youth 14 to 20 years of age living in Minami and Hoku. The city offices keep meticulous records on the residents in the city and the lists closely approximate the population of people who presently reside in a given area. Fifteen Minami youth and two youth in Hoku were listed but did not reside in the neighborhood when interviews were being conducted. This discrepancy is probably because some youngsters maintain official residency with their parents but do not live with them or the family had moved between the time the study list was obtained and contacts were made.
TABLE I
RESPONSE RATE OF ALL YOUTH IN MINAMI AND HOKU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Minami</th>
<th></th>
<th>Hoku</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responded To</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Letter (Interviewed)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Letter (Interviewed)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>*0</td>
<td>*0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Door-to-Door (Interviewed)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone Call (Interviewed)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total (Total Interviewed)</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire (Completed It)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of the Above (Refusals)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*A second letter was not sent out to the head of household of youths in Hoku. It should also be remembered that the sequence of door-to-door and telephone calls were reversed in Hoku; in Minami door-to-door contacts took place before telephone calls.
The procedure of contacting all youth in the two communities during the study did not consist of sampling in the conventional sense of drawing upon a selected number of observations for the purpose of generalizing to a larger population (Babbie, 1983:142). Likewise, the youth contacted are not a sample of the population; a sample is generally considered as a subset of a defined population (Sudman, 1976:11-12). For lack of a better term, a complete survey of youth within two small communities was conducted and generalizations cannot be legitimately made outside of these two communities (Wallis and Roberts, 1964:112-115).

It was possible to contact all youth because of the small population size of these communities. This, however, creates problems with the non-respondents. To account for this error non-respondents were compared with respondents on the location and quality of their homes.

In both Minami and Hoku the non-respondents were sprinkled throughout the neighborhood and their homes were neither of a higher or lower quality than the respondents. With such a small refusal rate from a complete survey and indications that non-respondents were not a peculiar sub-group within the community, the results of this study are said to apply to all youth in both neighborhoods; any small differences either within
or between the two populations may be attributed to the characteristics of non-respondents.

The Interview Schedule

Questions on the interview schedule were made based upon the review of literature on predelinquency and predelinquency social control (see Introduction, Chapter I and Appendix I), important features observed in the two settings and a misbehavior check-list borrowing from Kiyonaga (1982). Two Japanese assistants, a male and female, together with myself, constructed the interview schedule. Following standard practice in interview construction (Babbie, 1983), the earlier questions on this interview schedule were less personal than the later ones. This arrangement allows the two parties to become familiar with each other before more personal questions are asked. Gaining rapport with youth was especially important in these interviews since they, or anyone for that matter, are not likely to give information about their deviant activities to someone with whom they cannot identify with or trust. Thus it was a principal concern to gain the youth's trust before asking them to fill out the misbehavior check-list in the middle portion of the interview. The interview then proceeded to the more sensitive questions that concluded the interview.
The three workers did pilot interviews and, except for a few minor problems of wording which were corrected later it was felt that the youth responded honestly and that these questions would be familiar to and understood by the youth in Minami and Hoku.

The Misbehavior Check-List and Official Guidance

Laws in Japan do not exactly specify nor define predelinquent offenses (see Chapter I and Appendix V). Thus it was decided to list specific acts of misbehavior on the misbehavior check-list that corresponded to presenting acts by youth that received guidance by the police. Kiyonaga (1982) reported the official acts that elicited "guidance;" they form the misbehavior check-list used in this study.

A condensation of the actual misbehavior check-list follows (see the full/actual list in Appendix I). The misbehavior check-list terms derived from the official acts reported by Kiyonaga (1982) follow. Misbehavior check-list terms follow the official acts by a colon, numbers correspond to the check-list: 1) carrying a weapon: carrying a dangerous weapon; 2) rough behavior: rough with another person and, bothersome to others in public; 3) quarrelsome: a troublesome argument with another person; 4) runaway
from home: running away from home; 5) curfew violation: out past curfew; 6) truancy: absent from school without parental permission; 7) sexual enticement: sexually entice a person of the opposite sex; 8) being naughty: sexually mischievous; 9) impure relationship with the opposite sex: engage in a sexual relationship; 10) alcohol violation: drank alcohol without parents knowing; 11) tobacco abuse: smoke cigarettes; unhealthy amusements: visit 12) pachinko parlors, 13) bars, 14) clubs or cabarets, 15) a porno theater, 16) places off-limits to youth, 17) read a porno magazine, 18) member of a gang; 19) drug abuse: sniff glue or paint thinner and, finally unsound companionship: 20) contact with persons of a youth gang and, 21) contact with gangsters.

It should be recognized the high probability of youth reporting misbehavior because of the conservative content and large number of acts of misbehavior; most youth in this study reported at least one act (see Chapter IV). The ambiguity of some of the categories, for example, unhealthy amusements or unsound companionship, allows for a great deal of discretionary power by the police in giving guidance since such misbehavior could apply to almost any kind of youth behavior. Official guidance rates are also clouded
as official reports on them do not specify the exact behavior of youth that received guidance in the situations of ambiguous misbehavior categories (i.e., unhealthy amusements or unsound companionship, also see Appendix V).

The main advantage of self-reported instances of misbehavior versus Japanese official guidance rates is the former represents a sample of misbehavior by a juvenile population while the latter simply indicates where police take action against youth for misbehavior (see Tracy, 1978 on self-reported crime and an official index of crime). Self-reported acts allow for the following analyses that cannot be legitimately done by using official guidance rates: 1) an assessment of the number of youth who have engaged in misbehavior in a defined population; 2) a treatment of misbehavior as a continuous variable which can be categorized in ordinal intervals from youth not active to those very active in misbehavior and, 3) a comparison of those officially labeled as predelinquent and those who are not, regardless of the amount of actual predelinquent behavior.
The distribution of self-reported instances of misbehavior in this study in Japan are similar to the findings of self-reported studies of delinquency in the United States. Official statistics on delinquency in the United States underestimate the actual frequency of delinquent acts, males more often than females report having committed delinquent acts and adjudicated offenders report more delinquent offenses than youth who have not been arrested (Kassebaum, 1974:39-45). Official guidance statistics of predelinquent acts in Japan report a much lower rate than the actual predelinquent rate reported by youth in this study (see Chapters I and IV and Appendix V). In further agreement, males reported a higher frequency of predelinquent acts than females. Finally, youth who have received guidance for predelinquent behavior similarly reported a greater average number of predelinquent acts than youth who have not received guidance.

**Questionnaires**

The questions on the open-ended questionnaires were similar or the same as those on the interview schedule, although they were asked about their misbehavior instead of directly being requested to fill out a misbehavior check-list (see Appendix II). The
results obtained from this data, however, are not treated in as much detail as the interviews or case studies (see below); there are no significant differences between the results of the interviews and questionnaires.

**Interviewing**

In Japan the information received in an interview may be influenced by the interviewer's dress, manner, sex and race (Lansing, Withey, and Wolfe, 1971) as much as anywhere else. For a non-native speaker interviewing is further complicated because of language, although this depends on what questions are to be asked. Also in Japan, much attention has been given appropriately to the proclivity of Japanese to respond to others in a *tatemae* (expected or ideal) way rather than exhibiting *honne* (true feelings) (Strong, 1978:39-44; Yoder, 1978). Thus steps were taken to minimize these problems.

When at all possible, interviews were scheduled outside the homes of the youth; it was more difficult to do this in Minami than in Hoku. In Minami, eighteen interviews were done in a rented apartment or in a room at the local community center, twenty-one in the homes of the youth, one in a *yakitori* shop and one on the youth's motorcycle outside his home. In Hoku all but two interviews were held at my home. Eighty interviews
were done by myself and a Japanese colleague did thirteen interviews. Respondents were interviewed alone except on two occasions in Minami when the mothers would not leave (these two interviews are excluded from this study after Chapter III) and three interviews in Minami when the respondents' best friend was present.

At the start of the interview a tape recorder was placed inconspicuously away from the youth and except for two youths who objected to this and in two instances of mechanical failures all interviews were taped. Respondents were never noticed to be looking at the tape recorder and after a few minutes showed no actions to indicate any awareness that it was even there.

Agreeing with Wax (1960) that interest, understanding and insight are the basic qualities necessary for a field worker to receive valuable and reliable information from informants, interviewer appearance, dress and manner were adapted to the youth during the interviews. Interviewer and interviewee became involved with each other during their talks yet efforts were made not to influence answers in any way. Respondents were encouraged to talk about anything for as long as they wanted. The questions were standardized and in most cases asked in the same way and order to all youth but there was never an attempt to get the youth to
structure or limit their responses in any way. The emphasis was on creating an atmosphere where they could say what they really felt (*honne*).

The following checks were made to assess language and situational effects on the information received during the interviews: 1) employment of a native male interviewer who completed thirteen interviews in Minami (a Japanese female was to do a few interviews with the girls in Minami but became afraid after seeing the area and backed out of the study); 2) a respondent's six-question post-interview check list; 3) independent translator's comments on possible language and interactional problems after listening to the tapes; 4) my familiarity with the area and subjects and, 5) triangulation of data.

Thirteen youth interviewed by the Japanese researcher were compared with a matching sub-population of youth interviewed by me on the respondent's post-interview check list and from the general content of responses. The results of the respondent's post-interview check lists showed some differences. The youth responded more favorably to the manner employed by me in that a greater percentage reported that they felt at ease during the interview, that the interviewer was warm and
friendly and, that they answered all the questions frankly. On the other hand, more of the Japanese interviewer's respondents reported that because the interviewer was the same nationality and was of the same sex (for males) they answered the questions more frankly. In either case, however, no respondents reported that nationality made them answer the questions less frankly. In all the items on the check list most youth gave favorable responses to the interviewers and interview situation (see Appendix IV).

The content of the information received from youth did not differ substantially during either set of interviews. As indicated, youth responded to questions openly and frankly. They talked freely about the problems they had at school and home, expressed rather unabashedly where they go with their friends, describing the fun they had together. While the majority of them emphatically stated that a generation gap exists between youth and adults, most gave the same reason: the generations think differently. These similarities indicate that nationality had no substantial affect on the interview situation when the youth responded to the interviewer. Interviews with identical twins further supports this.
Both interviewed identical male twins on the same day in the same room, yet were far enough away not to hear each other. Both started at the same time with the Japanese interviewer finishing five minutes before I did. The twins each independently checked on the post-interview check list that: the interviewer impressed him as very warm and friendly, the atmosphere of the interview location was comfortable, the interviewer being of the same sex influenced answering the questions more frankly and "during the interview I felt that all questions were answered frankly." There were two slight differences on the check list one of necessity. The respondent interviewed by me reported that he felt very much at ease during the interview while his twin brother said he felt moderately comfortable. While his brother checked that because the interviewer is of the same nationality he felt he could be more open and frank his twin brother responded (of necessity if the same reliability is to be indicated) that the fact of the interviewer being a foreigner made no difference in his answers.

The contents of the two interviews were also quite similar. Both said they enjoy living in the neighborhood because of relatives there. Frank and in-depth comments were given about mischievous behavior. Also, the twins
said at the conclusion of the interview that a generation gap is occurring today because the thinking of adults and youth is different and then, surprisingly, both went into details about how television creates friction between parents and youth today.

Although these comparisons indicate that nationality did not have any substantial effect on the interview situation, the Japanese interviewer, because of language fluency had greater control over the interview situation. There were occasions when I could not exactly understand a response to a question or probe further and sometimes may not have caught the underlying intentions of language (although this became less so with each successive interview). The native interviewer was more adept at picking up subtle nuances and could direct his respondents to answer the questions in a more fluid and flexible way. Paradoxically, however, talking less in order to concentrate more on the language, allowed the respondent to talk more in the interviews. Many respondents, however, said they were impressed with my ability to speak Japanese, which also may have promoted rapport. Akin to Vogel's (1971:290-292) experience as a foreigner interviewing residents in a Japanese community, the respondents were found to be very willing to give details about their life in appreciation or out of
curiosity of a foreigner wanting to learn something about them. Finally some respondents may have cooperated because they wanted to learn something about the foreigner.

The eighty youth interviewed indicated that no particular problems occurred during the interviews that may have produced biased responses because of the presence of a foreign interviewer. On the respondent post-interview check list not one youth reported that they were less frank and open during the interview because the interviewer was foreign. Some youth even checked that they were more open and frank during the interview because the interviewer was a foreigner.

None of the seven translators (4 women and 3 men) that assisted in the translation of the interview tapes mentioned any significant problems of language and they were pressed on this point. One translator mentioned that a few times the youth seemed to be responding to a different question even though the question was asked correctly. Another translator said a mistake of saying Wa instead of Ga (Japanese particles) on one question lead the respondent to answer that question differently than intended, although a subsequent probe cleared up this error. All of them said they could follow the taped dialogue in the interviews quite easily and did not think
that language was any barrier at all to the interview situation. The consistent responses by the youth to all the questions supports their observations.

Being familiar with the areas of Minami and Hoku prior to interviewing the youth helped to gain an identity with them during the interviews. By knowing what goes on in these two areas happenings there could be talked about. Also, once they realized that I knew about the area and some of the people there, they became more willing to talk about their relation to it.

Two other data sources served as a check on the interviews: the open-ended questionnaires and six case studies. Questionnaires are not affected by the presence of the interviewer. The responses by youth to the questions on the open-ended questionnaire, although lacking the depth of the interviews, were similar in form and content as those received during the interviews. Six Minami/Hoku youth were repeatedly followed-up in unstructured or semi-structured interviews after the initial interviews. These youth were met separately in a number of sessions, each session lasting from one to three hours; also conversations took place with some of them in encounters outside these sessions. They repeated answers to questions that were asked in the initial interview schedule.
Reflection on the field work with the youth in this study and from talks with young people whenever and wherever each others path was crossed has left me with an impression that Japanese youth's concern over tatemae (expected or ideal response) and honne (true feelings) is exaggerated. Most of the youth encountered during this study were very willing to express their feelings once they realized there was an interest being taken in them. Young people have a lot bottled up inside and welcome the opportunity to speak to someone willing to listen.

Translation of Tapes

The interviews lasted from forty-five minutes to over two hours; most were between forty-five minutes and an hour and a half. This made the translation of tapes time consuming. The time for translating one tape varied from a bare minimum of three hours to over ten hours. A team of seven bi-lingual sociology majors at Sophia University assisted in the translation of eighty-nine tapes, three Japanese males, three Japanese females and an American female. I did the most (21) translations, followed by the American female (17), the remaining 48 tapes were translated by the other six; three other individuals did one tape each and gave up.
In most instances, tapes were translated by one of the same sex and grouped by age because of greater familiarity with the language of the same sex and to get used to language spoken by youth of any one age group. The basic instruction was to keep the translations as true to the language of the youth as possible.

The two most common problems were: 1) A few parts on some tapes were hard to hear and, 2) the difficulties of translating ambiguous words and phrases into English. The first problem was partly the result of a mechanical error by not using an appropriate adaptor for the tape recorder and partly because, intentionally, the tape recorder was not placed right next to the youth during the interviews. The number of inaudible items, however, was small. The second problem was unavoidable. Translators were instructed in such cases to explain the ambiguities and put in their own words what they thought the meaning was from the general context of the conversation.

Translation problems were thus minimized by: the assistance of a fine, motivated and serious bi-lingual team of translators, my involvement in the whole process of interviews and translations insured some control over the results (see Phillips, 1970:402), matching translators with the same sex and grouping by
specific age groups made literal translations more true to form; using eight persons assured language approximations were not a constant indication of any one person's preference in words, phrases or sentence construction and, finally, the number of tapes translated by native speakers (51) and non-native speakers (38) were fairly evenly divided balancing cultural influences in either understanding the original Japanese or its expression in English.

I coded all the translated tapes. First the whole range of responses for each question were written out. Then these responses were ordered on a rough ordinal scale and finally collapsed into general attributes for the main variables. The upcoming chapters present the distribution of responses in tabulated form along with typical and illuminating statements by the youth.

An Introspective Look at the Field Work

Any researcher doing field work is constantly faced with decisions of on what to focus and how to collect the data. It is as much an art adjusting to the realities facing one out in the field and constantly changing one's ideas to fit them as it is in organizing and carrying out the basic tenets of the research design. As observed initially the field worker has to adjust the techniques
to fit the situations and persons that are a part of a particular study: in Minami and Hoku, contact procedures had to be adjusted to fit the realities of the persons living there. Consequently, the field work carried out in this study must be held accountable for this. As Phillips (1976:246) says: "We must focus the searchlight of investigation on the techniques itself and on ourselves as users of the technique."

Contact procedures resulted in obtaining a good response rate of youth in two small populations. This was only possible because of the small size of each population thus limiting the results to the youth living therein (see Sudman, 1976:25-47 on small-scale study designs). Other techniques (see below) of the study, although used to describe organizations and other participants in these areas, are less stringent in design and more susceptible to researcher's bias.

This field study utilized data triangulation (Phillips, 1976:236) in the following way: 1) participant observation in the entertainment district of Minami, attending delinquency prevention organizational meetings, going on patrols, attending community events and talking with the persons in these areas; 2) unstructured interviews with middle school teachers, student counselors and delinquency prevention personnel; 3)
partially structured interviews with youth; 4) open-ended questionnaires given to youth and, 5) case studies involving many sessions with selected youth. This approach focused on the meanings, perspectives, roles, actions and interactions of the participants as they see it to understand the normative and situational aspects of predelinquency. There may be some loss in not employing a more quantitative approach with structured techniques utilizing standardized measurements (i.e., close-ended questionnaires, secondary data analysis of official statistics, records and reports etc.). The latter might allow for a more standard reliability check than the above used qualitative data. We realize that both methods have their own biases, strengths and weaknesses (Babbie, 1983:117-119).

Repeated observations, especially in the entertainment district of Minami and case studies on a selected number of youth, are able to describe the fluctuations and repeated features of youth behavior. The interview schedule included related questions and together with probes serves as a check on instrument effect. Also the responses of youth to similar or the same questions in the interviews and on the questionnaires did not indicate any noteworthy shifts in the pattern of responses. Observer effect was
checked for as described above. No substantial flaws were found in the use of instruments nor did the observer have any significant influence on the quality and quantity of the information obtained. It should be remembered, however, that selective perception on part of the researcher is an unavoidable error in all of these techniques.

Although assistance was received from various official agencies, especially at the beginning of the study, the study was conducted independently, detached from any official organization. The decisions made in the field were for the most part done alone in order to get an inside view of predelinquency without it being tainted by official perspectives. There were some disadvantages to this approach.

For one, there was no protection to rely on while doing the observations in the entertainment district of Minami and I was vulnerable to what was happening there finding myself at times in precarious situations.

Fundamentally, reliability is concerned with the stability of a measurement over time and the equivalence of different measurements or use of the same measurement by different observers at roughly the same time (see Phillips, 1976:141-143, and Selltiz et. al, 1959:166-177). These two aspects of reliability are revealed in the data collection process and have been applied to the data of this study.
For another, there were instances of objections to how the study was being conducted by officials and adults. Two delinquency prevention agencies were not very enthusiastic about doing interviews with youth both alone and unsupervised. The agencies finally very clearly stated their objections about this to me. Our relations after this became very cold. Parents sometimes were suspicious of the study and a few totally opposed it because supervision by local official agencies or the community association was intentionally avoided. This made it more difficult to get parental consent for interviewing their children, although in Hoku this problem only applied to the mothers not familiar with our family.

The main advantage, however, in carrying out the research independently of delinquency control agencies was that teachers, parents, neighbors and especially youth felt free to speak. They also did not have to fit their answers to what they may have felt a given organization would have wanted to hear. The remainder of this study concentrates on the communities of Minami and Hoku and the areas nearby to describe the situations ofpredelinquency and its control as faced by Minami and Hoku youth.
CHAPTER III
YOUTH AND ECOLOGY IN MINAMI AND HOKU

Introduction

The modernization of Japan, especially the official abolition of the class system, has weakened the political, social and economic control by cities, towns and villages (Befu, 1981; Johnson, 1971). Although community differences today are less apparent than in the past, this has not reduced the importance of settings. Modern-day Japanese communities, as Suttles (1972) observed of communities in general, have their own unique histories, boundaries, commercial and social activities. Even today the community and, to a lesser extent, the immediate area surrounding it form a base of personal identity and regulate interpersonal relations for its inhabitants.

Although both communities are suburban and are in the same prefecture Minami and Hoku youth live in contrasting settings related to predelinquency and delinquency prevention. The settings of Minami and Hoku are presented below. Their history of defining features, characteristics and activities of the youth in the community and nearby areas, social control of predelinquency and local middle schools are discussed.
The History and Present Day Features of Shonan City

Shonan city is located in Kanagawa prefecture. Historically the city is perhaps best known for its role in military affairs (Personal file, 1985). Samurai groups were active here in the late Kamakura period (1249-1382). During the Muromachi period (1392-1573) Shonan was a war fortress where many battles were fought. It became a factory city after the Meiji restoration (1868) and was a major war plant during World War II. The city was almost totally destroyed by air raids during the war; the present city was built up from scratch since then.

The population of Shonan city has increased almost fivefold since the war and today consists of a little more than 200,000 residents (Personal file, 1985). It is a bustling modern day commercial city with retail, service and manufacturing industries accounting for about eighty percent of the shops employing most of the people in the city (Personal file, 1985).

The Community of Minami

Shonan city consists of different sized zones (chiku) covering about 70 square kilometers. Minami is located in the city center in the zone nearest to the train station. The population density of Minami
is one of the most concentrated in the city. In 1984 a little over 1,000 people lived in Minami in an area that has a density of just over 14,000 people per square kilometer (Kadokawa Nihon Chimei Dai Jiten (a geographical encyclopedia of Japan), 1984; Personal file, 1985).

The few Minami residents in prewar Japan tended small farms. The community and surrounding area has changed rapidly since then. Today there are more than 50 shops, mostly small retail stores and a little over 300 households in Minami (Personal file, 1985). A large highway sets it off from other communities on its front side and a school borders it on its back side. Chart II presents a schematic map of this community.

Minami was recognized as a separate cho (town or community) of the city shortly after World War II (Kadokawa Nihon Chimei Dai Jiten (a geographical encyclopedia of Japan), 1984). Children attend the local primary school appropriately called Minami primary school. Within this community is a large chōnai kai (community association). Minami residents are active participants in the community association. Organized activities range from cultural festivals for the older people to sports and games for the children.
CHART II
A LAYOUT OF MINAMI
Adults and youth readily identify themselves as being from Minami and express feelings, opinions and beliefs about the people living there.

The History and Present day Features of Kaigan City

Kaigan city is located about 30 minutes away by train from Shonan city in the same prefecture. It is considered a major cultural city in Japan. The history of the city goes back to the seventh century and the city had an important role in the administration of the central government during the Kamakura period from 1185 to 1333 A.D. (Hall, 1980; Personal file, 1985). Kaigan was left untouched during the war and its cultural centers have continued to flourish up to the present.

The population of Kaigan city has increased threefold since the end of World War II. Today a little less than 200,000 persons reside in this city (Personal file, 1985). Similar to Shonan city, although more oriented to the tourist market, it is a commercial city. The percent of shops and people employed in the retail, manufacturing and service industries is approximately the same as in Shonan city (Personal file, 1985).
The Community of Hoku

Kaigan is divided up into zones (chiiki) in a land area of about 40 square kilometers. Hoku is located in the northern zone and is one of the least dense communities within this zone. With a population of about 950 people, Hoku has a population density of a little more than 2,500 persons per square kilometer.

During the feudal days of Japan many large temples were built nearby Hoku. One large temple seals Hoku off from a facing mountain and another temple is located in front of its interior. Two mountains straddle its sides. Chart III presents a schematic map of the community.

There are no commercial activities in Hoku and only a few small shops operate near the train station. Land use in Hoku is regulated by public laws and building codes. Public law bans housing and commercial activities in the temple areas and the building code prohibits the construction of any large structures in this area (Personal file, 1985). The Hoku community lies perhaps in one of the most residential areas of any near metropolitan Tokyo.
CHART III

A LAYOUT OF HOKU

train station 250 meters
The zoning map shows Hoku has its own distinct geographical boundaries, while billboards in the community identify the names and addresses of all households within the community. Hoku has its own chōnai kai (community association) but only the older people as members of the rojin kai (old peoples' league) are frequent participants in its affairs. The most active community social group is a club of women associated with a national health food co-operative union. The mothers in this community purchase health foods from this association and distribute them to its members in the community. These club activities also bind together the mothers in a number of non-related informal, interpersonal encounters; they share a lot of their free time together chatting on the phone and visiting each other's houses.

Along with the older people and mothers, children are an integral part of Hoku community life. A summer festival is held each year where the mothers and children of the community gather together to eat watermelon, set off fireworks and tell stories. During the summer some neighbors and most of the children exercise at 6:30 in the morning moving in cadence to instructions given by the rajio taisō (exercise broadcast of NHK radio station). The primary school children in the community
go to and return home from school in a group. And although youth are very wrapped-up with school life, they identify themselves as being from Hoku, some youth taking special pride in the community.

Ecological Comparison of the Two Areas and Communities

Shonan and Kaigan are similar in population size and commercial activities. However, during the war Shonan was a target for air raids because it was a major supplier of war armaments. It was almost totally destroyed while Kaigan was not bombed at all. Therefore, Shonan city rebuilt rapidly after the war and Minami exhibits features of suburban communities in Japan: high population density, active commercial activity in and around the neighborhood and surrounding modern-day physical structures. Kaigan also has grown in population size and economic activity since the end of the war but Hoku has not been significantly affected by postwar urbanization and thus remains a residential area tied to a historical past. In spite of these differences both Minami and Hoku have the defining features of a community with a history, distinct boundaries, community associations, the maintenance of close interpersonal relations among community members and a feeling of residents that they belong to the neighborhood. However,
the characteristics of community members differ. This stems largely from the individuals' past relation to the community, their financial status, occupational interests and families expectations for the future of their children. The family background and school status of Minami and Hoku youth contrasts remarkably as indicated below.

Residence Patterns of Minami and Hoku Youth

The majority of Minami and Hoku youth have spent more than half of their lives in the neighborhood, seventy-one and seventy-eight percent, respectively; forty-two percent of Minami youth and forty-six percent of Hoku youth have lived in the community since birth. However, the composition of household members shows more Minami youth live in a higher percent of single-parent households and they come from larger families than Hoku youth. Table II presents the household composition for these youth.

Working Mothers

Over the years, more mothers are working in Japan but the main role of the mother continues to be that of raising children. A full-time working mother is a stigma and even part-time work may bring frowns from the neighbors. Women today represent a little more than a
TABLE II
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Type</th>
<th>Minami</th>
<th>Hoku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One-Person Household</td>
<td>2.5%(1)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-Parent Family</td>
<td>17.5%(7)</td>
<td>4%(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear one or two-child family</td>
<td>35%(14)</td>
<td>65%(33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear three or more child family</td>
<td>15%(6)</td>
<td>8%(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents and one or two grandparents</td>
<td>30%(12)</td>
<td>23%(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total% (f)</td>
<td>100%(40)</td>
<td>100%(51)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Information came from the interviews.
third of the total labor force with approximately sixty-five percent of working age women being in the labor market (Rōdō Hakusho (White papers on labor), 1983; Woronoff, 1981). Seventy-nine percent (44) of the mothers of Minami youth are working compared to only twenty-five percent (17) of mothers of youth in Hoku. Although possibly an under estimation (since youth often did not specify their mothers' working status), thirty-nine percent (17) of these mothers in Minami work full-time compared to eight percent (2) of their counter-parts in Hoku. The greatest number of Minami mothers working full-time run a small family business, some in the neighborhood itself. Part-time work for both groups was largely in the service and retail industries.

Working Fathers

A higher percentage of Hoku youths' fathers worked in "upper level" occupations than of Minami fathers. The categorization of fathers' occupation, however, was problematic. Some youth did not know exactly what their fathers were doing and many gave ambiguous answers. This mostly applies to youth whose fathers are company workers and the category of "white collar worker" should be considered here to mean their father just works in a
company, although positions may vary from a low-level clerk all the way up to section or department chief. Youth gave the term "salaryman" for "white collar worker" for their fathers' occupation and in general a "salaryman" in Japan receives an average income and has a secure job, although prestige, security and salary differs significantly depending on the name and size of the company. Borrowing roughly from the categories of occupational rankings in Japan (Befu, 1981:131), professional and managerial are considered upper-level occupations, white collar, small shop owner and skilled labor are middle-level occupations and blue-collar are lower-level occupations. Table III presents the fathers' occupations.

The Status of the School

Minami youth who have completed secondary school education attend college less often than the forty percent national average. Hoku youth, however, are above the average in college attendance (Woronoff, 1981). Of the eleven Minami youth who completed their secondary education only two (18%) are attending college, two are going to vocational schools (semmon gakko), five graduated from high school and two boys finished their education after middle school graduation (one to work in
TABLE III
FATHERS' OCCUPATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Minami</th>
<th>Hoku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fathers' Occupation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>3%(1)</td>
<td>16%(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
<td>0%(0)</td>
<td>10%(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar</td>
<td>63%(24)</td>
<td>74%(43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Retail or Service Shop Owner</td>
<td>18%(7)</td>
<td>0%(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Labor</td>
<td>5%(2)</td>
<td>0%(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Collar</td>
<td>11%(4)</td>
<td>0%(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total% (f)</td>
<td>100%(38)</td>
<td>100%(58)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Information from interviews and questionnaires. Occupations of the fathers of Minami youth are: Professional: one doctor, White Collar: salarymen and public employees, Small Retail or Service Shop Owners of: electric shop, hardware shop, fix-it shop, butcher shop, Mah-jongg (gambling) parlor and snack shop; Skilled Labor: electrician and work in architecture, Blue Collar: truck driver, road construction and construction workers. Occupations of the fathers of Hoku youth are: Professional: head teacher of elementary school, middle school teachers, high school teachers and college professors, Managerial: director of a listed stock company, president of an oil transport company, president of a super-market, owner of an advertisement company and department head in a factory; White Collar: salarymen and public employees. Because of death, divorce and a few ambiguous answers a small number of the fathers' occupations for these youth cannot be included.
a factory and the other as a mechanic). Eighteen (62%) of Hoku youth have gone on to college after completing secondary school education: one boy attends a dental college and seventeen youth are regular college students. Three attend special schools (semmon gakko), two boys are spending a year preparing for college entrance examinations (ronin); three have been working since high school graduation and three who did not complete high school are working. Hoku youth also have attended higher ranked high schools than Minami youth. Table IV presents the rank of high schools these youth attended.

Class Differences

Contrasts in composition of household members, mothers' working status, fathers' occupation and school status indicates a lower-middle class background for Minami youth and an upper-middle class one for Hoku youth. They also reside in areas that differ in access to entertainment districts; Minami youth live next to one while Hoku youth do not.

The Entertainment District of Shonan City

From September 1, 1983 to August 31, 1984 I spent one hundred and five days in participant observation of the entertainment district in Shonan city. Most
TABLE IV
HIGH SCHOOL RANK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High School Rank</th>
<th>Minami</th>
<th>Hoku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low or Low-Middle</td>
<td>37%(13)</td>
<td>22%(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>40%(14)</td>
<td>30%(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper-Middle or Upper</td>
<td>23%(8)</td>
<td>48%(24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total% (f)</td>
<td>100%(35)</td>
<td>100%(50)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Information from interviews and questionnaires. In the interviews youth were asked both the name of their high school and what rank they thought it was in comparison to other high schools in Kanagawa prefecture. Their subjective responses for the rank of their high schools matched well with a standardized ranking scale (see Chapter V). On the questionnaires youth were asked to circle the rank of their high school on an ordinal range of: low, low-middle, middle, upper-middle and upper (see Appendix II).
observations took place at game centers, pachinko parlors, drinking establishments, fast food places and on the street. The usual procedure was to walk into a place, play a game, drink a beer etc., and make a mental note of what was going on or if possible scribble down on a piece of paper what was happening. I took notes immediately after leaving the place. Notations included the approximate ages of the youth, what they were doing, their dress and the atmosphere of the place. Only if it was fairly certain they were juveniles (for example they wore school uniforms or appeared less than twenty years old) did I make notes on youth. Estimation of ages was checked by a Japanese colleague who accompanied me on a few rounds and from a few chance conversations with the youth; I proved to be fairly accurate.

The places and misbehavior that I observed paralleled those cited in Shonan city guidance reports and the misbehavior check-list (Personal file, 1985 also see Chapter II and Appendix I). Below, I have summarized typical youth behavior in these places relative to their misbehavior.
**Game Centers**

Shonan has three game centers frequented by youth, two in the entertainment district near the station and one directly across from Minami. Most game players are between 10 and 16 years old, although older high school students and a few adults also frequent them. Boys more often than girls go to game centers, usually dressed in casual clothes or in their school uniform. A Minami boy said delinquents hang out in these places but not much really happens inside. Most youth are seriously involved in playing the electronic games hoping to get enough points for a free game.

I never observed particularly rowdy or bothersome youth, although there were a few loud conversations between boys. Cigarette smoking was the only misbehavior here with some boys conspicuously wearing school uniforms.

**Pachinko Parlors**

Pachinko is pinball gambling with a player winning or losing depending on his ability to get the pinballs to land in the right slots. Tokens are given for the pinballs and can be exchanged for money at a small shop outside. There are eight large pachinko halls in Shônan's entertainment district. These (along with
parlors for Mah-Jongg, a popular gambling game among males, bars, cabarets, turkish baths, pornographic movie theaters, strip shows and love motels) are businesses considered to affect the public morals. Operators must obtain special licenses and they are constantly watched by the police (Ames, 1981).

Inside, the atmosphere is tense and the place is filled with smoke, loud music and the noise of the machines. Most people lose and pachinko playing can be addictive. One youth lost more than a $100 a month every month for a year and he found it difficult to quit.

Anywhere between one to twenty boys and less often a few girls can be found at pachinko parlors on an ordinary day in Shonan. They are an older age group, most being between sixteen and twenty; pachinko playing is legal from eighteen years of age. These youth are the most furyōpoi (deviant in appearance) in the city. Some have streaked orange or brown "permed" hair and they are often decked out in tsuppari (western "punk") style.

Pachinko playing youngsters are rather uninhibited, even wild, smashing at the machine during a streak of bad luck or shouting exuberantly when hitting the jackpot. This corresponds to the atmosphere in general as adults curse the machines or use abusive language when yelling out to the floor walker.
While prohibited for anyone under eighteen, that does not stop underage youth from entering, although the number of youth appearing to be underage were observed to be fewer in number. Most youth smoke cigarettes while playing pachinko. According to two informants and from personal observations it is plausible that youth and adult gangs are somehow involved in the action at Shonan's pachinko parlors. A few youth believed that adult gangs own and run the parlors and gangsters owning pachinko parlors is common knowledge in Japan. Pachinko players know well that the floor walkers know which machines will pay. I noticed a few youth on apparently good terms with floor walkers, suggesting some kind of reciprocity to my mind. I also saw some youngsters were extraordinarily lucky with a few buckets of pachinko balls which represented a lot of money.

Drinking Establishments

I visited three drinking establishments occasionally: two Western style "pubs" and one Japanese style "drinking house." Boys and girls on dates or with friends visit these places in the evening. Most are older high school aged youth; obviously they do not wear school uniforms since this would reveal their age. Mixed drinks and beer are the most popular; they sit around
quietly drinking and talking, many smoking cigarettes as well, pleasantly enjoying each other's company. I saw not one occasion of refusal, although one Western pub had a sign warning under-aged youth not to drink.

Students from the same high school had the same favorite drinking establishments. One Japanese style drinking house was very popular with groups of high school students. Usually there were between five to ten students in one group. They did not hesitate to order a variety of alcoholic drinks which usually included beer, whiskey and sake. Girls preferred sweet alcoholic drinks such as sloe gin fizz or wine while the boys liked beer, whiskey and water or sake. Boys and girls talked together in easy conversation; lovers snuggled up to each other. I was impressed with them as the most well mannered and serene crowd of imbibers.

Fast Food Places

There were four popular fast food places frequented by youth. Youth sat around talking with their friends for sometimes as long as an hour. Boys eyed girls and girls eyed boys but interpersonal behavior did not go beyond that. Some young girls were quite fashionable but casual clothes and school uniforms were the most common wear.
I saw youth smoking in only one fast food place. It also was adjacent to the street corner where there was a lot of action by youth (see below). Smokers looked quite young, perhaps 13 or 14 years old. Smoking groups often included both boys and girls. Youth would quickly put out the cigarettes when an adult arrived but a foreigner was an exception to this rule.

The Street

A lot of action takes place on the main street, especially on the corner in front of the train station. This is where pick-ups usually occur. Boys, parked on the street corner, call out to girls loitering around near-by sometimes luring them over for a conversation. Hot rodding goes on at this same corner with boys eagerly checking-out the girls, revving up their engines as they pass by. Some boys on big motorcycles sit around on their bikes and are quite popular with the girls. According to one informant some are members of the Bosozoku (youth motorcycle gang). Around here fashionable dress is the norm and the young constantly exchange looks with each other.

Boys smoking cigarettes was the most common misbehavior that occurred on the street. Youth also loitered around and during the New Year holidays, drank
and frolicked around into the early morning hours. The street corner youths, however, were usually quiet and harmless; I never observed them bothering anyone.

I took a number of observations at the front of the train station just a minute walk from the action at the street corner. Similar to large train stations a number of bums, seedy looking characters (looking like chinpira (a semi-independent gangster)), hustlers luring persons to cabarets, clubs, etc., and other persons involved in various gimmicks (I suspect many are phony, e.g., offering a deal for something that does not exist) hang out around this area. Youth alone are very quick to get out of this area, especially if approached. Once while standing around in this area I observed a woman running up to young girls with a clipboard in her arm trying to get them to stop and listen to her proposition. There was also a man hidden in the background; with his slick clothes he looked similar to other hustlers around, who I suspect was on the look-out for the police. The man would talk to the woman after each encounter she had with a girl. Not one girl ever did stop to talk to this woman and most picked up their pace once they knew what she was offering.
In the entertainment district, it is not uncommon to see boys and girls enjoying each other's company on the street. Young lovers wearing school uniforms walk arm in arm or hand in hand in tune with each other's conversation. Girls and boys in groups stand around together talking while watching the action. Girls initiate conversations with boys and boys often gesture to girls to come over and talk. Many youth say that inter-mingling of the sexes is common among the young people of today and, although adults object, youth see nothing wrong with it at all.

Youth's behavior in the entertainment district often is met by cold stares from the adults and slighting remarks. During the participant observation I never saw one occasion when youth were seen to be rowdy or offensive to others in public. The only troublesome activity observed was the boisterous actions of some adult men who had one drink too many.

Play Areas and Hoku Youth

There are no play areas or places for youth to congregate near Hoku. There is a snack shop across from the train station where a boy has drunk alcohol but that is about it. The local supermarket is the only common
place Hoku youth frequent; they purchase small items there on the way home. For fun, they go to play areas in other cities but near and in Hoku, they appear innocent.

In over two years of daily participation observation of youth's behavior in and around Hoku, I saw no youth misbehaving except for two incidents (see below) involving older boys. I never even noticed them congregating together at any place. Hoku youth have consistently been observed to go straight home from school after getting off the train; rarely had I seen a youth in school uniform in the neighborhood late at night.

The two incidents of misbehavior I had observed were of two older boys known to me. One boy was seen smoking while walking up the hill with his girlfriend. (We had a small conversation and then they went on their way.) The other one was of a drunk boy: we talked for a while and he later managed to stumble home.

**Delinquency Prevention**

Minami

The percentage rate of guidance given for misbehavior in Shonan City in 1983 was more than twice the national average (Personal file, 1985). Correcting
for age and dividing the number of acts of misbehavior that received guidance by the population of all Shonan youth between fourteen to twenty in 1983 indicates that roughly sixteen percent of youth in Shonan city were cited for misbehavior. The basic structure of the delinquency prevention organization in the city is no different than those in most other major cities in Japan as presented in Chapter II. The high guidance rate does suggest, however, active delinquency prevention enforcement in the city and Chapter IV will point out Minami youth have had various contacts with the police.

Delinquency prevention activities in Minami are carried out by the Youth League (seishonen kai) and Crime Prevention Division (bohan bu) both sub-divisions of the Minami community association (chonai kai). Members and volunteers associated with delinquency prevention activities live in other neighborhoods as well as in Minami. The exact number of volunteers and members in Minami is unknown. There are eight families in Minami with signs hanging in front of their house affiliating them with the Crime Prevention Division as special crime watch points and the section chief of the Crime Prevention Division lives in the neighborhood. Both the Youth League and Crime Prevention Division hold
meetings about once a month and seek the co-operation of neighbors in preventing crime, although some neighbors are not receptive to their calling.

The Crime Prevention Division organizes patrols in the neighborhood and outlying areas. On patrols, members, volunteers and often policemen wear armbands, hats and carry flashlights. They look for youth smoking cigarettes or inhaling paint thinner or lovers necking in dark places. On one patrol with them, I saw not one youth misbehaving. The general impression received from going on patrols and talks with them, is that these patrols are done mostly to let youth know that adults are watching over them.

The main thrust of delinquency prevention activity is aimed at making neighbors aware of the mischievous activities of youth and pressuring offending youth to stop. There are five large crime prevention signs in the neighborhood. These signs carry the following messages: (1) If you see crime call the direct hot-line to the police at 110; (2) Everyone try your best to stamp out delinquency and, (3) This neighborhood is a model crime prevention neighborhood. The members of this organization put crime prevention messages on discount advertisements in super-markets, on calendars etc., and they have crime prevention stickers for cars.
Members also pass out crime prevention leaflets to neighbors and have crime prevention literature available for those interested in it.

One particular pamphlet obtained from the Minami Youth League (seishonen kai) provides a good insight into what many neighbors in the area think about the problems of youth today and is a comprehensive example of the type of literature this organization makes available to community members. The Minami Youth League held a meeting with the parents in the area and made this pamphlet listing 171 youth problems in and around Minami mentioned by neighbors during the meeting. Below excerpts of typical youth problems reported on in this pamphlet are given (Personal file, 1985).

- It is shocking that girls are now speaking like boys.

- There were four or five middle school girls in a group smoking near eleven o'clock in the evening at the shrine.

- Middle school students have hair permanents and when they leave school they put on earrings.

- I think parents spoil their children too much.

- I think if every household raises their children in a wholesome way the whole area will be better off.

- There are so many children who eat while watching T.V.. Wouldn't it be better if the parents talked to the child while eating dinner instead.
I want the head teacher to eat with the students in the classroom during lunch.

Teachers should make the students participate vigorously in exercise and cultural affairs.

I want them [teachers] to be more active in counseling and guidance given to youth.

If you hear or see delinquency in the area even if they are not your children you should give them a warning.

Hoku

The organizational structure of delinquency prevention in Kaigan is similar to that of Shonan with the juvenile counseling center, juvenile-unit and delinquency prevention associations working together. According to the youth guidance counselor at the juvenile counseling center, most misbehavior, especially in the summer, are committed by youth who live outside of the city. (This contrasts with guidance given to youth in Shonan city where counseling rates show that eighty-five percent of these youth lived in the city (Personal file, 1985).) The latest statistics of 1983 on misbehavior for the zone (chiiki) where Hoku youth live, correcting for age, indicated that roughly seven percent of youth living in this zone between fourteen and twenty received
guidance for misbehavior in 1983 or approximately the same percent as the national average (Personal file, 1985).

The juvenile-unit of Kaigan city does not patrol the Hoku area and, aside from the policemen in the local koban sometimes walking around on foot or on bicycle there are no delinquency prevention activities in the neighborhood. The head of the Hoku chōnai kai said there is not a Crime Prevention Division of the community association and they have no crime prevention activities. One bohan renrakusho (police check point) is located in Hoku and there are no delinquency prevention posters in the neighborhood at all.

**Middle Schools**

Minami

Only after being contacted five times did the local middle school reluctantly agree to receive me. The head teacher provided a few pamphlets on the school but he soon ushered me out the door and offered no relevant information. Luckily I had established a friendship outside the school with the school guidance counselor there and a talk with him, interviews with youth and attendance at a P.T.A. meeting provided an approximate description of the atmosphere at this school.
The local middle school is located on the fringe of Minami. It is enclosed by four approximately five meter high surrounding walls with a small entrance gate nearest the athletic field. Many youth in interviews did not hesitate to mention the many problems at this school; two youth mentioned recent newspaper reports of its delinquency problems. Another in attendance said it had the worst reputation of any middle school in the city. A recent graduate was relieved to get out; his vivid description of what happened indicates the kind of school troubles that occurred there:

Minami middle school is terrible with students smoking cigarettes and inhaling paint thinner in the classroom. Classes—what—[with students misbehaving in class] just can't accomplish anything. Almost all the teachers are against it [student misbehavior]. Students run away from the teachers and the teachers often chase after them, and then suddenly the class ends. Finally, the teachers locked the school gates so that students couldn't leave the school. The teachers can only just wait until graduation comes. Some students had planned to lynch the teachers they didn't like at the graduation ceremony, but it didn't happen. The teachers have even called the police and the police have come to our school. It's terrible there. After entering [a middle ranked] high school I was happy to find out that such things don't happen [at high school].

The school counselor mentioned in a talk with me that during athletic days teachers formed a circle around the students to make sure they do not make trouble with each other. He said that student violence
(a student attacking a teacher), sniffing paint thinner and smoking are the main problems with students. At the P.T.A. meeting for parents of Minami middle school students the teachers lectured parents on smoking by students and asked them to hide their cigarettes at home.

Hoku

The local middle school was contacted by phone and they immediately set up an appointment with the principal, head teacher and school guidance counselor. It was a new school built only four years before nestled on a mountain about twenty minutes' walk from Hoku. There are no walls surrounding it. After meeting the school guidance counselor he brought out the building blueprints and pointed out the open and spacious landscape of the school planned by the school officials. It was a school overlooking a green valley and the counselor said a great number of windows were purposely built so that students could feel open to others.

The school principal mentioned that "trust" (shinrai) was the key word at the school. He said it was not only important for teachers to trust each other but students should also feel that they can trust the teachers. Then I remarked: "But isn't the school a place of moral authority?" He said no, times have changed and
it is the responsibility of the family to build the child's character. He said the school is only responsible for teaching and guiding students.

The head teacher remarked that there were no misbehavior problems at the school. He said some students were teased by other students while getting on their bikes to go home but that was about it.

The principal and head teacher left and the talk continued with the school guidance counselor for about an hour. He also said there are no serious problems at the school; the shunning of students from broken homes by other students was the worst thing about student behavior he said. Asked what he thought was the best aspect of the school he replied that it has a warm, friendly (akarui) atmosphere.

Ecology and Predelinquency

Minami youth come from a lower class background than Hoku youth, lived in an area where youth misbehaved more, stood a greater chance of getting caught for it and attended a less prestigious and more troubled middle school than Hoku youth. The next chapter will relate these ecological conditions to predelinquency and examine the reactions of youth to and consequences of social control directed at predelinquency.
CHAPTER IV

THE PATTERN AND SETTING OF PREDELINQUENCY

The Influence of the Setting on Predelinquency

The setting features described in Chapter III (play areas, delinquency prevention activities and the local middle schools in Minami and Hoku) are assessed in relation to the patterning of predelinquency for Minami and Hoku youth. These different social contexts are assumed to influence "their misbehavior," chances of having contacts with those enforcing the law and disposition toward persons carrying out delinquency prevention. A comparison of a pattern misbehavior for both youth groups begins the chapter followed by a discussion on the relationship of setting to misbehavior.

Age and Misbehavior

The mean number of acts reported on a misbehavior check-list (filled out during the interviews), is 3.08 for Minami youth and 2.13 for Hoku youth, with a median score of two acts for the former and one for the latter. However, group comparisons are better understood by examining rates for specific age groups. Age and self-reported acts are strongly positively correlated with a Pearsonian r of .58 for Minami youth and .43 for
Hoku youth demonstrating a significant linear incremental increase of acts of misbehavior as age increases. Hoku youth are on the average more than a half-year older than Minami youth. Controlling for age, by averaging the two sets means by age, Hoku youth average a substantially lower average number of acts than Minami youth at each age level. Also more Minami youth are highly active (reporting 4 or more acts) in misbehavior than Hoku youth by age group. Table V presents these results.

**Sex and Misbehavior**

Boys are more often rule violators than girls. Combining both communities, 14 or 33% of all boys reported conduct rule violations 4 or more times compared to 10 or 20% of the females. Between the two youth groups, Hoku boys average .37 more acts of misbehavior than Minami boys while Minami girls average 1.39 more than Hoku girls; two Hoku youth reporting thirteen and seventeen acts of misbehavior greatly skew the average for Hoku boys. An ordinal categorization of misbehavior, correcting for skewness affecting the mean number of misbehavior, does, however, indicate that Hoku boys and girls are less active in misbehavior than Minami youth. Table VI presents this.
TABLE V
RATE COMPARISON OF CONDUCT VIOLATIONS BETWEEN MINAMI AND HOKU YOUTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in Years</th>
<th>Mean Number of Acts of Misbehavior</th>
<th>Percentage of Cases Reporting 4 + Acts</th>
<th>Total Number of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minami</td>
<td>Hoku</td>
<td>Minami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39 52

Note: The reported misbehavior on the questionnaires showed the same positive relation between age and acts of misbehavior. A misbehavior check-list was not included in the questionnaires fearing many mothers would not have allowed their children to fill it out had one been included. In place of a check-list there were three questions (see Appendix II), two indirect and one direct, about misbehavior. The average age of Hoku youth returning the questionnaires was 18.2 compared to 16.5 for Minami youth. Forty-two percent (9) of Hoku youth and forty percent (6) of Minami youth indicated involvement in misbehavior. However, the responses to these questions are not reliable because an act of misbehavior was not defined. Thus they have not been included although they are supportive of the results obtained from the self-reported misbehavior check-list.
### TABLE VI

MISBEHAVIOR ACCORDING TO SEX AND AREA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex:</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minami</td>
<td>Hoku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactive (0 or 1)</td>
<td>40%(10)</td>
<td>59%(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Active (2 or 3)</td>
<td>24%(6)</td>
<td>12%(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Active (4 or more)</td>
<td>36%(9)</td>
<td>29%(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total% (f)</td>
<td>100%(25)</td>
<td>100%(17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Misbehavior Types

Both youth groups show a similar misbehavior pattern. Not one youth reported having used a weapon and fewer than ten percent of both youth groups reported the following misbehavior: drugs, runaway, sexual enticement, sexually mischievous, visiting a bar, club or porno theater, contact with an adult gang member or having been a member of a youth gang. The type of misbehavior reported most often by both youth groups, comparing first Minami's percentage and then Hoku's in order from highest to lowest are: cigarette smoking (49%-23%); drinking alcohol without parents knowledge (45%-37%); violating curfew (33%-23%); truancy(23%-25%); reading porno magazines(26%-17%); visiting pachinko parlors (23%-19%) and, having a sexual relationship (13%-11%).

There are a few types where Minami youth had frequencies of ten percent or more and Hoku youth did not but the opposite did not occur. Comparing first Minami's percentage and then Hoku's: bothersome to others in public (13%-6%); had a troublesome argument with another person (13%-4%); rough with another (13%-2%); visited places off-limits to youth (13%-6%) and, contact with a youth gang (13%-8%).
The Entertainment District and Misbehavior

Minami youth have ready access to an entertainment district but this cannot account for their greater amount of misbehavior. While Minami youth frequently hang out in the entertainment district and, most are exposed to what is going on there almost daily because they have to at least pass through the area on the way to school or work, the interviews indicated that approximately the same percent of Minami and Hoku youth said they usually go to places in or near entertainment districts for fun with their friends.

Hoku youth go to play areas near other train stations after school or work or on their days off, while Minami youth mostly frequent the entertainment district in their own city. The participant observation of youth in the entertainment district of Shonan city, described in Chapter III, clearly indicated that youth misbehavior often occurs at game centers, in drinking establishments, at pachinko parlors and on the street. And even if youth do not engage in such acts, they are exposed to them. Although they vary in degree and kind, entertainment districts are within or mixed in with shopping areas and can be found near most large train stations. Hoku youth going to these places engage in
and are exposed to activity similar to Minami youth in Shonan city.

Most Minami and Hoku youth begin misbehavior at entertainment areas when of high school age, consistent with when they visited game centers and dated or played pachinko. The pattern of activity for the boys does not differ substantially but it does for the girls: Minami girls reported a much greater amount of misbehavior and at a younger age than Hoku girls.

**Entertainment Spots and Misbehavior**

**Minami and Hoku Boys**

The age for first visiting a game center or dating by Minami and Hoku boys is approximately the same: around 13 years of age for going to a game center and a little less than 15 years old for dating. There also is little difference between boys of the two groups who visited game centers and dated and reported the acts of smoking cigarettes and drinking. The majority of them reported either one or the other misbehavior with about forty percent reporting both.

Minami boys go to game centers in Shonan city. The most popular game center is across the street from Minami and a few mentioned going there. This game center is the most run down of all game centers observed in
Shonan City, located on the second floor of an old building. The atmosphere inside is bare and the chairs are worn out; the man operating the shop pays little attention to what is happening inside and, at times, is not even there. A young crowd hangs out here, mostly boys of primary or middle school age; on a few occasions I observed boys smoking.

Shonan city game centers are not really a haven for smoking even though ashtrays are set on the corner of video machines and nobody inside cares whether boys smoke or not. Playing the games, however, is an exciting activity and it costs money of which young boys have little. One Minami boy said he enjoyed the video machines, especially space invaders, but felt he was spending too much money on them. Another Minami boy reported how his friend was given a stern lecture by a game center employee for tampering with the machine to play for free.

Hoku boys go to game centers in various locations ranging from one located in the back of a small grocery store near an entertainment district in the city next to Hoku to large game centers in city centers. Two boys varied in their experiences according to where they played. A rather conservative Hoku boy reporting no misbehavior clarified that his visit to a game center
was in a department store; from my experiences with the police, game centers in department stores are not checked out on patrols. However, another boy always hung out at game centers in the middle of an entertainment district near Shonan city and received guidance twice for smoking there.

Dating patterns in the Shonan entertainment district vary. Young couples have been observed at movie houses, a variety of restaurants and tea shops, large department stores, fast food places, drinking establishments, game centers, street corners, on motorcycles and in cars. Except those in school uniforms, couples generally wear casual clothes although punk hair styles, dyed hair and girls garbed in make-up with earrings is not unusual, it is quite common to see couples smoking or smoking and drinking at drinking establishments.

Minami boys did not specifically mention smoking cigarettes and drinking alcohol while dating in Shonan city, although it is reasonable to assume some have. Observations suggest, however, that their reported high school age of first date and precocity with the opposite sex match. A number of high school boys have been observed in Minami reading porno magazines at a certain book store. And one Minami boy related an incident he
had with a girl that appears to indicate sexual interest of the opposite sex as an expected behavior for boys in high school:

Once there was a girl in our high school club I didn't like, and I wanted her to leave the club so I touched her breasts and she screamed. I felt bad and apologized. She forgave me, but I quit the club [on account of this incident]. I hear students saying they have done the same thing and that it is no big thing. So I thought it wouldn't hurt if I did it once myself. I was straight laced in middle school and thought I would be disliked if I remained that way in high school.

Hoku boys do not have the access to an entertainment district near their home for dating but that does not give them any less access to girls. In most cases dating for boys comes about from liking a girl at the same school, being introduced to a girl by friends or meeting a girl while having fun with friends. There are no differences in this regard between Minami and Hoku boys.

The dating patterns described in Shonan city are recognizable in any large entertainment district in Kanagawa prefecture or in the Tokyo area. Hoku boys showed a similar pattern by age and reported misbehavior of smoking and drinking as Minami boys and their dating patterns in entertainment districts is not considered to be any different than Minami boys. There are differences among boys in their relationships with girls.
as younger boys in both Minami and Hoku have not had any serious involvement with girls. Some of the older boys have and an indication of this is provided by the activities of two Hoku boys with girls.

The boys had been quite involved with girls. They began an interest in girls at high school age and their fun always took place with their friends. One boy said that he and his friends would go to discos in Yokohama and dance until late at night. The other boy mentioned that he and his friends would pick up girls near one particular train station and sometimes spend the evening with them. From my observations and talks with youth in large entertainment districts these activities are not unusual.

Boys in Minami and Hoku who reported playing pachinko reported a great deal of misbehavior. There is little differences in the misbehavior of Minami and Hoku boys who reported playing pachinko. They can be simply referred to as pachinko players.

Almost every pachinko player, nine of ten boys, reported smoking cigarettes. More than half of them have drunk alcohol and violated curfew. Half of them have visited other establishments off-limits to youth such as
bars or clubs and cabarets and four have had a sexual relationship. They also reported misbehavior that very few other youth did. Four out of ten have been rough or bothersome to others in public. Three have inhaled paint thinner. And three pachinko players have had contact with youth gangs of which two are gang members.

Boy pachinko players were older youth and began playing pachinko around 17 years of age. They were familiar with entertainment districts before playing pachinko by visiting game centers, prowling the streets and, for some of them, staying out late drinking at various drinking establishments. Inhaling paint thinner is done in a variety of contexts. It occurs in some entertainment districts, in the toilets of express trains, behind temples and so on; it is a popular gang activity. Sex relations are easily established if one is a member of a gang as some girls have a fascination with gang members; both boys who reported being a member of a gang have had sexual relationships.

Minami and Hoku Girls

The contrast of age and misbehavior occurring in entertainment districts between Minami and Hoku girls is remarkable. Minami girls begin such activity much younger than Hoku girls. Minami girls are about 13 and
a half years old when they go to game centers or date while Hoku girls are about fifteen and a half years of age. A much larger percent of Minami girls have both visited a game center and dated. Sixty-four percent of Minami girls have both visited a game center and dated compared to twenty-nine percent of Hoku girls. Among such girls seventy-eight percent of Minami girls compared to twenty percent of Hoku girls reported smoking and drinking.

Although boys frequent game centers in Shonan city more than girls it is not unusual to see girls playing as well. I observed middle and high school girls playing video games a number of times with boys or their girlfriends. In game centers, girls wear their school uniform or rather young fashion. Girls with boys at game centers were more daring in appearance and behavior than girls with other girls. On one particular occasion two girls who could not of been over 14 years of age both had "perm'd" hair and wore make-up. They sat next to two boys of about the same age and were quite intent on watching them play the electronic games. I saw one girl smoking with her boyfriend while both wore their school uniform. In Shonan city, however, girls do not smoke much at game centers but do at one particular fast food place.
Near the street corner where youth hang out is a fast food place conveniently located for smoking. It is on the second floor and if an adult walks up, youth can spot them and put out their cigarettes. In the afternoon or evening, groups of girls or girls and boys smoke there. The peak of activity occurs around 6 in the evening. On one particular evening I saw two large groups of boys and girls aged between 13 and 15 with 12 members in one group and 8 in another puffing away with both ashtrays completely filled. A few Minami girls and boys had mentioned going often to this fast food place.

My impression in interviews with Minami girls was that they were more mature than Hoku girls. This was particularly the case with the younger ones. Two middle school Minami girls in interviews were very open about dating. In one interview, with "New Music" (niyu miyujiku) (popular among Japanese youngsters) blasting in the background, the girl told me she had a boyfriend. They exchange love letters and she shows her mother these letters. She said her mother enjoys reading them and she admires her mother for being open-minded about boys. The other girl has been dating since she was 13 years old. She said her friends also have an interest in boys and they spend time together talking about them.
Dating for young Minami females is the norm but not for young Hoku girls.

There is a popular snack shop for young girls where they go to drink with boys in the Shonan city entertainment district. It is a Western style pub with foreign posters and flags on the wall and has a dart board where youth often play against each other. The manager was a young man who dressed casually and catered especially to the young crowd. Girls ranging in age from 14 to 20 often come here with boys. They smoked and the older ones drank mixed drinks. This place later closed down but I could not determine why.

Drinking and smoking on dates for Minami girls and boys was not a common occasion except when in drinking establishments. Drinking was popular not on dates alone. Minami girls like many other youth drank alcohol at home either with their parents or privately with their friends. It is activity that adults seem not to object to if done in moderation and some youth mentioned that their father encouraged them to have a nip with him from time to time.

Hoku girls went quite a distance away from home for fun. Yokohama is the most popular place for them although some go to Roppongi, Shibuya, Harajuku and Shinjuku, glittering places in Tokyo. Nearly all of
them mentioned they go to these areas to shop or walk around with their friends. I could not determine with certainty what their activity was at game centers or dating as none of them mentioned anything about it; although a few could be like Minami girls, their lower reported behavior at a higher age indicates Hoku girls are more conservative youngsters.

Although the percent of girls who said they had visited a pachinko parlor in both communities is approximately the same, twenty percent in both youth groups and all of them were of high school age or older when they first visited a pachinko parlor, the range of their misbehavior is quite different. The misbehavior of Minami girls who reported playing pachinko resembles that of the boys who play pachinko while Hoku girls does not. Minami girls averaged around seven acts of misbehavior, Hoku girls only three. All Minami girls reported smoking cigarettes and drinking alcohol while only one Hoku girl reported likewise. The range of Minami girls' acts of misbehavior resembles the boys. They reported having been bothersome to others, going to places off-limits to youth, one is a gang member and all of them have had contact with members of a youth gang. Only one Hoku girl reported having been to a bar.
What is particularly striking about misbehavior of Minami girls who played pachinko is that all of them have had contact with youth gangs. A member of the Bosozoku once told me that Shonan city is a popular place for his motorcycle friends and two youth in Minami had said that Bosozoku are active near Minami. My observations of the street corner in Shonan validates these points and on a number of occasions girls were seen hopping on to the back of boy's motorcycles and speeding away. There is little differences in the behavior of Bosozoku boys and their girlfriends.

Except for Hoku girls the range of misbehavior I observed in the Shonan city entertainment district corresponded to the misbehavior reported by Minami and Hoku youth who visited game centers, dated or played pachinko. However, it should be kept in mind that popular youth hang outs in entertainment districts are simply places where youth have choosen to have fun with their friends. Their behavior is group activity and part of youth subculture. It gives them a temporary escape from the pressures put on them by adults.
Police Contacts of Minami and Hoku Youth

Although living near an entertainment district does not appear to have any more influence on the misbehavior of Minami youth than Hoku youth, it does give Minami youth a greater chance of coming into contact with the police as the high guidance rate in Shonan city suggests. Minami youth have had a variety of contacts with the more active police force in Shonan city, while Hoku youth have had no police contacts in their immediate area; one rarely sees the police, except in the koban (police box), in and around the Hoku area. The circumstances and reactions of Minami youth to police contacts are important.

Police contact in the Minami area was reported on in the interviews by eight Minami youth. They have been stopped, questioned and, in two cases, written up for misbehavior. Two boys received guidance, one for smoking cigarettes and the other for smoking cigarettes and playing pachinko; six others were questioned on suspicion of doing something wrong. These contacts took place in the Shonan entertainment district and in one instance on the edge of the neighborhood (the entertainment district is about a five to ten minute walk downhill from the neighborhood). Most expressed bewilderment over these incidents.
On four occasions Minami youth were questioned by the police or a guidance worker without having done anything to warrant such contact. The slightest instance was a boy stopped by the police while riding his motorcycle and asked to present his driver's license. He was not violating any traffic laws and said he had done nothing wrong. Another boy said he and his friends were questioned by a guidance worker while playing on the roof of a department store in the evening. Apparently they were causing commotion and a guidance worker, perhaps summoned by the store, gave them a lecture on their troublesome behavior. He asked for their names, posed other questions but a report was not written. A third boy was walking home one evening and police in a patrol car stopped him. They asked him what he was doing, where he was going etc., and wrote down his name. He said it was ridiculous for them to stop and question him just because he was walking home. The final incident involved a girl being suspected of truancy. She was walking around the city wearing her high school uniform on a school day. A policeman asked her many questions and, after she explained to him that it was athletic day at school and students were free to leave the school premises, he let her go. She felt insulted by the whole affair.
The seventh and eighth separate cases of police contact involved questioning by the police for smoking cigarettes. One boy mentioned he was questioned for smoking when his friend got caught in the act near a department store in front of the train station. Both of them were wearing their school uniforms at the time. His friend was written up and guidance workers took away his cigarettes. The last boy that had contact with a guidance worker was caught smoking in a game center but got away with it by lying about his age. He said that he and his friends can recognize guidance workers and when they are spotted one of them will say to the others "here they come." According to him guidance workers are easy to pick out from the crowd because "their eyes are different."

Hoku youth have not been questioned by the police or guidance workers in the immediate area largely because they are less "visible" than Minami youth to the police; there is only a small koban in Hoku and the city juvenile-unit does not patrol the area. However, some of them mentioned in the interviews having had contacts with the police in other cities and all of them resented it.

One boy gave details about his arrest by the police. He was stopped in a city near Minami while
riding a motorcycle with his youth gang, a local group of Bosozoku. He was brought to the police station for not having a driver's license. He refused to answer questions asked by the policeman and was struck by him. They wrote him up and sent his case to the family court. He remains bitter about this experience and has a hatred and mistrust of the police. The other two incidents involved girls. One girl and her friend were stopped by the police while walking to the beach in the evening. The policeman asked them what they were doing and where they were going. The policeman, apparently satisfied with their answers, then let them go. As they walked away she said she muttered to herself "Damn him." Another girl mentioned that she was in a department store when her friend got caught for shoplifting. The guidance worker questioned the friend caught shoplifting and then expressed that because she is a friend of the girl who shoplifted she must have also shoplifted in the past. The girl did not like being accused and felt angry toward the guidance worker.

During the period of participant observation in Shonan city I had been stopped twice by the police: once near the train station and once in the neighborhood of Minami. After showing my foreigner's registration card and in one instance satisfying the policeman that I was
not involved in any illicit crime, they let me go. In the latter case, realizing the opportunity at hand, I asked the policeman about police activity in the city. He mentioned that there is a drug problem in the city and they suspect foreigners are involved in it; that is why he stopped me. They are especially afraid that the drugs, mainly marijuana, will reach the youth. He further added that they have been stopping foreigners at random, including Koreans living in Japan, he claimed he could distinguish between the physical features of Japanese and Koreans, although admitted being wrong a few times. If the foreigner appears nervous during the questioning he is searched on the spot. The policeman apologized for stopping me and kindly offered his assistance in the future. I keep his calling card to this day in case of being stopped again in Shonan city.

The Consequences of the Crime Prevention Association on Minami Youth

Minami youth, unlike Hoku youth, not only are subjected to tight police control near home but also face the consequences of delinquency prevention activities operating in their neighborhood. The delinquency prevention activities of the Minami Crime Prevention Association and Youth League, described in Chapter III, have not resulted in direct contacts for
Minami youth who I interviewed but they have created animosity in many of the youth.

Not one Minami youth reported having had contact with the members of the Minami Crime Prevention Association from a patrol. The parents of some Minami youth go on patrols and a few youth have seen members patrolling the neighborhood but the patrols have not resulted in contacts, warnings or guidance.

The campaign to discredit youth behavior by the Minami Crime Prevention Association and Youth League (see Chapter III) does not mean all Minami neighbors agree to keep a close watch out for youth misbehavior. It was relayed to me by an adult who attended a Minami Crime Prevention Association meeting that one of the members complained that persons living in the run down parts of the neighborhood were uncooperative; they gave no money and wanted nothing to do with the association. Furthermore, as one Minami girl said to me, their surveillance tactics do not work because youth find places in the neighborhood to misbehave where nobody can catch them. Two boys, however, have been reprimanded by Minami neighbors: one boy for drinking beer and another boy for reading a porno magazine at the local store.
Hoku youth have not been directly warned by neighbors for any behavior but two girls learned from their parents a neighbor had called up complaining that the girls looked too "flashy" in their dress. One boy in Hoku suspects that a neighbor called the police when he and his friends were making noise on their motorcycles. They soon left, however, and they were not certain whether or not the neighbor had called the police.

The key difference between Hoku and Minami youth support for delinquency prevention activities was Minami youth, being subject to such activities, were less supportive than Hoku youth who were not familiar with them. Minami youth were asked directly whether they thought the Minami Crime Prevention Association can prevent delinquency while Hoku youth were asked if they thought crime prevention associations can prevent delinquency. Youth that either thought a crime prevention association could prevent delinquency or indicated support even if they did not think one could prevent delinquency were scored as "supportive." Youth who thought a crime prevention association could not prevent delinquency and did not mention support for it were considered "non-supportive." Disregarding ambiguous or unknown responses, forty-one percent (15) of Hoku youth supported crime prevention associations.
and fifty-nine percent (22) did not support them. Twenty-four percent (7) of Minami youth supported the Minami Crime Prevention Association, seventy-six percent (22) did not support it.

The Minami youths' comments indicated a stronger resentment toward crime prevention activities as a result of them knowing what the associations are doing in their neighborhood. It is also noteworthy that the majority of youth in both youth groups do not support delinquency prevention activities; many believe that such activities bring further resistance by youth. Comments from these youth regarding support or nonsupport of a crime prevention association are revealing as can be seen below.

**Thoughts of Minami Youth About the Minami Crime Prevention Association**

**Supportive**

Minami youth supporting the activities of the Minami Crime Prevention Association had little to say; some just said "yes it can [prevent delinquency]." One youth said: "Yes it can. Yes a little if they maintain strict control over juvenile delinquents." Another said: "I don't think it can [prevent delinquency], but it's good for the neighborhood." One boy knew quite a lot about their activities and, although he did not think
they could prevent delinquency, he thought it was a good thing they were trying.

Non-Supportive

The largest number of non-supportive youth mentioned that kids will do delinquent acts regardless of delinquency prevention activities, a few saying such activities only bring further resistance. One youth proposed an alternative solution to the delinquency prevention approach: "Giving a word of caution to youth is nothing. Youth should be trusted and treated with a warm heart." Some youth opposed delinquency prevention activities believing members of the crime prevention association had no rights to act as law enforcement agents in their neighborhood. One girl believing such activities only bring about resistance by youth also said:

It's not that I have no interest [in the Minami Crime Prevention Association]. However, I don't like the idea that they get into the kind of business that they even contact the police. These are things to be taken care of on a family basis rather than by the community.

Another youth said: "They [crime prevention association members] are outsiders, it's better for parents to handle such matters." Still another youth objected to their activities: "They shouldn't look around other people's houses and I think that some of the members do that."
A dialogue this interviewer had with a sixteen year old girl shows not only her dislike of the delinquency prevention activities but also suggests that their activities creates suspicion and "labeling" of youth by adults:

Interviewer: Are you aware of the delinquency prevention activities in your neighborhood?

Girl: Well I forget [them] even if I hear [about them]. I'm not interested [about it].

Interviewer: Why not? Is it because they have nothing to do with your life?

Girl: It's not that they have nothing to do with my life, but it just seems as adults are doing it just as they want.

Interviewer: Have you seen any of them?

Girl: I can sometimes tell if a person is from the [crime prevention] association or not.

Interviewer: You often see the posters [crime prevention signs in the neighborhood], don't you? What do you think? Do you think they [the posters] are for your protection?

Girl: I don't know what they are doing it for, but from our point of view it is just—those volunteers might be doing it for prevention, but it won't work. Kids will just repeat the misbehavior again.

Interviewer: These people sometimes patrol for [crime] prevention. They are like [detective] Columbo [quite popular in Japan]. Do you think such an association can prevent misbehavior?

Girl: I don't think so. The term misbehavior implies discrimination. Their activities [raising her voice in anger] won't do any good at all.
Interviewer: What kind of discrimination?

Girl: For example, my mother would ask me: "Is that youth a delinquent?" I didn't like it, but I would keep quiet. But it finally really got on my nerves, so I told her that was discrimination. She doesn't say it anymore. They [adults involved in delinquency prevention] actually have biased views.

Thoughts of Hoku Youth About Crime Prevention Associations

Supportive

Hoku youth supporting the activities of crime prevention associations often just said such activities can prevent delinquency. One youth thought delinquency prevention activities should be increased: "Yes I support their activities. They should expand [their activities] to correct the morals of delinquents." Another youth, supporting delinquency prevention activities, believed that there must be few delinquents in Hoku because of an absence of a crime prevention association in the community:

Because there are not any such [crime prevention] associations here means we do not have many delinquents [in the neighborhood]. I have not seen delinquency [in the neighborhood] such as sniffing glue, and I think that is good. But having such associations, even if they are small, means they are watching out for delinquency. I think that is good.
Non-Supportive

A very typical response among Hoku youth not supporting crime prevention associations was that delinquency prevention activities are ineffective because youth will commit delinquent acts regardless of efforts to stop them. A few said that such activities make the delinquent situation worse as indicated by one youth:

No, [crime prevention associations cannot prevent delinquency]. The police catch delinquents and they know something about the matter, but neighbors know nothing about it and they would not be able to do anything about it. It [delinquency prevention activities by the community] would have a boomerang effect.

Also a few Hoku youth mentioned they were glad that there was not a crime prevention association in Hoku.

Family Background and Middle School

The family background of Minami and Hoku middle school students indicates their school attendance, academic performance and school life. Students attending the local middle schools live in the local area and the school environment is a reflection of their family backgrounds. Hoku middle school students are of a significant higher family socioeconomic status than Minami middle school students. Minami middle school students have a lower academic performance, more
troubles at school, enjoy school less and have poorer teacher relations than Hoku youth. Furthermore, and a good indication of class and school environment, most Minami middle school students are ashamed of their middle school while all Hoku youth are proud; the last chapter noted the contrasting school environments of the two local middle schools. Family background for middle school students and their school life follows.

The family background of the twelve Minami middle school students is low. Four of them have a missing parent because of death: three fathers and one mother. The occupations of fathers are: four "salarymen," tennis coach, small shop owner of a hardware shop, truck driver, construction worker and one boy said he only knows his father works with "wheels." All but two mothers work, one quite understandably not working: she has eight children, 7 of middle school age or younger. The jobs of the mothers are low and all but one works full-time suggesting family economic problems. Their jobs are as follows: one works part-time in the ticket office at a "cycling" stadium. The rest of the mothers work full-time: elementary school teacher, department store clerk, at the family owned hardware store, in the kitchen at a nursery school, operates a small printing shop at home, helper at an old persons' home, works in
a sushi shop, and the last boy said his mother works for a housewife affairs company that has something to do with cooking.

All eight Hoku middle school students live with both parents; only one mother works: a part-time tutor of Japanese and mathematics at her home to Hoku elementary school students. Two fathers work in upper level occupations: department head in a factory and an art teacher who is also self-employed in the fine arts. The rest are "salarymen."

The Local Middle School Life

Minami

All twelve Minami middle school students, eight boys and four girls, attend the local middle school. Most said they liked school because their friends are there but two said they did not like it. One boy said he did not like school because he disliked study and a girl expressed a dislike for the school because the teachers were not very good. Five youth had good relations with the teachers, six of them felt they liked some of the teachers and disliked others and one girl did not get along with them at all. A large number of these youth said they were not doing well in school. Three youth are doing below average work at school: two have low
school achievement and one said he was a failure. Four youth said they have been average in school achievement and two said they were doing above average school work. Some of these youth also have been involved in mischievous behavior at school and the greatest number of them are ashamed of their school.

There seems to be a popular game among students at this local middle school of "hiding the student's shoes." Two youth mentioned being involved in the game and a third one had it done to him. They also mentioned that the teachers got very upset when this incident happened. One boy said he is always being scolded by teachers for small things like throwing chalk at his friend. The rest of them did not mention having any problems with the teachers but most of them are aware of the low reputation of the school.

Only two youth said they were proud of the school both saying they liked the idea that students there can "do their own thing," two gave ambiguous answers and all the rest were not proud of the school. Three youth just mentioned they were not proud of the school, ending the conversation at that point. One girl said she hated the school, was just waiting to graduate and that she would not go there if she did not have to. Another boy said he was not proud of the school and, if someone asks him
about the school he goes to, he feels embarrassed. Two boys felt ashamed that the school's problems were reported in the local newspaper, as one of these boys said:

Boy: I'm not so proud of it [my school] because it is not a good school. It has many problems.

Interviewer: Student violence?


Hoku

Of the eight Hoku middle school students four of them are attending different private college-preparatory middle schools and their school life will not be discussed. There are two boys and two girls attending the local middle school. All of them said they like school because they can associate with their friends there. None of them mentioned any problems with teachers. Two Hoku youth said they had good relations with the teachers and two others mentioned that their relations with teachers were not so bad, although one boy did not like some of his teachers. They all said their school achievement was average and, aside from one boy having been scolded in the classroom, none mentioned having any troubles at school. The four youth said they were proud of their school because it was a good school,
one girl also adding that she has learned a lot of good things there. One boy was proud of the school because it is peaceful there and that the students cause no problems.

It is not certain what the exact effect the atmospheres of these middle schools have on youth behavior; but Minami youth who have attended Minami middle school reported more misbehavior at a middle school age than Hoku youth (see the next chapter). And among the students now attending middle school a different pattern of behavior between Minami and Hoku students has begun. Half of the Minami girls reported dating and visiting a game center, one reported smoking, drinking and having had a sexual relationship. For Hoku girls: none. The boys of both groups do not differ; one misbehavior was reported and about half of the boys from both groups reported visiting a game center. The crucial difference, however, between the two youth groups is school performance.

Middle schools are very influential in determining the chances of students to enter a good high school. Academic achievement and conformity at middle school determines what ranked high school the student will attend. Family socioeconomic differences most likely
accounted for the attendance of four Hoku youth at private college-preparatory middle schools. Residence and family background suggested local area socioeconomic differences which indicated the less troubled and higher prestige of Hoku's local middle school. In short, Hoku middle school students are of an advantaged family background and were of a higher academic achievement, had less troubles at school and experienced a better school life than Minami students. They, therefore, will have a better chance to attend higher ranked high schools.

**Ecological Influences on Misbehavior**

The greater amount of misbehavior by Minami youth, particularly the girls, is not the result of Minami youth having a ready access to a nearby entertainment district. Youth know perfectly well where to go for fun if they desire to do so. However, youth that frequent play areas, especially pachinko players, misbehave more than youth who stay away from them. Visiting game centers and dating are popular activities for Minami youth and Hoku boys. In support of observations made at game centers and drinking establishments, these youth had comparatively high self-reported rates of smoking and drinking. Except for Hoku girls, pachinko players are the most active youngsters in misbehavior. Their
misbehavior pattern is particularly rebellious, especially as indicated by gang activity. These descriptions and comparisons, however, are just that: it is the task of the next chapter to analyze those conditions that dispose youth to engage in misbehavior.

That entertainment districts or amusement areas in Japan are places for juvenile delinquency was well recognized from the 1950's and, perhaps, earlier (Mizushima, 1973:359-362). However, previous studies have utilized either police arrests or studies restricted to juvenile delinquents to account for delinquency occurring in entertainment districts. They have not given attention to the popularity of these areas for all youth and the diverse wide range of activities that young people engage in. These studies do not recognize that a small minority of youth are gang members or juvenile delinquents. Youth who frequent entertainment districts are perhaps more likely to engage in deviant behavior than youth that stay away but for the most part the deviant behaviors of youth is misbehavior, acts permissible for adults and not acts that are violations under the Penal Code.

Perhaps most neglected by these studies is the crucial role of the active police involvement in entertainment districts. This neglect makes certain
statements appear misleading or at least in need of further qualification regarding the ecological circumstances for delinquency in these districts. Mizushima (1973:359), in a review of data based on delinquent arrests and residency, stated: "Actually, the areas with the largest concentration of delinquent residents either are peripheral to certain amusement areas, or are located in special areas noted for their private gambling facilities; the gangs operating in the Tokyo area are most active in both of these areas." We do not know, however, whether the large concentration of delinquent residents near amusement centers is an indication of the high amount of police activity in these areas resulting in a comparatively high arrest rate for youth living nearby or is because they engage in delinquent behavior more than youth living further away. It was noted in Chapter I that juvenile-units concentrate their activities in entertainment districts obviously leading to a high rate of delinquent arrests there. It also is quite likely that it is not residency near these areas that leads youth to engage in delinquent acts. Even a conservative group such as Hoku youth frequently visit these play areas. But living near these areas increases the probability of being stopped. The substantial difference in police contacts between
Minami and Hoku youth in their immediate areas, I believe to be of this residence factor and not because of any difference in delinquent activities by the two youth groups. I suggest that youth living near entertainment districts are under closer scrutiny by law enforcement agents and thus stand a greater chance of having police contact than youth living in an area safely located away.

The ecological circumstances of delinquency prevention for Minami and Hoku youth differed by both their chances of having contact with the police and community social control in delinquency prevention. All of the youth showed antipathy to police contacts and the greater amount of police activity in and around the Minami area created greater hostility because of the comparatively large number of police contacts for Minami youth. Minami youth were also subjected to the consequences of active delinquency prevention activities in their neighborhood. This form of strict community social control has no apparent effect in preventing delinquency, rather, it resulted in feelings of mistrust and resentment among most Minami youth. The greater awareness of Minami youth about adults attempts to contain and punish youth misbehavior is
indicative of their stronger opposition to such measures than Hoku youth. Furthermore, the exposure to and knowledge of such demeaning delinquency prevention tactics makes it more likely for them to obtain an identity as a "misbehaved" youngster. A Minami youth may wonder if she is one of those "misbehaved" youngsters neighbors have identified while Hoku youth do not even consider the question.

A pattern of middle school attendance, school troubles, school life and academic performance differing by residence and family socioeconomic status emerges from this analysis. Minami middle school students were at a disadvantage on all these counts and subsequently have less of a chance to enter higher ranked high schools. The next chapter extends from middle school attendance to high school status. It addresses the question of whether or not family socioeconomic status and residence relates to the present attendance of Minami and Hoku youth at different ranked high schools and, if so, does this relate to the higher self-reported misbehavior of Minami youth.
CHAPTER V
THE SCHOOL AND PREDELINQUENCY

Introduction

The difference in family backgrounds and schools attended partially account for the higher rates of self-reported misbehavior by Minami youth over Hoku youth. This chapter examines high school youth behavior to establish the relationship of school environment and predelinquent behavior. The next chapter concentrates on those youth who had completed their secondary school education utilizing the same analysis as this chapter to add a sequence of the eventual effects of family background and school environment on predelinquency and educational attainment.

Family Background and Education in Japan

One of the most publicized facets of Japanese society is its educational system. Whether praised or deplored, most report that the examination system or "examination hell" and the ensuing process of sorting students into various schools differing in kind and rank, is the chief means to determine a child's career (Cummings, 1980; Nagai, 1971; Rohlen, 1983; Woronoff, 1981). There is also recent evidence that
family background makes a difference in the opportunities of students to succeed in such a system. Rohlen (1983) reported that students at an upper ranked high school came from higher socioeconomic family backgrounds than students at lower ranked high schools. The students from higher ranked high schools had the following family background advantages for academic success over those from lower ranked high schools: a greater percent of fathers had more education and worked in upper level occupations (professional and managerial); fewer mothers worked and those doing so had better jobs and fewer came from broken homes. Among all the high schools studied by Rohlen (1983), youth from low ranked high schools were predictably of a lower socioeconomic family background.

Cummings (1980) earlier had reported similar findings: Japanese youth from well-off families have a greater chance of going to privileged middle and high schools leading to entrance to a good college. While these select schools have entrance exams, the high tuition limits the applicants to wealthier families. Class differences thus continue to distinguish those students going on to college. The percentage of students entering college from upper income families has been steadily increasing since 1961. By 1976 73.5% of all students attending four-year universities were
from the upper two-fifths income brackets (Cummings, 1980:226).

The tremendous competition to enter good schools and the crucial role they play in a child's future act as stimuli for Japanese families to pool their resources to benefit the child. Thus behind the exterior "harmonious" and "equal" institutional features of secondary education lies a struggle to get ahead. Rohlen (1983:136) concluded that class is a more important determinant of academic success and intergenerational social mobility in Japan than others have recognized:

Despite the homogeneity of the population and the relatively small degree of family differences, parenting makes a profound difference on educational outcomes, and real intergenerational mobility is not as great in Japan as many have been led to believe.

Academic performance is not only related to future career but also with delinquency. One established finding in Japan is the interrelation between academic success (school graded performance or completion of high school) and delinquency (Hoshino, 1981; Iwai, 1974; Matsumoto and Mugishima; 1967; Wasserman, 1965). They have also demonstrated the link of academic success to delinquency from family
background (family income and fathers' occupation) (Matsumoto and Mugishima; 1967; Wasserman, 1965). Students from lower family backgrounds had low academic success and a high rate of delinquency.

This study also relates family background to predelinquency through school life but used a different approach. Previous research has relied on a quantitative assessment of school records or interpretation of secondary sources and delinquent arrests to interpret the effects of school life on juvenile delinquency. Also high school rank or the school environment has not been considered in these studies as an influential factor to delinquency. This study considered the school environment of different ranked high schools as influencing predelinquency. Interviews with youth are also utilized to present their comments in a description of the students' school environment which will be shown to relate to predelinquency.

Conceptual Considerations: Family Background, Residence and High School Rank

Family Background and Residence

Family background in this study is indexed by: fathers' occupation, mothers' working status and family type (intact family or broken home by separation or divorce). Residence and the schools, the local
middle schools having been discussed in the previous chapter, refers to the area where youth live and the middle and high school attended. **Educational career** covers school status and school life from middle school up to the present, emphasizing the most recent secondary school life. **School status** is measured by the type (private or local) of middle school attended and rank of high school. **School life** represents the attachment youths reported to the secondary school most recently attended. It includes: exposure and reaction to social control by the school, enjoyment at school, teacher relations and personal identity with the school.

Measurement of fathers' occupation, mothers' working status and family type came from the youth responses to questions about it during interviews (see Appendix I). Indicants for high school rank came from the students' perceptions of it (see below). Each school life category is measured by responses of students to the following questions in this way: exposure and reaction to school control, "Have any teachers ever consulted you for improper behavior?"; enjoyment at school, "Do you like school?"; teacher relations, "Do you get along with your teachers?"; personal identity with the school, "Are you proud of your school?" and
"If someone asks you about the school you are going to how do you feel?." Also since youth were encouraged to freely express themselves during interviews any other comments they had to say that aids in understanding their educational career are included.

Family background is regarded as part of the setting indicating socioeconomic aspects of residence; class differences by area are examined as a link to understanding youths' educational career. Indicators of family background affect the child's education in this way. The occupation of the father greatly influences family income and home environment including his child's educational opportunities. Working mothers also indicate the home environment and family income. In Japan it is still considered ideal for mothers to stay home until the children finish high school. A non-working mother suggests the more conservative and traditional family approach to the educational supervision of children; staying home to make sure the child is psychologically and physically in shape for the strenuous study necessary for academic success. Working mothers are distinguished by the kind of jobs they are doing. Those who work apparently out of economic necessity imply family income problems and troubles in keeping up with high costs demanded
for the educational success of their child (private tutoring, juku (cram schools), etc.). As with the father's occupation, a mother's job suggests her own educational career and parental supervision in the child's education; the higher the education the more likely a concerted effort will be made in supervising the education. Finally, youth coming from broken homes are at a disadvantage, both financially and in the time available for parental supervision, and are more likely to have trouble keeping up with the educational demands made on students than those from intact families.

Although youth may be sent by their parents to any school they wish, propinquity makes a difference. All things considered equal parents will select a school nearby home. The school environments in the cities where Minami and Hoku youth live reflects on the socioeconomic characteristics of the general area. It is less so than for the local middle schools since it involves a wider area. Nevertheless, it is still an environmental circumstance of education that has a bearing on their predelinquency.
Youths' perceptions of the rank of their high school were used to indicate school rank. They were asked: "Compared to other high schools in Kanagawa prefecture what rank do you think your high school is: upper, middle upper, middle, lower middle or lower?" In most cases they gave a specific response to the question and their responses were then categorized as low, middle or upper (see Table IV, Chapter III).

Although youth were asked specifically to indicate one of the five high school ranks, mentioned above, a few gave expressionistic responses as: "bottom line," "most students go on to college," and "it has begun to be ranked near the top recently." These youths' perception on the rank of their high school were interpreted from the implication correlated with the responses of other youths going to the same high school. I.e., "bottom line" ended being low ranked and the other two examples upper ranked.

Classifications of students' perception of high school rank were problematic in three cases. Their responses were ambiguous and showed uncertainty and were thus matched with subjective responses of other students going to the same high school; matching responses was not a criterion for subjective
classification except for these cases. It had no substantial effect on the distribution of high school rank (two were middle and one lower rank).

Youth gave the name of their high school which was then checked against an objective measure of high school ranks called the *hensachi* (high school entrance points). This provided an evaluative tool as a reflection of perceptions and thus their "real world."

The *hensachi* is a standardized measure of high school rank that lists the rank of high schools according to the points necessary to enter a given high school. The minimum *hensachi* score for entrance to almost all public and private high schools in Kanagawa prefecture ranges from 40 to 70 points and high school rank may be calculated at approximately ten point intervals on this scale (*Kōkō Juken Annai* (A guide to high school entrance examinations), 1984). Thus low ranked high schools' minimum *hensachi* scores range from 40 to 49, middle ranked ones 50 to 59 and upper ranked high schools 60 and above.

The subjective responses of high school rank matched in 41 of 42 cases with the high school rank listed in the *hensachi*; one boy clearly said his high school was middle rank, although it was listed as upper ranked. High school rank is a social measure of
"status," "prestige" and "esteem" which indicates the public's image of students. The subjective responses of youth coincides with the objective ranking of their high schools and shows an awareness of social position adding validity to their behavior and attitude toward school.

**Peer Group Influences and the Schools**

Almost all youth met at least one of their best friends at the high school they are now attending and, except for two Hoku youth, none mentioned having a best friend from their neighborhood. Sixteen of nineteen Minami youth and fourteen of twenty-three Hoku youth said they first met some of their best friends at the school to which they now go. Even those saying they met their close friends in middle or primary school also have friends at high school. On the best friends' misbehavior check-list (see Appendix I) filled out during the interview, most youth reported that their best friends were as active as they were in the same misbehavior. The best friends' misbehavior check-lists were filled out separately from their own self-reported misbehavior check-lists which also serve as a reliability check on self-reported misbehavior. Furthermore, not one youth reporting three or more acts of misbehavior reported doing the majority of these acts of misbehavior.
alone but reported that their friends had done the majority of the same acts of misbehavior as they did.

Peer group influences at high school appear to be greater for youth active in misbehavior. Such youth are more likely to have first met their best friends at the high school they are now attending than youths who misbehave less. Every youth (8) reporting four or more acts of misbehavior met their best friends at the high school they are attending compared to sixty-five percent (22) of the youth reporting less than four acts.

Peer group influences on misbehavior occurs predominantly at the school that youths are now attending, especially for the youth who are more active. This points to misbehavior occurring or not occurring with their friends from the same high school, although the precise dynamics involved in this process are not known. The schools, nevertheless, contain the main social environment for peer group formation and are the crucial place to understand misbehavior.

Findings by High School Rank of: Family Background, Residence and Misbehavior

Family Background, Residence and School Rank

Only the fathers of youth in middle and upper ranked high schools are of an upper occupational status and fewer of their mothers work. Consequently, since
Hoku youth are of a higher school status than Minami youth family background has worked to their advantage; and only Hoku have attended private college-preparatory middle schools. Socioeconomic differences are indicated in the areas of residence. Put simply, higher ranked high schools are located in Kaigan city where Hoku is located: hensachi rankings indicated that Kaigan city had four upper ranked, three middle ranked and one lower ranked high school in contrast to Shonan city's one upper ranked, three middle ranked and six lower ranked high schools (Kōkō Juken Annai (A guide to high school entrance examinations), 1984). These ranks indicate family background of residents in the two cities; thus, aside from locality within the area, city socioeconomic differences play a significant part in the school career of these youth. And most Hoku youth attend their middle and upper ranked high schools in their home city while most Minami youth go out of their city. Conversely, most Minami youth attend low ranked high schools in their home city while no Hoku youth does so. Table VII presents these findings.
### TABLE VII

**FAMILY BACKGROUND, RESIDENCE AND SCHOOL RANK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of fathers working</th>
<th>Number of private school attended</th>
<th>Number of high level jobs</th>
<th>Number of middle school attended</th>
<th>Number of home city jobs</th>
<th>Within Group no.</th>
<th>Total no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minami</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Hoku   |                          |                                   |                           |                                  |                          |                  |           |
| School |                          |                                   |                           |                                  |                          |                  |           |
| Rank   |                          |                                   |                           |                                  |                          |                  |           |
| Low    | 0                        | 2                                 | 0                         | 0                                | 09                       | 2                | 10        |
| Middle | 3                        | 3                                 | 4                         | 4                                | 48                       | 11               | 10        |
| Upper  | 5                        | 4                                 | 5                         | 10                               | 43                       | 10               |           |
School Rank and Misbehavior

The findings on school rank and average number of acts of misbehavior in Table VIII indicate that:
1) youth at low ranked high schools engage in more misbehavior than youth at higher level high schools and, 2) area differences are noticeable in the higher average number of misbehavior acts of Minami youth than Hoku youth at low and middle ranked high schools. The within group differences of misbehavior by school rank are less pronounced than the proportionally large number of Minami youth at low rank high schools; their high average of 6 acts of misbehavior contrasts with the high proportion of Hoku youth with a low average of misbehavior. Hoku youth with family background advantages have ended up in better schools. A large proportion of Hoku students attend higher ranked high schools in Kaigan city while a good number of Minami students attend low ranked high schools in Shonan city. The school environments are thus an indicator of family background and residence with different consequences on misbehavior. The relation of high school rank and misbehavior becomes further specified when controlling for sex.
### TABLE VIII

SCHOOL RANK AND MEAN NUMBER OF ACTS OF MISBEHAVIOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Minami</th>
<th>Hoku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School Rank</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Acts of Misbehavior</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Students</td>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sex, School Rank and Misbehavior

There is a different pattern of misbehavior by sex except for Minami youth at low ranked high schools. Boys average a greater number of acts than girls at the higher level schools. Minami girls at low ranked high schools, however, average more acts of misbehavior than any other sub-set. And even Hoku girls at low ranked high schools matched the misbehavior of boys at higher ranked high schools. The greater average number of self-reported misbehavior for boys than girls at higher level high schools is consistent with their overall higher rate than girls, just as they have a much higher rate of official guidance for delinquency (Seishonen Hakusho (White Paper on Youth), 1982:201). But, this did not hold for girls at low ranked high schools. While numbers are small, within group differences by sex and high school rank suggests that girls are more directly affected by the repercussions of school rank on misbehavior. They conform more than boys at higher ranked high schools but misbehave as much if not more so than boys at low ranked high schools. Thus the school environment at low ranked high schools is equally influential in the misbehavior of boys and girls. However, the basic pattern still holds for a higher rate of misbehavior reported by boys and girls at low ranked high schools. Consequently, although
attention is given to sex differences in the following analyses, it is not central. Table IX presents these findings.

Academic Achievement, School Rank and Misbehavior

The present academic achievement of students at low and higher ranked high schools does not play a role in school attachment to account for the higher average number of self-reported acts of misbehavior by youth attending low ranked schools. This is so because: 1) The mean number of acts for youth attending low ranked high schools is much greater than youth attending higher ranked high schools at both the low and average or above level of academic achievement and, 2) academic achievement and misbehavior occur only in a predictable (inverse) relationship for youth at higher ranked high schools. But, there is no predictable relation for youth at low ranked high schools. Because of this inconsistency and that it has no bearing on school attachment for youth at low ranked high schools academic achievement will not be discussed unless it aids in understanding individual cases. Table X presents these findings.
TABLE IX
SCHOOL RANK, SEX AND MISBEHAVIOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Minami</th>
<th>Hoku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School Rank</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle and Upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Number of Misbehavior Acts for:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Girls</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Boys</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*No Hoku boys attend a low ranked high school.*
TABLE X
MEAN NUMBER OF ACTS OF MISBEHAVIOR FOR
YOUTH BY HIGH SCHOOL RANK AND
ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Rank</th>
<th>Mean Number of Acts of Misbehavior</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle and Upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic Achievement</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average or Above</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

152
Aside from the considerations given to a student's middle school academic performance his behavior is also important in determining what high school is considered appropriate for attendance. The decision is made by the child's parents and teachers.

A number of independent sources (including a student of mine who wrote a paper) have relayed to me that misconduct by a student is heavily weighed in the decision by the middle school to recommend a high school to the child's parents. If a child misbehaves too much in middle school the chance for entering a good high school is diminished. Even academic achievement potential is partially regarded as the child's ability to conform.

It was precisely Minami youth at low ranked high schools who reported being the most active in misbehavior at a middle school age. Approximately half of their misbehavior was reported as first occurring at a middle school age; and escalated in low ranked high schools on account of being sent there. But three Minami students did average school work in high school in spite of them knowing there was little chance of going on to college: it is possible that non-conformity in middle school had a relation to them ending up at a low ranked high school.
High School Rank and Setting Misbehavior

A discussion on predelinquency for Minami and Hoku youth by high school rank follows. Youth were encouraged to freely speak about school life during interviews in response to the questions asked. Their responses, often direct quotations, are arranged for each sub-set separately in an order of: exposure and reaction to social control by schools, school enjoyment, teacher relations and personal identity with the school. Family background and school environment elucidate reasons for Minami youth reporting more misbehavior than Hoku youth.

Low Ranked High Schools

Minami Students

All but two of seven Minami youth attend high schools in Shonan city. Family background characteristics were very disadvantageous for their educational careers. Four fathers were "salarymen", two were small shop owners (one of a restaurant and the other of a Mah-Jongg parlor-gambling house) and one girl's mother was divorced. All but one students' mother worked and most were menial jobs suggesting family income problems. Two mothers worked at their family shops, three were unskilled laborers (two at a factory and one at a delicatessen) and one mother was the sole
Two girls came from broken homes (one by separation and the other by divorce). Self-reported misbehavior between all students ranged from a low of three acts to a high of ten acts. Their average of six acts is up to three times higher than all other sub-sets.

Strict school discipline was a major feature of these schools. All but one of them complained about it. Complaints ranged from teachers forcing students to remove pink socks (only white socks were allowed) to suspending students for riding a motorcycle to school. And it was only at low ranked schools where teacher violence was reported.

Teacher violence was reported to occur for all these youth attending low ranked high schools in Shonan city. Comments from two students attending the two Shonan city high schools indicate their rejection of school due to teacher violence.

Asked if he liked his school one boy explained:

It can be said that I like it and I dislike it.

Interviewer: Please explain [your reason].

Boy: The teachers. There are teachers who hit students.
Interviewer: Do you get along with your teachers?

Boy: Some teachers I do some I don't.

Interviewer: Does this depend on the age of the teacher, the subject or [individual] character?

Boy: It's related to the teacher's character. There are teachers who get angry, and what a terrible face they have [when they get angry].

One girl attending a low ranked girls' high school in Shonan gave an account of her relations with teachers:

Interviewer: Do you get along with the teachers at your school?

Girl: No. The school is strict which makes it harder to get along with teachers.

Interviewer: Who is strict?

Girl: Most of the teachers are strict, and they even use physical violence on us.

Teachers were especially strict at low ranked high schools and five youth were scolded for improper behavior: one boy was reprimanded and reported to his parents for riding a motorcycle to school; two other youth were scolded for improper dress; another girl treated with suspicion from being suspected of smoking; lastly, a girl was constantly scolded for not studying, cutting classes and not bringing required things to class (for example, study materials, a change of clothing etc.).
None of them mentioned that the teacher's scolding "shaped them up"; rather they did not like it. One mentioned it left him with a bad feeling and a girl said it was a nuisance to be constantly reprimanded by teachers. A final girl indicated a negative self-image being influenced by teacher's narrow perspectives toward students and strict actions taken against them. She strongly opposed teacher violence and their suspicion of students; she was once accused of smoking cigarettes. She apparently thought teachers were out to get her and once during her interview when we were freely talking in general conversation she suddenly blurted out:

I don't think I'm doing anything bad or wrong. But from the school and teachers' viewpoints, things I do are unacceptable as good behavior.

School was not liked by these students, although two enjoyed meeting their friends there: one qualified her statement with, "the school is strict, but the students are nice." None of the others said they liked school with the most common reply a passive "so-so."

Teacher relations were marred by the strict school control of teachers as indicated in the comments above. It is significant since they freely volunteered such information and their impressions were distaste and rejection in rebellion. The only other comments
about teacher relations were: one girl said she got along with most of them, although she had been scolded for improper dress; another girl mentioned she preferred her middle school teachers; and, a boy apathetically said he does not like nor dislike teachers.

Along with strict social control by their schools as a feature of low ranked high schools is the stigma attached to the schools. Students, especially the girls, were well aware and self-conscious of it. Most suffer embarrassment and a negative self-identity; except for one boy, none were proud of their school. A few reacted in apparent self-defense when asked how they felt if someone asked them about the school they were going to by responding "I really don't mind" or "I feel nothing." Three girls were quite explicit: "I don't feel good about it. Other schools talk bad about us, and there are so many bad students there so I feel rather uneasy"; or "It's crazy (baka) at the school," and if asked she "feels bad (ya na kimochi)"; and, in the response to my initial asking her the name of the school she attends, "Do I have to say it."

**Hoku Students**

Two Hoku girls attended different low ranked all-girls high schools outside of Kaigan city. They
were from intact families, although family background is not as privileged as most Hoku students. Both fathers are "salarymen" and both mothers work: one as a cashier at a super-market and the other, a clerk at a swimming pool. One girl reported three acts of misbehavior, quite high for Hoku females, while the other reported one.

These girls had more advantages than Minami students at low ranked high schools. However, they are an exception to the norm in Hoku where mothers do not work; they did not attend private college-preparatory middle schools nor are their fathers in upper level occupations. Nevertheless, family background did not appear to have any particular bearing on their attendance at low ranked high schools; although the possibility was greater to end up at a low ranked high school than other Hoku youth and one reported a low academic achievement in high school.

Similar to Minami students at low ranked high schools they said their schools were strict. One dejectedly said: "We have all the regulations that other schools have, in addition to our own." The other girl complained:

We are checked every morning. At the school gate, students with the weekly duty check our fingernails or the things inside our school bags.
Asked who does the checking, she said:

The third year students and a teacher [check us]. My friends will pass me, but serious ones [students] will take our student I.D. card away, and write "nails" in it, if we keep our fingernails long. In that way, it's rather strict.

Other regulations governed color of socks, style of hair (no permanent waves) etc.

One girl did not specifically say she had been scolded by a teacher for improper behavior; but that is because: "There aren't many students who obey the rules, and we break the rules without being caught."

She indicated what should happen if they are caught: "... because it's a private school, if we don't obey the school [and they "officially" find out] they will dismiss us."

Neither girl liked her school and reported that students and teachers did not get along well. They were conscious of the stigma of their school, especially since just about every Hoku student attended a high ranked "prestigious" high school. One girl did not have a response to the question, "Are you proud of your school?" She was then asked how she feels if someone asks her about the school she goes to and responded: "I feel I don't want to say [the name of it]." The other girl's comments about the "status" of her school exemplified the severe self-depreciation by
Hoku youth who do not succeed in education:

Interviewer: Are you proud of your school?

Girl: Not very much.

Interviewer: You aren't, why?

Girl: [Very low voice: inaudible answer].

Interviewer: If someone asks you about the school you are going to how do you feel?

Girl: At first I don't mention the name of my school. I would say I'm going to a school in [she gives the name of a city].

Interviewer: Oh, really?

Girl: I don't want people to ask about my school.

Interviewer: Why? Do Hoku neighbors ask you often [about your school]?

Girl: Yes they do. They ask me: "What school do you go to" or something like that. Our school is rather known for its volleyball team and they can guess the [school's] name when I tell them I go to school in [she gives the name of a city].

Interviewer: Why are you ashamed of the school when the neighbors ask you about it? Is it because other Hoku youth go to better schools than yours?

Girl: Well as I told you before my school is not high level, and other youth around here go to prefectural schools like [Kaigan high] or others of a high rank. Very few youth go to private schools [as mentioned earlier private high schools in Kanagawa prefecture are usually ranked lower than public high schools]. Everybody goes to a public high school while only I am going to a private school. I feel it's a shame to say I go to a private school. But if my school were of a higher rank things might be different.
Low Ranked High Schools and Predelinquency

Youth who attended low ranked high schools were of a lower family background, Hoku girls being an exception, and their schools most likely contained students from a similar background. These schools were characterized by two features: strict school social control and stigma. Students, girls as well as boys, equally detested teacher violence and school enforcement of strict school regulations, consequently teacher relations were poor. They had a low opinion of themselves because of stigma attached to the school.

Minami girls demonstrated that girls of a low socioeconomic status and attendance at low ranked high schools are equally rebellious and misbehave as much as boys. Sex differences of self-reported misbehavior were irrelevant only in the school environmental situation of low ranked high schools. This is so, because the strict discipline of students only occurs at these schools and as it is equally handed out to boys and girls they equally rebel against it.

Middle Ranked High Schools

Minami Students

Four boys and three girls go to middle ranked high schools, of which only two are in Shonan city. These
students are of a higher socioeconomic status than Minami youth at lower ranked high schools. One father is a doctor, four fathers are "salarymen", one father works in architecture and one girl did not say what her father did. One boy's mother is deceased. Three of six mothers worked: one was an office clerk and two girls reported working mothers without specification. No student was from a broken home. The number of self-reported misbehavior ranged from none to seven. They are in-between Minami youth at low ranked high schools and upper ranked high schools with an average number of 1.7 acts.

A girl at a girls' high school was the only student who complained of school regulations which, like many other all-girls high schools, prohibited hair permanents, required white socks, prescribed short hair and so on.

Only two youth mentioned being scolded by teachers in comparison with universal complaint by youth at low ranked high schools; further, the incidents had little meaning to them. One boy was told his hair style was unacceptable but thought nothing of the matter. Another girl was warned by a teacher about too long hair. Asked how she felt at that time she said: "I have no complaint against the teacher's warning since it's a
school regulation, [I feel] nothing in particular [about the matter]."

Two other students commented about the free atmosphere at their schools. One girl was proud of the school because of the freedom given. She said it enhanced student-teacher understanding and also seemed glad of it:

Teachers order students around too much in other schools, but in my school they don't say anything. We students can do many things on our own because they don't tell us what to do.

One boy's comments suggest that a relatively open and free school atmosphere may be an antidote to behavior problems that occur in more strict school environments. He said his school has a good environment and, "there are hardly any school regulations, we are quite free, and the relations between students and teachers are not bad at all." He was glad to attend this school and once in the interview talked about all the friction between teachers and students while he was attending the Minami middle school. Furthermore:

When I was in middle school I used to play truant from school, stay out late, play at game centers and be mischievous with my friends. I just wandered around a lot but now I don't.
These youth liked school saying typically:

The relations with my schoolmates are pleasant and there is nothing there that upsets me. I think because I have many friends there I like school.

Relations with teachers were quite good. Students responded that they either got along with the teachers or that they liked some teachers and not others. A few indicated that they liked teachers who tried to identify with students instead of acting harsh toward them. One girl said she liked teachers at her school who, "care about student's problems outside of class matters," and did not like teachers who, "judge students by their school marks." Another boy's comments were quite similar. He liked that, "when it is time to have fun, the teacher has fun, and it doesn't matter how old they are." He disliked, "The type, for example, in our class a student sitting up front did a trifling thing, he yawned. Just because of yawning the teacher got upset."

These youth felt no stigma and showed no particular feelings about the "status" of their school. They only expressed personal feelings that reflected their individual relations to or in school. One boy said he was proud of his school because he liked it. Another boy said: "I think [I'm proud of my school]."
it is a good place and other schools don't have such a good place. [But] I can't compare things about the school [to other schools]." One girl was quite representative:

Interviewer: If someone asks you about the school you are going to how do you feel?

Girl: It depends on who's asking. Would you give me some examples.

Interviewer: . . . for example, when someone asks you: "What's your name?" and you answer "My name is Hiro [fictitious name]." You feel something [don't you]. So when you are asked about your school how do you feel?

Girl: I don't mind telling them the name of my school.

Hoku Students

Nine girls and two boys go to middle ranked high schools, four to schools in Kaigan city. Their family backgrounds were privileged. Two fathers were college professors, one father was the president and director of his own oil transport company and seven fathers were "salarymen"; one girl's father had recently passed away. Three mothers worked: one is a secondary school teacher, another works part-time at home and the last girl's mother works at the company where her deceased father was employed. There were no cases of parental separation or divorce. Four of these youth attended a private college-preparatory middle school.
Misbehavior ranged from none to one act. They averaged an extremely low .64 practices of misbehavior.

Not a single one of these youth mentioned being scolded by teachers for improper behavior and only at one girls' school did a girl mention strict discipline: the familiar forbidden hair permanents or make-up, prescribed hair styles, white socks and school uniform fit: frequent inspections and so on. She felt:

It's not necessary for trivial things, but the rules are necessary to unify [the students]. Some of the rules are good.

The youth were surprisingly aware of the delinquency problems today (see Chapter VIII): conservative students, such as these Hoku youth, would emphatically deny having any part in delinquency. Regretably precise explanation for this phenomenon is unavailable; but in part it may be attributed to schools providing information to students about harm from delinquency. One girl in a response to a question about what topic had she and a teacher talked the longest, answered: "About high school and juvenile delinquency. We saw slides about juvenile delinquency." Asked if the teacher gave any reasons for showing the slides, she replied: "No."
Similar to Minami students at middle ranked high schools these liked school because they could meet their friends there. Some mentioned club activities additionally as a reason for liking their school; one boy even complained that students did not take club activities seriously enough. One girl summarized these students' attitudes about liking school: "[School] it's fun. Study and being taught various things is fun, and in the club, playing the guitar with friends is also fun."

Nearly all these Hoku youth said they got along with their teachers; not one mentioned having had any problems with teachers. A few, like Minami youth at the middle rank school level, also mentioned that they especially liked teachers who tried to understand them. A few Hoku youth, however, were critical of teachers from their own personal desire and expectation for academic achievement. One girl got along with teachers but: "there aren't many teachers who teach earnestly at my school. There are many old teachers who just come to school to teach [and do nothing else]." And in a dialogue with another girl:

I have some personal expectations [to direct students etc.] toward them [teachers] but, as teachers [only], I think they are not so bad.
Interviewer: What type of teacher do you like?

Girl: One who knows himself and then gives advice to students about what to do.

Interviewer: The type you don't like?

Girl: One who doesn't know himself well and does one thing but says another thing.

Similar to Minami youth at middle ranked high schools most Hoku students were proud of their school:

"Yes [I'm proud], I like my school... I like the atmosphere." or "Yes [I'm proud] because it has tradition and modern facilities."

One girl's response provides a humorous insight:

Yes, I'm trying to [be proud]. Our principal always tells us when we gather together in the gym: "Be proud of your school." Because so many students wear colored socks [white socks are supposed to be uniform in her school, like many others] or get a hair permanent, and don't keep school regulations he says we have to be proud all the more. But it's rather difficult to be proud when we are told to be proud. Our school has a long history and if I was told [simply] it's a good school I could be proud of it; but because our principal tells us "Be proud [of your school]" we cannot be proud of it.

Another girl's comment reveals the high aspirations of Hoku youth for academic success. She was not so proud of her school because:

I wanted to go to Shonan public high school [the top ranked high school in Kanagawa prefecture] but was not successful in doing so. People tend to think I'm really smart, but...
[If someone asks me about my school] I feel "Oh, how I wish I was in Shonan Public High."

One Rank Higher: Middle Ranked High Schools and Predelinquency

The higher family background of these students and residence advantages of Hoku students showed itself in real terms signified by the greater number of Hoku youth at middle ranked high schools compared to the preponderence of Minami students at low ranked high schools. School attendance shifted with Minami youth attending the more available higher ranked schools outside of the city with Hoku youth attending the more conveniently located higher ranked high schools in Kaigan city. Stigma was absent at these schools and so were the complaints and ill-effects of strict school control that earmarked the situation of students at low ranked high schools. The students open and congenial school environment revealed an individual attachment to and personal pride of the school and this sufficiently accounts for the low amount of self-reported misbehavior.

Upper Ranked High Schools

Minami Students

Four Minami boys and one girl go to upper ranked high schools, three of them to a school in their home city. The family backgrounds of these youth are not as
advantageous as Hoku youth at middle and upper ranked high schools but, compared to other Minami students are rather high. All of them are from intact families and all fathers are "salarymen." Four of the mothers work but appear to be doing so more out of a particular interest or speciality than other working mothers in Minami. One mother is working part-time with children and the other mothers are skilled white collar workers. Misbehavior ranged from none to three acts. They had the lowest average number for misbehavior among Minami high school students with an average of one (1.0).

None of these students reported being scolded for improper behavior at school. They were able to "get through" the troubles at the local middle school and go on to an upper ranked high school. One boy's comments contrast the two school environments and suggests that these youth probably avoided trouble at the local middle school:

[I like my high school for its] peacefulness.

Interviewer: [What do] you mean?

Boy: To compare it with my middle school days. Don't you know about my middle school?

Interviewer: I've heard something about your school. . . . three years ago [it was reported on in the newspaper for its troubles] oh, when you were there.
Boy: Yes, I was there . . . Yes [it had a lot of troubles] . . . but my friends were not [involved in it].

One girl felt school control over students was becoming more strict at both the Minami middle school and her high school (in Shonan city). She indicated this by commenting on the part of school life that she did not like:

Teachers' way of thinking. It seems they are changing. My brother went to the same high school [meaning it wasn't that way when he was there]; I guess something happened and teachers have become more strict and conservative. It's not that they don't trust students but they always have to check our activities, for example, at athletic events or school festivals. It's not so exciting.

Interviewer: Why has it become more strict than before?

Girl: I don't know. I felt that way in middle school too. You know they have standardized entrance exams for college. That may not have much to do with it, but it may increase the number of teachers who try to keep up their image of being good. There aren't many individualistic teachers . . . well, I think there are individualistic teachers at high school, but still I feel a uniformity among them. I also feel students are changing as well.

These students liked school differently than Minami or Hoku youth at middle ranked high schools. Only one mentioned liking school because of meeting friends; none related liking school to club activities (as did Hoku students). They strove for upward mobility and
represented a small minority of Minami students who were able to reach the top. Efforts were concentrated on studies and two boys said they had little time at the school for talk with other students. One boy's comments about liking school indicated their concerned efforts and struggle to achieve:

I think I do [like school]. It's interesting but also tiring. It's a hassle to study. Sometimes I don't feel like going to school. Even though I have friends there it's a hassle to talk with them. So I don't know if I like school [maybe] fifty-fifty.

Teacher relations were similar to students at middle ranked high schools with them revealing personal experiences with teachers that indicated for most of them a good relation. The key difference between these students and those at middle ranked high schools was the content of their responses in "school pride."

Prestige of the school and self-identity stemming from it sets apart students at upper ranked high schools from other students. These Minami students felt as if they were "elites" in a manner befitting to the environs of Minami. That is, they all felt honored but said it in different ways. Three students were direct and proud: 
"[I'm proud] I think it's a good school. . . . I don't feel it that much now, but when I first entered high
school, I was pretty proud and felt like showing off a bit." Or as one boy put it: "Yes [I am proud] quite a bit. Its [the school] got tradition. People think students in my school are smart." And a boy proud because: "Whenever we must do something, we all do it hard. . . . athletic meets and in all activities we are successful." The last two students also acknowledged their "elite" status but in an ambivalent way denied it. One boy was not so proud because: "I hear many people [most likely other youth] criticize that we [students at his high school] study too much and [that we go on to] top universities." One boy attended a school located in Kaigan city and he said: "I don't feel proud. When you look from the outside the school appears to be a good place but as I go there I don't think it's such a good place, and don't feel very proud of it."

**Hoku Students**

Six girls and four boys attended upper ranked high schools. Nine of the ten attend school in Kaigan city. Their family background is the most privileged of all high school rank sub-sets. Fathers' occupation included the petroleum transport company president; a landowner with two apartment buildings continuing as a consultant to a company he retired from; three teachers:
a head teacher of secondary school, a high school teacher and a self-employed teacher of fine arts and practitioner; one father worked at a house appliance shop while four are "salarymen." Four mothers worked: one as an instructor of flight operations at an airline; one as a sales representative; one with her husband at a household appliance shop and one mother's job was not specified. Five of these youth attended a private college-preparatory middle school. Self-reported misbehavior ranged from none to six acts and they averaged 1.5 acts.

There were no complaints about strict school control. (Only one boy reported he had been scolded in class for disturbing others.)

But there were lucid comments given about the freedom allowed at their schools. These were schools in Kaigan city which reveals the advantaged family background of Hoku youth being further accentuated by the school atmosphere of a "privileged" area. One girl's comments about her public high school in Kagian city, also attended by two other Hoku youth, summarized their feelings:

[The school is] not at all [strict]. No one obeys the regulations; although there are regulations [it's] almost nothing.
Interviewer: What about the color of socks you wear to school? Do they make you wear only one color?

Girl: No, they don't. Any color is fine. Well, according to the rules, we are not supposed to wear colored sweaters or sweatshirts, but everyone does. They [teachers] don't say anything about it. It's pretty liberal [there].

The atmospheres of their schools were tailored to the privileged circumstances of the students. Their responses about liking school more than any other sub-set revealed enjoying the school itself. Answers to "Do you like school?" included:

Yes. Studies are interesting, and I have many interesting friends to talk with.

Yes. I enjoy studying, and I like the club activities.

Yes. I can meet my friends, and classes are fun especially history.

Yes. I have a lot of friends and my home-room teacher is very nice. He had a fever of 39 degrees, but he came to school today. He went home before school was out, though. There are many nice teachers and I have a lot of friends [at school].

Similar to other students at higher ranked high schools personal relations with teachers influenced their responses and because of the congenial atmosphere of the school most of them got along with teachers quite well; none mentioned poor teacher relations but a few disliked some teachers and liked others. There were, however, a few comments about teachers which resembled
those of Hoku youth at middle ranked high schools further
testifying to a high achievement orientation of
"privileged" Hoku youth:

[I do not] like a teacher who goes on
teaching, although no one can understand
him. [I like] a teacher who teaches us
until we can understand [him].

[I like] teachers who are ardent. . . . when
students go asking them about various
things, they give them a thorough answer.
[I do not like] teachers who don't bother to
answer [questions] properly or those who are
irresponsible.

All of these Hoku youth were proud of their high
school. Responses indicated an awareness of their
"elite" status in a more profound manner than their
counterparts in Minami perhaps because they have had a
privileged education at least since middle school and in
a school environment that nurtures students toward
academic achievement. Comments from them are indicative
of this:

I'm proud of [my school]. My high
school has traditionally been a high ranked
school. We are good at sports, too. The name of
the school is pretty well-known, so I'm not
embarrassed to say its name.

And a boy's feelings when asked about his school:

I will feel glad because [my high school]
is pretty famous.
Or a girl:

I'd be glad [to tell someone about my school]. I think it's a good school and I'm not ashamed of it. So I'd be happy when they ask me.

One girl put it this way:

Well, I feel proud of my school, but not to the extent that I want to show off. I will tell others about the good parts, but the same time will tell them a little bit about the bad parts.

Interviewer: What's good about your school?

Girl: The environment and it has good facilities.

Interviewer: What about the bad part?

Girl: Well, I can't find any at this moment.

Another girl summarized the common feeling:

I'm proud of my school. I would be insulted if people made fun of my school.

Interviewer: Do you like the school uniform?

Girl: Yes I like it. Wearing the uniform strengthens our group conscious. . . . It gives us discipline and uniformity.

The Highest Rank: Upper Ranked High Schools and Predelinquency

These students are the from the most advantaged family background; Hoku students moreso than Minami students. Furthermore, the proportion of Hoku to Minami students further increased from that of middle ranked high schools. An open and free school environment and good personal relations with teachers were similar to
students at middle ranked high schools but their schools were characterized by "prestige" and only they had a personal identity as an "elite."

Minami students experienced the struggles of upward mobility but have managed to make it this far and with pride in themselves and the school this most likely accounts for their low self-reported acts of misbehavior. Hoku students took it all in stride: it is expected of them to be where they are. Since they considered themselves special and were in an academically oriented and open high school environment as Minami students, they, too, reported little misbehavior.

The Setting, School and Misbehavior

Socioeconomic differences in the two areas were qualitative in these students' school lives and pattern of misbehavior. Minami youth have less parental control over their education while residing in a lower socioeconomic area. They struggled with a troubled middle school that reacted to student misbehavior by exerting more school control over them. The students marked as misfits coupled with family deprivation ended up in low ranked high schools which only further exacerbated their problems which, in turn, produced more rebellion. Only a very small fraction of Hoku students
ended up in low ranked high schools; their primary troubles, however, began there; their Minami counterparts had already succumbed to a stigma in middle school that grew at low ranked high schools.

Area socioeconomic differences explain the comparatively lower percent of Minami youth managing to go on to middle or upper ranked high schools than Hoku youth. Yet, overall, Minami youth at higher level schools reported an insignificantly higher average number of acts of misbehavior than their counterparts in Hoku. There were between group differences in school life; Hoku youth expected more of themselves and the schools for academic achievement indicative of their more privileged environmental circumstances of education. However, all students at higher ranked high schools differed dramatically from students at low ranked high schools in school life and predelinquency shown to stem from the contrasts of the two school environments.

In short, Hoku youth have family backgrounds more conducive to academic achievement and go to better schools than Minami youth beginning at least by middle school. Most go to schools near home. Subsequently, they attend schools less conducive to misbehavior than Minami youth. Since exposure and repercussions of school social control, attachment to and self-identity of the
school seems related more to rank and associated social prestige than the individual's personal proclivity toward the school or teachers inside them ranking itself can account for why Hoku students reported less misbehavior than those in Minami.

Chart IV compares family background, school proximity, educational career and misbehavior for the two student groups by high school rank. Between-and-within group differences in each category appear. The relationship of family background, residence, school proximity and educational career to misbehavior is revealed according to school rank. The greater percentage of Hoku youth going to better schools is consistent with these relationships.

**Labeling Theory and Predelinquency at School**

Labeling theory fits the situation of school environment and predelinquency. It also appears to be more ascriptive labeling than achieved labeling. As Mankoff (1971:205) explained with ascriptive labeling, "He does not necessarily have to act in order to be a rule-breaker; he acquires that status regardless of his behavior or wishes." Once students are assigned a particular school status that image of them follows more from the status of the school than the individual's
### CHART IV
CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT LIFE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High School Rank:</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Upper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area:</td>
<td>Minami Hoku</td>
<td>Minami Hoku</td>
<td>Minami Hoku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Social Control</td>
<td>Strict</td>
<td>Moderate Moderate</td>
<td>Congenial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reaction to School Social Control</td>
<td>Rebellion</td>
<td>Conformitey</td>
<td>Conformity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Relations</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enjoys School</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Identity with School</td>
<td>Disgrace</td>
<td>Pride</td>
<td>Pride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle School</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Local&amp; Prep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home City H.S.</td>
<td>Most</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Background</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misbehavior</td>
<td>Very High</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Attend</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
behavior or feelings about the school. The shame and self-depreciation of students that went to lower ranked high schools in contrast to the pride of students at higher ranked high schools and further an "elite" self-identity for students at upper ranked high schools clearly indicated such a phenomenon. From the image affixed to school status followed the school control of students. The strict school control of students at low ranked high schools created troubles for and rebellion by the students. They were viewed and treated as prone toward deviant behavior, thus, many of them reacted to the control by acting out the deviant role expected of them. Kassebaum (1974:67) summarized the phenomenon well: "people tend to act in accordance with the conceptions others have of them, and over time other people act toward a person in accordance with his reputation, public identity, or dominant status characteristics."

Consequently the question remains whether or not these conditions have had an effect on the life situation of Minami and Hoku who finished their secondary education. The next chapter addresses how socioeconomic differences by area play an important part in determining the chances of a higher education and subsequently the future life of these youth.
CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND PREDELINQUENCY

Educational Attainment of Youth Who Completed Secondary Education

Family background, community of residence and school rank not only partially account for differences in the secondary educational career and misbehavior of older Minami and Hoku youth but also forecast the likelihood of going on to higher education. Hoku youth who completed their secondary education are as can be expected more likely to go on to higher education than their counterparts in Minami largely because family socioeconomic status and residence advantages have provided them with a better secondary school career. Since an estimated ninety-five percent of students who attend universities in Japan graduate and they are the ones who land the choice jobs, future occupational status appears to be linked with the setting (Woronoff, 1981: 123).

Hoku and Minami youth who completed their secondary education are the oldest group of youths in the study, all 18 years of age or older. They are entering adulthood; at the time of the field study, however, all
of them except one boy in Minami were living at home with their parents.

The assumptions and conceptualization of family background, residence and educational career set forth in the last chapter on high school students apply to these youth as well. Peer group influences were also apparent at their high schools. Of respondents who completed high school, all but one reported having done some or all of their misbehavior at high school age, and over fifty percent said the misbehavior was restricted to their high school years. Misbehavior also differed for those going on to further education: youth attending college have been the least active of all. They are from the most advantaged family backgrounds and all but one are from Hoku.

Hoku youth fared better in education than Minami youth: seventeen of twenty-one Hoku high school graduates compared to only two of eight Minami graduates have continued their education. Table XI presents the status of these youth, the mean number of acts of misbehavior reported and the percent of youth from both areas at each level of educational attainment. This table shows clearly that as educational attainment goes up, the mean number of acts of misbehavior goes down in all categories but rōnin (college preparatory students).
This is dramatically confirmed by the difference between youth who did not complete high school and college students. A graduated sequence of family socioeconomic status and residence advantages increasing relating to school status will account for decreasing misbehavior across the educational groups.

**Educational Attainment and Types of Misbehavior**

The types of misbehavior reported by youths are the same as the most frequently reported misbehavior types (see Chapter IV); high school students as well reported these misbehavior types in approximately the same order of frequency except for playing pachinko. The types of misbehavior reported were in this order: drinking alcohol without parental permission, smoking cigarettes, truancy, playing pachinko, curfew violation and reading a porno magazine. Consistent with self-reported misbehavior, rates decreased (except for rōnin) for the most frequent types of misbehavior across the educational groups. Table XII presents proportions of each educational level reporting misbehavior, (1 is equivalent to 100% of youth within the category reporting the misbehavior).
TABLE XI

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND MEAN NUMBER
OF ACTS OF MISBEHAVIOR

Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Did not Complete High School</th>
<th>Rōnin (prep. School Student)</th>
<th>Special College (Working)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minami no.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoku no.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean # Acts of Misbehavior</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>*7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One rōnin reporting 17 acts of misbehavior greatly skews the average of the two rōnin. The two rōnin average 12 number of acts of misbehavior.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level Attained:</th>
<th>Did not H.S. (Working)</th>
<th>H.S. (Working)</th>
<th>Ronin</th>
<th>Special School</th>
<th>College Student</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Youth:</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Type of Misbehavior**

- **Alcohol rate:**
  - Did not H.S. (Working): 0.75
  - H.S. (Working): 0.50
  - Ronin: 1.00
  - Special School: 0.40
  - College Student: 0.75

- **Cigarette rate:**
  - Did not H.S. (Working): 1.00
  - H.S. (Working): 0.67
  - Ronin: 1.00
  - Special School: 1.00
  - College Student: 0.33

- **Truancy rate:**
  - Did not H.S. (Working): 1.00
  - H.S. (Working): 0.50
  - Ronin: 1.00
  - Special School: 0.20
  - College Student: 0.42

- **Pachinko rate:**
  - Did not H.S. (Working): 0.75
  - H.S. (Working): 0.50
  - Ronin: 0.50
  - Special School: 0.20
  - College Student: 0.42

- **Curfew Violation rate:**
  - Did not H.S. (Working): 0.75
  - H.S. (Working): 0.67
  - Ronin: 1.00
  - Special School: 0.40
  - College Student: 0.08

- **Read Porno Magazine rate:**
  - Did not H.S. (Working): 0.50
  - H.S. (Working): 0.50
  - Ronin: 1.00
  - Special School: 0.40
  - College Student: 0.08
The presentation of educational career for these youth according to the five categories of educational career is not as comprehensive compared to the previous chapter. The main attempt is to pinpoint school environment circumstances that have had a lasting impression on them and together with their family background how this accounts for their educational attainment. The differentials of family socioeconomic status across educational categories and affects of school environment on misbehavior will reveal not only a parallel with that observed in the last chapter but the consequences of it on their present situation.

Youth Who Did Not Graduate From High School

Two Minami boys and one Hoku boy and girl did not graduate from high school. They were also of the lowest family socioeconomic status of all these educational groups. One Minami boy's father is a construction worker and his mother stays home and takes care of his seven brothers and sisters. The other Minami boy's parents run a butcher shop in Minami. The Hoku girl's parents are both deaf, receive welfare assistance and are employed at the welfare office. The Hoku boy's father is a "salaryman" and the mother is a housewife.

Misbehavior ranged from six to 13 acts and with an
average of almost nine acts, (except for two ronin boys,) they averaged about twice as much misbehavior as the other educational groups.

All four of these youth did poorly in their studies at school. They also either apathetically accepted the school or rebelled against it. The two Minami boys did not have any intention of going on to high school and, as one boy out it, "I only went there because I had to." (Middle school education is compulsory in Japan.) The Hoku girl thought middle school regulations and rules were foolish and she constantly violated them resulting in scoldings by her teachers. She thought going on to high school would be a waste of time and went to work. The Hoku boy's troubles began in middle school before his family moved to Hoku. He was constantly in trouble and scolded by teachers a number of times for his behavior. He went on to a low ranked high school that was extremely strict and teachers physically abused students. One day he went to school with his hair permed and "A teacher said he was going to get some hair clippers and cut my hair and then he hit me." He was constantly tormented by his physical education teacher whom he attacked one day. He was expelled from school for this incident.
These youth did not like school (or were apathetic: the Hoku girl said it was not that she disliked school but that she liked to sleep). Relations with teachers were poor. The Minami boys showed their apathy in recollections of teacher relations. One said: "I have forgotten about it" and the other had nothing particularly to say about his teachers. The Hoku girl did not see teachers as authority figures: "I saw them the same way as I see a friend." Nevertheless, she perceived them as upset at her lack of respect a cardinal sin in Japanese social etiquette especially since teacher (sensei) is a term of high respect. The Hoku boy did not like his high school teachers; he said all but one of them wanted him out of the high school. He was thankful, however, for the one teacher who empathized with him:

He said to me that he understood how I felt [about being expelled from school]. And when I left the school he said to me: "Why don't you come around some time and visit me." Such a teacher is really wonderful.

Except for the Hoku boy, these youth perhaps perceived at the beginning of middle school there was little hope for further academic achievement given their low family socioeconomic status. Without much education all of them are employed in low skill jobs. The two Minami boys worked as mechanic or factory hand and the
Hoku girl has toiled as a restaurant worker; the Hoku boy did part-time work at a bar.

**Family Deprivation and Little Education**

These youth, the Hoku boy a partial exception, were perhaps of the lowest family background among all students at their middle schools. They had little chance of academic success and the schools were not attentive to their deprived situation. All of them either rebelled against school regulations and teacher social control or did the minimum at school in order to graduate and then work. Misbehavior was an outcome of these circumstances and the schools got rid of these students. With a low level of completed education they had little choice but to accept menial jobs.

**Youth Working After High School Graduation**

Four Minami youth (two boys and two girls) and two Hoku girls went to work after high school. Their family backgrounds were more privileged than youth who did not graduate from high school but were lower than youth who have gone on to higher education. There were also differences depending on area and high school rank; the Minami boy and girl from a low ranked high school were the least privileged. The boy's father was a
skilled worker in electronics working in a very small shop where they live and the mother worked part time. The girl's widowed mother ran a small printing shop in the home. The Minami boy and girl from middle ranked high schools were more privileged: the boy's father worked in architecture and the girl's father in construction. The girl's mother worked at a public water company. The fathers of both Hoku girls were "salarymen" and one mother worked at a laboratory. Misbehavior by working high school graduates ranged from none to eight acts and they averaged about five acts. Furthermore, Minami youth averaged four times the average rate of the two Hoku girls; there were little differences in reported misbehavior among Minami youth. Their high school life will further testify to the stricter school social control at low ranked high schools and detestation of it and it should be remembered that these youth went to work after high school graduation.

One of the two Hoku girls attended a low ranked high school and reported three acts of misbehavior; the other girl none. Her school circumstances were indicative of this proportionately high rate of misbehavior for Hoku girls. She hated teachers and especially for their violence to students. As she described it:
Well, a male teacher slaps, pulls hair, hits the students with some objects or uses abusive language to them in a dirty way, even verbally abusing their parents [by language]. And this is done only because of the student's appearance.

The Minami boy attended a low ranked commercial night high school while working full-time in the daytime. He had no problems at school, liked it and was proud of it. But the two girls received a negative experience from the schools, teacher violence mentioned above and, the Minami girl, "I liked my middle school but hated my high school." The girls were ashamed of their schools and one girl's comments represented the familiar stigma affixed to low ranked high schools:

Interviewer: Are you proud of the high school you attended?

Girl: No.

Interviewer: If someone asks you about the high school you went to how do you feel?

Girl: At that moment I feel like I don't want to say [its name]. I don't care if they think it's a low ranked high school but there is misbehavior at my school and others may think of my school as full of [students] misbehaving. I don't like it.

All working high school graduates reported a high rate of misbehavior except for one Hoku girl who attended a middle ranked high school. She also recalled more favorable experiences at high school than the rest of them. She had no complaints about school social control,
liked school and the teachers and was proud of her school: "Yes, that's the school I have graduated from, and I received a strong impression from it."

The final two Minami youth who attended middle ranked high schools were marginal cases. They did not hate their schools like the two girls who attended low ranked high schools but they were not strongly attached to them either. The boy received a more favorable impression from his high school than the girl but both had little to say; the boy had more to say than the girl but his comments about school were ambiguous.

From High School Graduation to Work

The fact that half of these youth attended low ranked high schools, were of a low family socioeconomic status and all but two of them were from Minami reveals how family socioeconomic status by residence decreases the chances of going on to higher education. All of them but one Hoku girl reported a high rate of misbehavior congruent with family background and resultant school status with an added but predictable consequence of attaining a low working status. These have better jobs than youth who did not graduate from high school but still of a low occupational status. Of those who graduated from low ranked high schools,
the Minami boy has continued to work full-time since his first year of high school at the same small commercial company and became a "salaryman" there. The Minami girl quit her job as a model to get married and the Hoku girl became a waitress at a coffee shop. The two Minami youth from middle ranked high schools are now working as a cook and part-time disc jockey and at a bakery shop. Only one, the Hoku girl from a middle ranked high school, came to be employed by a well-known firm (a large department store).

Ronin

The two ronin in this study lived in Hoku. The fact that no Minami youth are ronin even though more failed to go on to higher education reflects their lower family socioeconomic status. It is expensive to pay for a school in preparation for college entrance examinations. Although these two Hoku boys had problems at high school, they had the luxury of another chance at college because of family socioeconomic status.

Both boys came from intact families: one father was a middle school teacher, the other a "salaryman"; neither mother worked. (One mother was a teacher but quit work after the boy was born.) One boy went to a middle ranked high school and the other a low ranked high school. They
reported seven and seventeen instances of misbehavior, respectively.

Both of them rebelled against their schools but under different circumstances and with different results.

The boy from a middle ranked high school complained about his school's control of students, although it did not appear to be as strict as low ranked schools:

Classes were not very interesting. The school was too formal, and we had to stay at school from morning to afternoon so we didn't have much freedom and I didn't like it... I felt we were forced to study in high school.

And what happened as a consequence of this:

My house is a long way from school so I was often late for school. And because I didn't like school very much, I often cut classes, and went to play with my friends. At such times I was given a warning by the teachers.

Although teacher relations were not good and he disliked school, he was proud of the school. But, "Now I don't want to say what I am to others because I am a ronin." He said that over ninety percent of students from his high school go to college but he failed college entrance examinations.

Unlike this boy, the second boy rebelled because the school was especially strict and most students were opposed to it. His description of strict control over students its results for him and his friends provides
additional insight into student rebellion at low ranked high schools:

Because our school is a private school, not a public school, most teachers are very strict.

Interviewer: Why are they strict?

Boy: Unlike a public school, our school is controlled by some [private] individuals. So they give teachers a lot of discretion [method of student control, he also mentioned that teacher violence was rampant] and make rules far more strict than those of a public school. In spite of all this, many students misbehave.

Interviewer: What do they do, for example?

Boy: They pick fights, and smoking is taken for granted among them. I also did bad things.

All his friends at school did "bad" things and he gave a reason why:

They did many "bad" things because the high school was not a good school. Most of them were what is called a "delinquent." People may say they are delinquents just looking at them from the "outside" but they are nice if you look at them from the "inside." If you only look at appearance, you may think they are delinquents but if you understand them, you will think they are nice.

The school reacted to his doing "bad" things by suspending him twice from school and the principal gave reprimands three times. These punitive actions were not effective:

They [teachers] requested my parents not to let me do such bad things again. But I often forgot all about it, did the same thing again, and my parents were called to the school again.
He thought of himself as a delinquent in high school and the "label" affixed on him of being "bad" made him rebel more:

If people around me said I was bad, I tried to be bad. I was sometimes frowned upon by neighbors.

Most of his friends went directly to work after high school graduation. His parents, however, provided him the opportunity to spend a year at a college preparatory school, although he had no confidence in himself to pass college entrance examinations.

Another Chance: Ronin

These boys show the advantages of a family surplus in income to higher education. Minami youth have but one, a limited one, chance for higher education: entrance into a higher ranked high school. Hoku youth have two opportunistic chances.

Rebellion against the school by both boys clearly indicated the reason for their high rate of misbehavior. The circumstances of it, however, provided a good contrast to a key difference between the school environments and misbehavior of students at the two levels of high school rank. The boy in a middle ranked high school environment rebelled where few others did
while the boy in a low ranked high school environment rebelled where most did. It was not expected in the former case but it was expected in the latter one.

**Special School Students**

Four Hoku youth and one Minami girl attend special schools (these schools range in specialization from art to computers). Boys' and girls' family background were more privileged than working youth but less than most college students. The father of two Hoku girls who attended upper ranked high schools were a manager of a recreational shop and "salaryman." None of the mothers worked. The other two girls and one boy attended a low ranked high school; fathers occupations were a public worker, military base employee and a retired company manager's consultant. One mother worked as a kindergarten teacher. Misbehavior ranged from three to eight acts, averaging a little less than five acts; there were no substantial differences among all these youth in misbehavior.

The point of interest at school for these youth was they were able to cope enough with school life to go on to a technical school which requires in many cases an entrance examination. How they were able to do this will follow.
A Hoku boy and girl and a Minami girl attended low ranked high schools. The Minami girl had no qualms about her school and enjoyed school life. The two Hoku youth mentioned strict school social control of students but had two contrasting perspectives about it. The Hoku boy apathetically accepted it:

A public school might have been less strict, but since I didn't work hard [to get in it] I really can't say anything about the strictness in the school.

The Hoku girl explained how she tricked the tough social control agents at her school:

The rules were very strict. Hair style, clothes, everything was standardized so it didn't foster any individuality. Ethics were also taught. I was dissatisfied with the strictness which I thought wasn't necessary, but now I feel the ethics lessons are good. At that time, I wanted to do whatever I wanted [to do].

Interviewer: Hair permanents were not allowed, right?

Girl: No, but I had one.

Interviewer: What did the teachers do?

Girl: In my case, I showed them a picture of me in my childhood when I had a hair permanent. They believed I had a natural curl [though I don't], so there was no problem. When other students are found [to have a hair permanent] they may be suspended [from school], or scolded severely and assigned some cleaning job.

The upper ranked high schools attended by two Hoku girls were typically more open and free. One of
them repeated the familiar comments of personal pride in the school, the good teacher relations she had at her school and so on. The other girl, however, was an exception to the conservative perspectives and conformity of Hoku girls at higher ranked high schools. That is, in spite of advantaged family and school circumstances she did not go along with the pattern laid out for her. She is, rather, a free spirited individual:

... [school regulations] are necessary to some extent. But middle and senior high school days are the time one wants to kick up one's heels, or wants to be free. So I don't think all those details are necessary.

She was scolded for her way of dressing.

On to Special Schools

These youth matched high school graduated working youth in misbehavior but there was an important difference: all but one of special school students are Hoku youth and were from a higher family socioeconomic status than working youth. They coped with high school knowing they were going on to some kind of higher education. Furthermore, the specialty school attended by one Hoku girl indicated her privileged status. She was one of the two who attended an upper ranked high school and passed the entrance examination of a prestigious Photography Institute. And what did she say
about this institute, "it's very famous. There are quite a number of graduates who become professionals. ... graduates have an advantage in finding [good] jobs. The Japan Broadcasting Company recruits from there."
The other special schools they attended were: a Hair Styling School, Drafting Design School, Sporting Institute and Business School.

**College Students**

Eleven Hoku and one Minami youth attended college during this study. The Minami boy's father was a "salaryman" and his mother worked part-time as a librarian. The Hoku college students' family backgrounds are the most privileged of any other educational group. Occupations of fathers were: executive director of an advertising company, a director of a listed stock company in Tokyo, two teachers and six are "salarymen". One girl's father recently passed away. One mother works, although the girl did not say what she was doing. The Minami boy reported ten acts of misbehavior. Misbehavior of Hoku college students ranged from no acts to five. Their average of 2.18 is less than half that of any other educational group.

All these youth graduated from middle or upper ranked high schools. The Minami boy graduated from the
one upper ranked high school in Shonan city. Four Hoku youth graduated from middle ranked high schools and six from upper ranked one's; one girl's high school ranking is not known. Seven of the eleven attended high schools in Kaigan city. It will be shown that their school life is an almost duplicate of Hoku youth attending higher ranked high schools presented in the last Chapter. These schools lead to college.

Conformity to the moderate social control of their schools was a feature for all these students but the Minami boy. He was an intelligent boy involved in student government, had a high academic achievement at an upper ranked high school and had been accepted and planned to attend a national university far away in Hokkaido. But he did not like nor get along with the teachers:

I didn't like the way teachers . . . spoke from their positions. I often quarreled with teachers who were especially oppressive.

Hoku students went to schools that had a congenial school environment. One girl expressed the feelings of those from Kaigan high school:

. . . there was much freedom [at my high school]. Freedom was the best thing about that school.

Interviewer: Did teacher's check up on the students? Were they fussy about study? Was there anything they checked on?
Girl: I don't think so. The school never said much about anything. My school was not fussy about [school] regulations.

All Hoku college students enjoyed high school and had good teacher relations. Their comments about this attests to the similarity of what they had experienced to that which the younger Hoku students at higher ranked high schools are now experiencing:

The school matched me well, and I had good friends [there].

And another youth:

It was a quiet and easy going school, and my friends were nice.

About teacher relations a girl said:

Teachers have been the same since middle school. We knew each other and so we were on good terms.

And as another boy puts it:

Students of my school get along well with the teachers.

A final girl summarized their feelings:

Students and teachers trusted each other. The students relied on the teachers. . . . when a student had a problem she would consult the home room teacher immediately [and] the teacher listened and gave advice.

Hoku college students responded with the same pride in their schools as their younger cohorts now attending higher ranked schools did. A girl who graduated from a
public upper ranked high school in Kaigan city summed up their feelings:

Interviewer: Are you proud of your high school?

Girl: Yes, I'm proud.

Interviewer: If someone asks you about the high school you went to how do you feel?

Girl: I feel proud of saying that I went to Kaigan high school. I never have felt embarrassed to say the name of my high school. Rather I am satisfied with my high school.

Entered College

Hoku college students represented over fifty percent of all Hoku youth who completed their secondary education and they had an advantaged family background and educational career; only one of eight Minami youth managed to attend college. They have been lead along towards a college education perhaps since the time they were born. They reported little misbehavior.

Educational Attainment and Misbehavior

This data further supported and clarified the link of family background to misbehavior through educational career. Youth who had completed their secondary education experienced what the youth attending high school were going through; self-reported misbehavior by high school rank matched as well. School problems
were greater for youth from a lower family background and stricter social control by low ranked high schools was again observed (three accounts given about teacher violence as well). Most of those who attended low ranked high schools either apathetically accepted the strict social control of the school or rebelled against it. The self-reported misbehavior of youngsters who have attended a low ranked high school consistently exceeded those of youth at higher ranked high schools to such an extent that one is left with the impression that strict social control of schools is but a self-defeating measure.

Family socioeconomic status and residence were directly related to youths' secondary educational career, self-reported misbehavior and educational attainment. As family socioeconomic status and the proportion of Hoku youth increased, so were the school environments observed to be more conducive to conformity and academic achievement. As a consequence educational attainment increased and misbehavior decreased.

Chart V provides a summary comparison of the patterns of predelinquency of educational attainments for the educational groups of this chapter. Between educational group proportion of Minami and Hoku youth and misbehavior can be seen by going across the rows. Within
group "characteristics" are formed by reading down the columns.

It is necessary to shift attention to the situation of the home and predelinquency to further explore the continual sequences of predelinquency. Therefore, the next chapter looks at youth-parental relations. It turns to a contextual analysis of life at home and the possible influence of the situation at school to youth-parental relations.
## Chart V

**Educational Attainment, Family Background and Educational Career of Post High School Youth**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Status:</th>
<th>Working Non H.S Grad</th>
<th>Working H.S Grad</th>
<th>Ronin Special School Student</th>
<th>College Student</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School Social Control</td>
<td>Strict</td>
<td>Strict</td>
<td>Strict to Moderate</td>
<td>Congenial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reaction to School Social Control</td>
<td>Rebellion to Apathy</td>
<td>Rebellion to Apathy</td>
<td>Rebellion to Conformity</td>
<td>Conformity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Life</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Poor to Fair</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last School in Home City</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Background</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low-Middle</td>
<td>Upper-Middle</td>
<td>Upper-Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative Misbehavior</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Minami youth</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Hoku youth</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Present Youth-Parental Relations

Adolescence is marked by the influence of the peer group and the weakening of the parents' hold on the child, prompting Erik Erickson (Annual Editions, 1975:26) to say: "Preparation of a successful adolescence, and the attainment of an integrated psychosocial identity must, therefore, begin in the cradle." Present parental relations to the Japanese youth discussed below testify to the potency of past relations, especially during early childhood. This study, however, was not designed to explore earlier child-parental relations. Nevertheless, what youth had to say about present relations with parents is assumed to partially reflect their past relations, although this assumption will not be tested.

The Situation of Youth-Parental Relations

Originally, I applied control theory, as defined by Hirschi (1969), to youth-parental relations. However, discrepancies were found between youth at different ranked high schools in attachment to their parents, suggesting an interaction between the school and home affecting youth-parental relations that is better
understood by a situational or contextual analysis. A brief description of control theory followed by a discussion of why a situational approach is better suited to this study for youth-parental relations is presented below.

**Control Theory and Delinquency**

Control theory, as stipulated by Hirschi (1969), assuming a common societal value and norm structure views an adolescent's attachment to her or his parents as a cohesive bond that inhibits desire to deviate from conventional norms. The child, having built up a reservoir of parental wishes, desires and opinions, is conscious of or sensitive to their disappointment should he deviate from these expectations and norms. Inhibition to act based on such an attachment is seen by control theory as a main deterrent to the carrying out of delinquent acts by the juvenile.

One particular dimension of control theory is children's affection for and identity with their parents. Youth's affection and identity with their mother and father contain feelings of emulation. Wanting to be like them implies an affectional attachment toward them and an identity with their lifestyle. Attitudes favorable to the parent's way of life or wanting to emulate them is a
dimension of caring about them and thus is seen to deter youth from doing something that the parents would disapprove of. Borrowing directly from Hirschi's (1969) questions representing this dimension of attachment, youth were asked: "Would you like to be the type of person your mother is?," and, "Would you like to be the type of person your father is?"

Their responses to these two questions indicated an ordinal pattern of Yes, Somewhat and No answers. It was found that youths' attachment to their mother and father was related to misbehavior but it became an uneven relation once school rank was controlled for. That is, youth who attended low ranked high schools were less attached to their mother and father than youth of a higher school ranking status. Also over 50% of them are very active in misbehavior at any level of attachment to their parents.

Table XIII shows both the extent of attachment to parents and its relation to misbehavior activity. Considering just the numbers, for example, one of twelve or 8% of youth from low ranked high schools compared to 16 of 42 or 38% of youth from middle or above ranked high schools would like to be the same type of person as their father. Ordinal differences in attachment to the mother or father run across the table

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indicated by the percent of youth reporting four or more acts of misbehavior at each level of attachment.

The difference in attachment to the parents between the youth at both high school ranks particularly indicate problems in applying control theory equally well to youth from different high school ranks. This is apparent since youth at low ranked high schools are less attached to their schools than youth at higher ranked high schools. They are also much less attached to their parents than youth from higher ranked high schools. Control theory does not consider the different contextual properties of schools as having an interacting effect to youth-parental relations but obviously it is occurring for youth at the different levels of high school rank.

Control theory perhaps would be suitable to the school and home situation of youth from higher ranked high schools where individual identity with the school is not affected by stigma. But it is not suited to understand the school and home situation of youth from low ranked high schools nor the situational differences between youth at different ranked high schools. The theory rests its assumption on individual's "inhibition" not to decide to engage in delinquency. Peer group selection is a part of this decision process. Youth who have a "stake in conformity" because of a built up attachment
TABLE XIII
ATTACHMENT TO PARENTS, SCHOOL STATUS AND PERCENT
OF YOUTH VERY ACTIVE IN MISBEHAVIOR

% very active in misbehavior (4 or more acts)
(n)-total number

Would you like to be the same type of person as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th></th>
<th>Father</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Some-</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>what</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

School Rank

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>or above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%(2)</td>
<td>0%(12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56%(9)</td>
<td>20%(15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80%(5)</td>
<td>21%(19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%(1)</td>
<td>6%(16)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50%(6)</td>
<td>12%(17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80%(5)</td>
<td>44%(9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Ambiguous answers occurred largely because of the open nature of the question and could not be ranked on the ordinal scale. The greater percent of ambiguous responses were of youth from middle or upper ranked high schools and had no bearing on the findings.
to parents and the school choose not to join a delinquent group or even if they do have delinquent friends "shy" away from delinquent activity; doing a delinquent act involves a decision by the individual herself or himself on whether or not to do it (Hirschi, 1969:159). However, the assumption does not take into consideration the qualitative differences in stigma associated with schools and the treatment of the students within them. Youth may have the same "stakes in conformity" before entering high school but differences in school context and stigma associated with it gradually influence the individual's attachment to the school and subsequent ability to "shy" away from misbehavior activity. This in turn interacts with parental relations further adding to different tendencies for them to engage in misbehavior. It is precisely this school contextual situation which applies to students who have attended different ranked high schools.

A Situational Analysis of School Rank and the Home

It was found that conditions youth face at school resemble conditions at home. Youth at low ranked high schools received less understanding from teachers, had more troubles with teachers and their schools were more strict than youth from higher ranked high schools. A
greater percent of youth from low ranked high schools also said their parents could not understand them, less mentioned not quarreling with their parents and less of them said their parents were not too strict than youth at higher ranked high schools; quality, however, is more telling than the quantitative differences. Table XIV shows these findings.

There are a maze of possible interrelations between school and home life and comparisons between youth from low and higher ranked high schools. I decided that instead of going through all or most of the possible associations, it would be more valuable to do a more parsimonious and in-depth analysis of the interrelations between the two social contexts by portraying "representative" situations for a small number of youth. The interviews were screened to select those youth who appeared to show a central tendency among youth at the different levels of high school rank and at the same time expressive about the interacting influence of the school and home and possible influences on their misbehavior.

Six youth were selected for an in-depth description of the interacting effects of the school and home on misbehavior. Three are from low ranked high schools and three from higher ranked high schools. Two Minami youth were represented at the lower ranked
TABLE XIV

PARENTAL UNDERSTANDING, QUARRELS AND STRICT HOME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Middle or Upper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents Understand</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
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<td>Total Number</td>
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<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Quarrel Often</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Parents Too Strict</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat</td>
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<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number</td>
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</table>

Note: There were no substantial within group differences by area. There was, however, a difference between the areas. Twenty five percent more Minami youth said they frequently quarreled with their parents than Hoku youth.
high schools and two Hoku youth at the higher ranked high schools. Within both groups family conflict becomes less with each youth in a descending order. Between group differences were that the impact of school on misbehavior becomes greater in a descending order for youth at low ranked high schools while it is constant for youth at higher ranked high schools. The interacting influences between the school and relations with parents can be observed, however, for all youth. A short description of family background, school life and the pattern of school and home life that each youth represents is given first. This is followed by a dialogue with them about parental relations which reflects on the home situation and its connection to school life. The dialogues are matching, they cover most of the questions about parental relations in the same order that was covered during the interview.

Low Ranked High Schools

Predominant Conflict at Home

This girl is from Minami. She is 19 years old and is now going to a special business school. Her father is a clerical worker at a military base (considered in the study as a "salaryman") and the mother a housewife.
Her misbehavior pattern is quite similar to a number of Minami girls who attended low ranked high schools. She reported dating, going to a game center, smoking and drinking at a middle school age. In high school she read porno magazines and had a sexual relationship at 18. It is a misbehavior pattern that began in middle school and gradually escalated in high school; it is most likely that earlier misbehavior was repeated in high school (see Chapter IX).

She did not mention having had any particular problems at school and was relatively attached to it. However, her parents treated her with strict control at home which apparently did little good. She objected to their control and has a weak attachment to them. Her situation represents youth of a middle or low family socioeconomic status, in particular Minami youth, at lower ranked high schools whose parents reacted to their low school performance with strictness and suspicion even though the child was not having any particular problems at school. A dialogue with her illuminating this follows:

Interviewer: Do your parents understand you?
Girl: No, they don't.
Interviewer: Why?

Girl: Why? I just don't think they are understanding at all.

Interviewer: In what aspects, for example?

Girl: My character, for example, they don't understand it at all.

Interviewer: Does your mother understand you more than your father?

Girl: Mother would rather be more understanding.

Interviewer: Do you often quarrel with your parents?

Girl: Yes, very often.

Interviewer: With which one? Mother or father?

Girl: With my father.

Interviewer: What kind of problems do you fight over?

Girl: Very trifling things. We have a tendency to fight. I think we are not compatible with each other.

Interviewer: Do you lose [the fight]?

Girl: I would rather say we end up in shutting up and being mad [at each other]. But after a while father would usually apologize. He then tries to soothe me, so naturally we make peace. Sometimes I go to him and apologize, though. But in most of the cases I'm not wrong so he usually apologizes.

Interviewer: When do you fight? For example, when your father comes home late in the evening?

Girl: Well, it's in the evening when we fight. When I was in high school we often fought, but now we don't [so often].
Interviewer: So you don't [fight] now. Was it because of study [that you fought before]?

Girl: No, not study but my life style.

Interviewer: Do you think he works hard?

Girl: Not very much.

Interviewer: Is his company in Tokyo? [She replied earlier in the interview that her father was a "salaryman".]

Girl: No it's in [she gives the name of a city].

Interviewer: I see. Well there is a military base there. Does he work at the base?

Girl: Yes.

Interviewer: What kind of job [does he do]?

Girl: Clerical job.

Interviewer: Oh I see, clerical work.

Girl: He's a civil servant, but it's sort of different, and I was told [by him] to say his occupation is a salaryman.

Interviewer: Do you think your parents are too strict?

Girl: No [not now], I don't think so.

Interviewer: Would you like to be the type of person your mother is?

Girl: No, I don't.

Interviewer: Would you like to be the type of person your father is?

Girl: No, I don't.
Interviewer: What's the reason?

Girl: The generation is different. My parents married late, so they had us when they were old. My father is at a retirement age. Their way of thinking is different [than mine].

Equal Conflict at School and Home

This boy is one of two Hoku boys who attended a low ranked high school. He was 17 years old at the time of the interview. His father is a public employee and mother a housewife. He went to a troubled middle school when he lived outside of Hoku, went on to a low ranked high school where he was psychologically tormented and physically abused by teachers. He was expelled from the school.

His misbehavior pattern from middle school to high school is similar to youth who went to a troubled middle school and on to a low ranked high school. He began misbehavior such as smoking and drinking in middle school and it escalated when we went to high school. This escalation also was of misbehavior that few youth reported, some of the activities being particularly rebellious. At high school age he reported misbehavior such as going to a bar, having a sexual relationship, playing pachinko, inhaling paint thinner and having a troublesome argument with another.
School troubles began in middle school but became acute in high school, perhaps partially in reaction to being abused by teachers and in rebellion against the strict discipline at his high school. His situation resembled that of Minami youth; his family moved to Hoku after he was expelled from school and he said it was to get him out of a "bad" environment, although he hates Hoku. He lived in a neighborhood that "was tough," and attended a middle school near it that was "tough" as well. His environmental situation until coming to Hoku thus gives credence that other areas in Japan as well are similar to that of Minami, however, no inferences are intended. His relationship with parents was better than the Minami girl just mentioned but his school problems were worse. Also there is a direct indication that what happened at school resulted in conflict at home even, perhaps, influencing a permanent change in his parents attitude toward him. He represents the situation of youth from a middle or low family socioeconomic status at low ranked high schools, especially Minami youth, whose troubles at school reflect equally well on parental conflict at home. The following dialogue with him illustrates this:
Interviewer: Do your parents understand you?

Boy: There are parts they understand and parts they don't.

Interviewer: What part can they understand?

Boy: They understand my way of thinking about some things of my life, and they understand my concerns for the future. I think they understand things except those relating to misbehavior.

Interviewer: What parts don't they understand?

Boy: My relations with my friends. It's probably because my friends [and I] get into trouble.

Interviewer: Are your friends now going to high school?

Boy: No. Some of them quit high school [one at the same high school] or ended their education after middle school graduation. Some of them work, some don't work and only play. They are such kinds of people.

Interviewer: Do you often quarrel with your parents?

Boy: Recently we don't but last year we had some heavy arguments.

Interviewer: Last year was really something [laugh]. It was really [troublesome].

Boy: It was a mess.

Interviewer: Yes a mess.

Boy: Rode my motorcycle without a license, and didn't tell my parents [that I didn't have a license].
Interviewer: And school problems.

Boy: Yeah I left school. In my whole life the most [disruptive] things happened during that time.

Interviewer: Do you think your parents are too strict?

Boy: I don't think they are too strict but I do think they are too serious.

Interviewer: Why are they serious?

Boy: My parents are truly honest people. I think that is recognized not just in my eye but in the eye of other's. I [just] think they are more serious than strict.

Interviewer: Would you like to be the type of person your mother is?

Boy: I really don't want to become like anyone else. But there are certain things about her that I want to be like.

Interviewer: What things?

Boy: She has a strong will.

Interviewer: What would you not like to imitate?

Boy: The part where she says bad things about my friends. I don't want to see people through such a distorted vision.

Interviewer: How about your father, would you like the be the type of person he is?

Boy: No, I wouldn't like to be like him.

Interviewer: Why?

Boy: He is too serious.
Predominant School Problems

This 16 year old Minami girl is attending a lower ranked girls' high school in Shonan city. Her father is a "salaryman" and mother works in a factory, both of them working in Shonan city.

A similar misbehavior pattern for Minami girls at low ranked high schools is also indicated by this girl: she dated, smoked and drank alcohol at 14 years old. Misbehavior escalated in high school and she became more rebellious. She reported being first truant from school and visited places off-limits to youth at a high school age.

The girl complained of teacher violence at her high school. She also objected to the harsh school regulations and teachers' strict and discriminatory treatment of students. She disliked and was very ashamed of the school. This girl appeared to have less problems at home than the other two youth mentioned with her school situation being more influential upon her misbehavior. Also her low family socioeconomic status not only had something to do with her ending up at a low ranked high school (a universal situation in this study) but reflected her relations with her parents. She worked part-time and the mother worked
as well which had an influence on their relation and her identity with her mother. She represents youth from a middle or low family socioeconomic status at low ranked high schools, especially Minami youth of a low family socioeconomic status, whose problems at school are greater than conflict at home. The following dialogue reflects these points:

Interviewer: Do your parents understand you?
Girl: I think so.

Interviewer: Do you often quarrel with your parents?
Girl: Yes.

Interviewer: With which one? Mother or father?
Girl: Mother.

Interviewer: What is usually the trouble about?
Girl: About my working part-time.

Interviewer: Does she [mother] want you to quit?
Girl: Once she wanted me to, but [that's not the problem]. The noodle shop [where she works] is not an easy place to work at. There are many customers and we have to treat them well. When I get home I often take out my frustration [on my mother]. You know, the way I talk [to my mother] or when I come home I'm just exhausted, and sometimes I don't want to talk to anyone.

Interviewer: I understand. Do you think your parents are too strict?
Girl: Not really.
Interviewer: Would you like to be the type of person your mother is?

Girl: Yes and no.

Interviewer: What is her good part?

Girl: You know a child grows up by reflecting on her parents [life]. My mother has been working since I was in the first grade of elementary school, so I felt the importance of money through her and I respect her in that sense.

Interviewer: You're right. So you want to work after you get married, don't you?

Girl: Yes.

Interviewer: A future career woman.

Girl: Well maybe just part-time work.

Interviewer: How about your father, would you like to be the type of person he is?

Girl: Not really.

Higher Ranked High Schools

Friction at Home

This 17 year old Hoku girl attended an upper ranked high school in Kaigan city. Her father was a head teacher of a secondary school and her mother was a housewife. Her misbehavior pattern was similar to girls at higher ranked high schools: she reported one misbehavior, drinking alcohol without parental permission at the age of 16.
The girl was attached to and proud of her school. She was, however, having problems at home and was objecting to her parents being too strict with her. She represents girls and, to some extent, boys at higher ranked high schools who come from conservative upper or middle class homes, especially Hoku youth, and who have disputes with their parents.

Interviewer: Do your parents understand you?

Girl: They think they understand, but in fact there are things they don't understand. You know I don't talk to them very much.

Interviewer: You mean you don't talk together about your life or your parents life?

Girl: Well, it's not that. I talk to them about school but not about boys. The fundamentals [between us] are different. They are strict so I don't tell them [about boys].

Interviewer: Do you think your parents are too strict?

Girl: They are strict, especially about my interest in boys.

Interviewer: I understand.

Girl: I wish they were not that strict. They are not normal in that sense. They are cautious [become suspect] even from just a phone call from a guy.

Interviewer: Do you want them to be more liberal? Do you have a brother?

Girl: I have a sister.
Interviewer: There is no boy?

Girl: No. That's why my mother is so strict since my father is the only male she [closely] knows.

Interviewer: Has your sister had any kind of a relationship with a male?

Girl: My sister went to a girls' school when she was in high school.

Interviewer: Girls' school?

Girl: So she didn't have a relation [with boys]. However, she did [have a relation with a boy] in middle school. That made my parents strict. She also started dating a guy after entering college and they still are in contact with each other. For example, they telephone each other, etc. My parents say that it is not good for a high school girl [to date] and that it should be done after I enter a junior or four year college. They make such a distinction but I don't get their point.

Interviewer: Do you often quarrel with your parents?

Girl: If I leave my room a mess, she [mother] complains. If my desk is piled up with things, she puts everything together and puts them away. It makes me mad. Sometimes she cleans my drawers, too. I can't stand it.

Interviewer: Would you like to be the type of person your mother is?

Girl: No I don't want to be like her.

Interviewer: Why not?

Girl: She is a nervous type and a perfectionist. She likes things to be neat.
Interviewer: So you have to keep things clean.

Girl: That's right. She plans everything and starts from step one.

Interviewer: I see.

Girl: Everything is organized. I would like to have a more relaxed atmosphere in my life.

Interviewer: How about your father, would you like to be the type of person he is?

Girl: My father is rather care free and he is disorganized so my mother is always cleaning up [after him]. I prefer my father.

Situation Improves at High School

This 16 year old Minami boy was attending a middle ranked high school in Shonan city. His father was a "salaryman" working for a large firm near Tokyo and mother was a housewife. His misbehavior pattern at a middle school age resembled that of Minami youth at low ranked high schools: in his middle school days he went to game centers, drank alcohol, was truant from school and hung out with his friends in Shonan city. But he did not go on to a low ranked high school.

This boy disliked the Minami middle school but enjoyed the free and open atmosphere of his high school outside of Shonan city and was proud of the school. He said in the interview that he no longer got in trouble like he did during his middle school days. He also had a
fairly open and understanding relation with his parents. He represents Minami youth who, partially because of a middle class family background and a close relation with the parents, were able to get through the calamity at the local middle school and then go on to a higher ranked high school. The dialogue with him revealed a compatible relation with his parents.

Interviewer: Do your parents understand you?

Boy: Because they give me a lot of freedom I think they understand me.

Interviewer: Do you often quarrel with your parents?

Boy: Sometimes we argue.

Interviewer: Who do you argue with most often [father or mother]?

Boy: Because my father is strong minded it can't be helped. Our arguments are unavoidable. After the argument my father makes a compromise, and the matter is closed. I feel bad when we argue, but I think arguments are things that just can't be helped.

Interviewer: Do you think your parents are too strict?

Boy: No.

Interviewer: Would you like to be the type of person your mother is?

Boy: Her character is good, but [I don't know if I would like to be like her].

Interviewer: How about your father would you like to be the type of person he is?

Boy: Yes I would.
Interviewer: Do you spend a lot of time with your father?

Boy: Not so much. If I'm having problems with my school work he helps me out.

Interviewer: How often do you see your father in a typical week?

Boy: I talk with my father every day.

Freedom at School and at Home

The last girl was from Hoku and was to be 16 years old the day after the interview. She attended a middle ranked high school in Kaigan city. Her father was the owner and director of an oil transport company and her mother was a housewife. Her misbehavior pattern was quite typical of Hoku girls at higher ranked high schools: no misbehavior reported.

She is attached to her high school and proud of it. The family is extremely well off as the father's occupation indicates. Also, the whole family seems to be able to do as they wish, partially because both parents were open minded but mostly from having a large surplus of income. She represents youth from a middle or upper class family background, and very much so for Hoku youth, who went to higher ranked high schools and had a rather liberal and intimate relation with their parents.

Interviewer: Do your parents understand you?

Girl: Yes.
Interviewer: In what way?

Girl: We have many occasions to discuss things, so I will say what happened at school, or how the day went. So I think they can understand me.

Interviewer: Especially your mother or your father [understands you]?

Girl: I spend more time with my mother.

Interviewer: Do you sometimes go out with your father?

Girl: Yes quite often on Sundays. We go shopping together.

Interviewer: Everybody, including your sister?

Girl: Yes . . . we have something to [eat] and drink [at a cake shop, etc.] and later dine out. We do that sometimes. Not every week, though.

Interviewer: How was your childhood?

Girl: When I was small mother and I . . . we used to go to a park. We haven't been to one for some time. Also my father and I once lived on our own. We had a dog then.

Interviewer: Has your father ever been to Singapore? [She had previously mentioned someone in the family had been to Singapore.]

Girl: No, my mother and sister went. I couldn't go because of exams [high school entrance exams]. My cousin was living there, that's why [they went and stayed there for one year].

Interviewer: Do you often quarrel with your parents?

Girl: There are bad moods.
Interviewer: What are the problems?

Girl: It's not nice to take it [your frustrations] out on someone else. I haven't said much [angry words], though.

Interviewer: Do you think your parents are too strict?

Girl: By no means.

Interviewer: Can you freely tell your parents anything about your problems?

Girl: I'd probably tell them everything. I think it's better to discuss everything [with them].

Interviewer: Can you say anything [you want to them]?

Girl: Yes.

Interviewer: About school, friends ... everything?

Girl: It's easier to discuss problems of friends with friends. But with any other problems [I have] I will discuss it with my parents.

Interviewer: Would you like to be the type of person your mother is?

Girl: I'd like to emulate her economical aspect. Well, I would like to be like my mother and my father.

Interviewer: What are her good points?

Girl: She's economical. And since she speaks frankly it's easy to talk with her. I like it when she gives her opinions about various things.
Interviewer: Would you like to have any of those qualities [economical, frank and opinionated]? 

Girl: I'd like to be that way when I have a family.

Interviewer: How about your father would you like to be the type of person he is? 

Girl: He does everything ardently and I'd like to be like that.

Social Control in the Community, School and Home and Predelinquency

A sequence of circumstances and events have so far been observed for Minami and Hoku youth in the community, at school and the home in relation to patterns of predelinquency. Observations indicate a process of identity and, by implication, a pattern of predelinquency that is associated with a major tenet of labeling theory. Steinhoff (1984:195-196) states:

One escalates into deviant identity as a result of a long series of circumstances, choices, and events. Each step funnels the individual into a higher probability of eventual acceptance of an identity centered on a deviant role, but no single step is definite. Each step involves a choice, but the alternatives are increasingly limited.

Minami youth are subjected to stricter social control of predelinquency in their community and a more active police force in their area than Hoku youth. They are more conscious of adult efforts to apprehend and punish youth for delinquency, predelinquency included.
They have more contact with the police. These stricter social controls seem to account for the greater opposition to delinquency prevention, larger number of police contacts and at least a greater susceptibility to thinking of themselves as being a "misbehaved youngster" among Minami compared with Hoku youth. There was no evidence that these measures of strict community control have anything to do with "harmonizing" youth-adult relations in Minami; rather youth rebel against them.

Interaction with community social controls stemming from family and area socioeconomic differences, the gradual process in developing a "deviant" identity differ by circumstances facing Minami and Hoku youth. Beginning in middle school and ending with final educational attainment, continual interaction with life in the community and at home creates that identity. All Minami youth attend a troubled middle school while Hoku youth either go to a congenial local middle school or private college-preparatory middle school. Misbehavior is greater for Minami youth in middle school than their counterparts in Hoku, especially for the girls. Thus, in Minami, the beginning of youth rebellion and effects of the school on deviancy occurs earlier than it does for Hoku youth. Furthermore, coupled with troubles
at middle school and a disadvantaged family background, a little less than half end their education or go on to low ranked high schools. Such is not the case for Hoku youth where only a few do enter low ranked high schools.

Family and school conflict escalates for youth who attend low ranked high schools. The school and home situations become more strict, students feel disgrace over their school and, detesting unwarrantable discipline and thinking something must be "wrong" with themselves, most choose to rebel. Their counterparts at higher ranked high schools find themselves in a much more free and open situation without any stigma attached to their schools and they are considered and treated by others, including their parents, with less suspicion and discipline. Although far fewer of them misbehave, some do; but such misbehavior does not involve the same circumstances nor does it have the same effect on personal identity. Rather it involves them doing what is not expected of them.

Educational attainment involves the same sequence of circumstances and events that goes all the way back to middle school and one can obviously assume much further than that. The chances of Minami youth to make it out of their environmental circumstances and go on to higher education are severely limited while for Hoku
youth every opportunity is afforded to them and not going on to higher education is a deviation from their norm. The future family socioeconomic status of Minami and Hoku youth will most likely be a reflection of the family socioeconomic status they began with.

**Intergenerational Conflict**

The next chapter explores not why some youth misbehave more than others but rather, what these youth think about youth behavior (including misbehavior) in contrast to the adults' way of looking at it. Situational analysis of perspectives are also considered relevant to understanding whether or not youth differ in their thoughts and opinions because of the social control circumstances they happened to find themselves in. It addresses the wider domain of intergenerational conflict as a feature of social control and social change that are included in the concept of "predelinquency."
Youth-Adult Relations in Modern Societies

Youth-adult relations in modern societies have become diversified, taking on different shapes since the end of World War II. Eisenstadt (1966:26-31) lists a few of the reasons for this: youth culture has been extended in span of years, youth today participate in and are more a part of institutionalized activities and events than previous generations; the future of modern day youth is subject to a bureaucratized and planned economy that stresses performance and achievement in education for occupational and financial well-being. He also explains that present day youths' attachment to and belief in cultural values and norms have been weakened not only by the secularization of modernization but also by the increase of different interests and ideologies or life styles among diversified social groups within society. In summation Eisenstadt (1966:31) states:

All these developments have greatly changed the attitudes of youth to the common symbols of the community, their perception of their own participation in the framework of such a community, and the relations between generations in a way that has not been known before.
Rapid social change in modern societies has weakened the continuity between generations. Parents can no longer rely on the socialization practices they learned from their parents as a valid set of guidelines for raising their children. Goode (1976:549) explains:

Both in revolutions and in the modern form of rapid social change, young people not only affirm the irrelevance of their parents' philosophies and political attitudes and urge that they give up their authority; typically they also organize, or at least attempt to create a social life that is isolated from the control of their parents.

The generation gap today, however, as Margaret Mead (in Skolnick, 1978:337) points out, is a conflict between the prewar and postwar generations. The grievances of the young are with the larger social system and not necessarily related to how well they get along with their parents. Child-parent gaps are but one feature of youth-adult conflicts which includes student protest movements and youth resistance to authority in the community, at school or with the police.

It should be recognized that adults, especially social control agents, more often than not have responded to youth problems by further tightening up their social control over them (Kassebaum, 1974:141-164; Steinhoff, 1984). This present day generation gap is paradoxical in that youth, while
familiar with life in postwar society, are suppressed or punished by adults just when their thoughts and behavior do conform with the present although not with the past. The generation gap in Japan is especially acute because the speed and forces of social change are perhaps more profound there than in any other modern nation.

**Youth Morals and Values in Present Day Japan**

In addition to the influence of modernization mentioned above, intergenerational relations in Japan are further exacerbated by postwar democratic changes and a phenomenal economic growth (Lebra, 1974; Naka, 1977). As a result, Japanese youths' cultural and value orientations have been altered and a gap has become noticeable between them and the prewar generation.

Naka (1977) commenting on the results of some 2,000 interviews of youth by NHK (Japan National Broadcasting) in 1972 reported these youth stated their primary interests in life are of a personal nature about their own life or of concern about the life of persons close to them. Few youth mentioned being primarily concerned with the nation or international relations. Naka (1977:32) concluded:
It can also be said, however, that though this characteristic sometimes shows itself in positive attempts to establish for themselves their own way of life through criticism of and opposition to established values or thought patterns, it is sometimes rooted in egotism and accompanied by more or less "selfish" or "spoiled" behavior."

Lebra (1974) found continuity as well as discontinuity in moral values between prewar and postwar generations. She compared moral values between generations from a sentence completion test filled out by a sample of both the old and young. As did Lifton (1962) Lebra found that youth, like their elders, have continued to have close family ties and feel an indebtedness to their parents for favors received.

Differences between the generations, as Lifton (1962) earlier reported, were that youth are less conscious of "blood ties" and feelings of indebtedness to ancestors. Lebra (1974:114) says there are differences in moral orientation between the generations but that they are made out to be bigger than they really are:

We might conclude that the two generations are continuous in dominant patterns and discontinuous in more extreme orientations. This statement does not contradict the prevailing keen sense of a generation gap, because it is extreme patterns that draw observers' attention and because only difference, not sameness, conveys messages.
Youth-Adult Conflict in Japan Today

The subject of juvenile delinquency in Japan has become a frequently reported topic in the popular media; from whatever angle presented, the message comes across quite clear: youth today represent a threat to established social values and norms. The Prime Minister of Japan himself, proposing further school control of youths in his belief that it would combat juvenile delinquency, stated:

After the defeat in World War II, Confucian and Buddhist morality made way for individualism. As it turned out, violence and selfishness prevailed. It is high time we reviewed Japan's present spiritual civilization in an attempt to give a new dimension to school education (Japan Times, September 24, 1984).

Social uneasiness over the deviance of the younger generation is a feature of all societies (Kassebaum, 1974). It could be argued, however, that the exertion of control over youth varies in degree and kind at different points in time. In Japan, official actions taken against youth in delinquency control have been escalating. The step by step increase has also resulted in more control and leverage for a continual crack-down on youth; most recently the police gained greater legal control over the operations of establishments located in entertainment districts (see Appendix V). This escalation of social control is indicated by 1) a sharp increase of guidance
rates for predelinquency doubling from approximately 700,000 in 1972 to 1,429,898 by 1983 (the youth population has remained constant during this time period); 2) juvenile arrests for violations under the Penal Code from 1972 to 1983 nearly doubled rates increasing from 8 to 14 per 1,000 juveniles, postwar highs were reached in 1979 and steadily increased thereafter to their highest level ever in 1983; and, 3) an increase of delinquency prevention programs permeating all social sectors in the society. The most noteworthy programs are 1) increased efforts for community delinquency prevention; 2) the creation of a special police task force to investigate and apprehend "bullies" at schools giving the police greater discretion to intervene in the lives of students at schools; 3) passage of the shinfuzokueigyōhō (new law against businesses affecting the public morals) in 1985 resulting in earlier curfews for youth and new strict regulations governing the activities of game centers or any other establishments catering to youth and, 4) a proposed national revision of the educational system that is emphasizing moral indoctrination of youth at the schools (Japan Times, January 7, June 27, 1985; Seishōnen Hakusho (White Paper on Youth), 1982; White Paper on Police, 1984; also see Appendix V).
Deviance and Social Conflict

The escalating of social control over youth deviance should be seen within a wider political context. The youth have been seen as a symbolic threat to power by virtue of their different way of thinking and behaving. In reaction, the dominant group has mobilized forces in an attempt to contain their behavior. The campaign has been aimed at discrediting the behavior of youth for the dual purpose of maintaining public support and gaining additional leverage for the application of increased social control measures. The ultimate objectives are to transform youth thought and behavior to conform to the established ways of the dominant Japanese society (see Steinhoff, 1984 on student conflict).

The crack-down on youth has not resulted in a more docile and complying group of young people; to the contrary the escalation of social control itself implies greater youth resistance. The remainder of this chapter looks into the perspectives on their perceived generation gap. The first issue deals with the social control agents who play an integral role in the predelinquency of these youth. Then, perspectives of youth are assessed to see whether or not their complaints are a source of strict social control. The chapter concludes with what
youth believe is the cause and consequences of social conflict between generations.

The Way Youth Think Adults "Understand" Them

During the interviews youth were asked four questions about whether or not significant other adults can understand the problems of youth (see Appendix I). The significant other adults were parents, teachers, neighbors and the police. The responses to these questions were further broken down according to the different social control environments of the youth. First, youth in the more strict school environment at low ranked high schools are compared with youth at higher ranked high schools in regard to their perspectives on parents and teachers. Then, Minami youth in the more controlled community environment are compared with Hoku youth on their perspectives about neighbors and the police.

Most youth did not think these significant adults could understand the problems of youth; the youth in stricter social control circumstances felt stronger about this (as seen in Table XV).
TABLE XV
YOUTH ATTITUDES TOWARD SIGNIFICANT OTHER ADULTS

Can they understand youth problems?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Youth Attitudes</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>School Rank</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle or Upper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Attitudes of youth by school rank includes only the youth who have attended high school.

Can they understand youth problems?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Youth Attitudes</th>
<th>Neighbors</th>
<th>Police</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Area</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minami</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Youth at Different Levels of High School Rank

Can Parents Understand?

The majority of students from low and higher ranked high schools felt that parents cannot understand their problems. The modal response among them was that parents cannot understand youth because times have changed but the conservative views of adults have not. These two comments summarize this:

They [parents] are not understanding at all. The environment has changed. Parents say "When I was [young]." . . . but it has changed so much. We can't compare [things today] to the old days.

They aren't youth themselves, so their way of thinking is different. For example, the causes they give for juvenile delinquency are those that I think aren't related to the issue at all.

Quantitative differences in Table XV show that no students at low ranked high school level thought parents could understand youth while twenty-one percent of students at middle or upper ranked schools thought so. This difference was because a few students at higher ranked high schools did not perceive a generation gap as one response indicated, "They were youth once so why can't they understand?" The most striking differences, however, was what low ranked high school students said with a sense of defeat and negativism. Three summarized this well:
I think adolescents today and adolescents in the past are different. The ways of growing up are different. Everything is different. Today's young people are given too much, and are really selfish so I don't think parent's can understand us enough.

I don't think [parents] can understand [youth problems]. Well, those who were delinquents when they were young can understand the feelings of delinquents, parents who were well behaved youngsters can understand the well behaved youth, but parents who were well behaved as youngsters cannot understand [us] who misbehave. They do not think like us.

I see very few adults [using the term as synonymous with parents] who are willing or trying to listen to young people; even though they make it sound like they are concerned with us. Actually, many of them are thinking only about themselves, right. I think it's rare to find an adult who really understands us.

Can Teachers Understand?

The modal response for both youth groups was that teachers can somewhat understand the problems of youth. Most of these responses indicated that understanding of youth problems depended on the individual teacher. Some of them also mentioned that teachers who looked at the problem from the standpoint of youth could understand it. However, a much larger percent of youth from low ranked high schools responded that teachers could not understand youth problems.
More than double the rate of students at low ranked high schools thought that teachers could not understand the problems of youth. Their attitudes indicated the tight social control at low ranked high schools. Two comments reveal the oppression felt with negativism:

There are only a few [teachers] who really listen to students. Mostly they just force their own arguments on students. It would be nice to have teachers who listen to us carefully and then state their opinion instead of just being oppressive.

If teachers find students doing something bad, they just punish them. They don't try to understand the student's mind. They say to the student it's not a good thing to do but don't ask them why they did it. They just say "you have done a bad thing," and don't show students any example about how to live. They don't give us advice as to how we should live from now on.

**Perspectives of Minami and Hoku Youth About Neighbors and the Police**

The modal response for youth in both Minami and Hoku was that neighbors cannot understand youth. Most youth thought neighbors had no interest in youth indicating a relative absence of relations in the neighborhood. Typical responses were: "No, some of them don't even understand their own children, so I think not," or "They don't care about youth."
The most frequent response about the police was the same as about neighbors: the police cannot understand youth problems. There was a difference, however, in the content of responses. Two comments were representative:

Police are too restrictive. I think they are more restrictive now than before. Parents and the police are like judges. They judge a person by his appearance, don't they. They don't try to see the inside.

And:

There are too many policemen. I think they are doing a good job because Japan is a safe country. But, I somehow feel there are too many policemen.

Interviewer: Are you afraid of the police? Are they kind?

Boy: I somehow don't like the police. Even if you don't do anything bad they suspect you of doing something without giving you a chance to explain.

Overall, Minami youth felt that neighbors and police were less understanding about youth problems than Hoku youth. This difference paralleled their comments about the community as observed in Chapter IV. Hoku youth did not note misbehavior in their neighborhood; some thought it was a neighborhood with few delinquency problems. While they had no complaint about the police in their area nor of prejudice by the neighbors, Minami youth did on both counts.
The effects of delinquency prevention programs facing Minami youth in the community and area where they live are further suggested as influencing their perspectives about them (also see Chapters III and IV). Some youth made specific complaints about the police in the area and one boy's comments are suggestive that strict community control may have resulted in a neighborhood stigmatization of youth. Three such comments are indicative of this: A boy said,

The police do not understand [youth problems]. When you do something "bad" they insist you are wrong. . . . There are so many youth who misbehave in Minami and Shonan city that the police could never finish their work if they knew about it.

A girl said,

They are here to protect us; but they don't do it for our safety, they do it because they have to. So when it comes to juvenile delinquency, they simply threaten youth by arresting them, there are few policemen who are willing to talk and listen to youth. I don't like policemen, and I don't trust them. I've never seen a nice policeman in Shonan city, though I don't know about other places.

Another Minami boy said,

The neighbors are prejudiced. If they decide that a youth is "bad" then he is thought of only as a person who does bad things. They do not recognize anything else about that youth except that he is a "bad person."
A Summary of Their Perspectives

With the exception of teachers most of these youth felt that significant other adults cannot understand their problems. They expressed that the social control over them is largely ineffective because the conservative adult perspectives are not congruent with the youngsters way of thinking and behaving. Their perspectives further indicated that strict social control had the affect of creating stronger complaints from those who experienced it.

Generation Gap

Youth were asked during interviews whether or not they felt there is a generation gap today in Japan. The consensus that there is one was overwhelming with eighty-eight percent (66) replying in the affirmative, 8 percent (6) somewhat and only 4 percent (3) saying there was no generation gap. Here, their ideas according to their perceived cause of conflict between generations, their viewpoints on delinquency (predelinquency included) and solutions will be presented.

Most thought misunderstanding between generations was due to social change. Adults being raised in a more conservative time period are more acquiescent towards
authority, make more of a distinction between people based on their social position and category and are more conservative in their viewpoints about proper behavior. Representative comments follow:

The parents these days belong to the post-war generation, when things were scarce. Now we have affluence. Japan at that time was a defeated nation and they still have that image of the country, and they all had war-time military education to a certain extent. They didn't quite join the army but they had military education in the elementary schools. They still have that image of Japan. But we [youth] view Japan in a more calm way. Japan is a big nation today, although it's only her economy and the natural resources are limited. I think parents are more fanatical about Japan than we are.

The ways of thinking are very different. And also the environment is changing too. I don't know too much about the past, but they often say they suffered a lot in the past. However, I feel that the difference is in what they and we [youth] have suffered in.

Yes, I think there is a difference in the way of thinking. Before there was a clear distinction between manliness and womanliness but today's youth don't have that in mind.

The adults may or may have not lived through war but all of them more or less have that period in common, so their thinking lacks freedom and is bound by rules. For example, they say one should obey one's parents, the father is the most important figure in the family, you have to obey your teachers and they [teachers] are always right. Our parents have been brought up in such a way of thinking which is very different from the children [youth in Japan today] in the present free society.
The rigidity of adults' thinking not only perceived as a cause of misunderstanding and different perceptions of human relations but also, of delinquency itself. Many youth wondered what all the fuss over youth misbehavior was about. They also felt adults unjustifiably labeled youth as deviants. The following comments are represented:

The society as a whole is fussy about delinquency. For example, many parents worry easily if their children should become a delinquent if their children smoke a little. They should believe their children, and leave them alone. I think they tend to be excessively protective. As the society is fussy about delinquency parents tend to point out their children's trivial conduct. They should protect them at a distance. I think it's hard and I don't know if I can do it when I become a parent. But they should watch at a distance without saying anything and if their children fail at something they should give them advice instead of telling them: "I told you so."

Few parents trust their children and it is those children feeling so deserted that become delinquents. If parents trust their children, delinquency will decrease.

Of course youngsters must do something to solve their problems but parents are bad, too. Well not only the parents... the people in mass communication are the worse. I don't like them. I think they always enlarge the problem.

A girl in the [school] marathon was tired and running behind everybody. The teacher said well, she must have sniffed glue. That is a really bad [thing to say] and looking at teachers this way I can't trust them.
They [parents] think youth who look deviant are deviant, but I know a nice person in the neighborhood who is a member of Bosozoku.

They [teachers] show favoritism, treating good students nicely and rejecting those who even show a slight bit of deviancy.

Youth also expressed what they feel is the solution to the misunderstanding between the two generations. They asked for a lessening of social control, a more egalitarian approach to youth problems and a stop to the stigmatization of youth. Representative comments follow:

Instead of telling us to do this and that encourage the children to think and act on their own.

I don't want them to judge what is wrong before having a discussion with us.

I don't want them [adults] to judge us by their standards and I want them to respect our way of thinking.

I want them to talk to us. Yes, we are responsible people too.

I wish they would listen to us before they speak.

We are the same human beings so I would like them [adults] to remember that they were once the same age, and I want them to talk to us on an equal basis.

I don't want them to see things from a single perspective. I want them to see things from many different angles.

One should appreciate the children individually and not view them collectively as children. The adults today think of middle school students as a collective group but they [the students] are all unique. For example,
girls, A, B, and C all have their own personalities, so one has to view them separately like girl A is this way, B is another way, and C has her own way as well. I want them to recognize and appreciate each person's individuality.

It's not necessary that they keep saying things are bad. We know. Youth are as stupid as adults think they are.

Social Conflict and Predelinquency

The focus here on the attitudes of youth toward social control agents was consistent with previous chapters in that youth complained more with the increase of social control by various agents. It also brought out specific complaints that are reflective of youth rebellion to the escalation of social control over them. They were quite aware of the police crack-down on youth and parents, teachers and neighbors increased tendency to prejudge and treat them as "misfits." They opposed this and felt it only made relations between social control agents and youth worse.

Youth themselves do not think what they were doing was so bad. They also say the cause rests with the strictures imposed by adults and the imposition of adult standards on them which they believe do not apply to the changed times. They have, in essence, recognized what the problem is: one defined, controlled and
enforced by a powerful group against a powerless group, suppressed for the purpose of maintaining the power of the status quo. The intensification of social controls reveals the power of the dominant group to realize their will against youngsters but the youth are united in their thoughts against them and the gap between the generations has simply widened.

Individual cases in the next chapter provide an appreciation of the individual and her or his relation to circumstances and events that have been influential in producing the patterns of predelinquency.
Case Studies

Selltiz et al. (1959:59) refer to case studies as "Insight Stimulating Examples," because cases provide characterizations of individuals, noting both the similarities they have with other cases and each individual's unique qualities. They serve as one means to account for the on-going behavior pattern of individuals or groups. Methodologically, repeated interviews with one individual in a number of sessions strengthens reliability and validity of conclusions from initial interviews. It allows readers to gain a total picture of a pattern of predelinquency for contrasting types of individuals. Since consistent responses and actions could be isolated and the flexibility of additional interviews allowed me an opportunity to reformulate and redirect questions in accordance with new and continued information, I selected a number of youth for follow-up. They provided an in-depth and on-going account of the individual and predelinquency.
The Selection of the Case Studies

After all interviews were completed (or in a few instances after the initial interview), certain youth who varied in their pattern of misbehavior were approached for follow-up interviews. This of course required the cooperation of the youth so asked and I was able to gain the cooperation of six youth which, for ethical reasons, also meant their parents' approval. A great deal of time was spent with these youth in separate interview sessions either at my home or theirs and from a number of encounters at outside places. The same or similar questions asked during the initial interview were at times asked again but usually the conversation centered around topics of interest to them. In outside encounters, conversation and behavior were also a part of the situations and events that we happened to find ourselves in. If I was not sure what was said they were most of the time asked the same question again in a slightly different way. Usually at such times, however, they picked up on my facial expression and would repeat the same answer in another way. Rapport with these youth became better in each successive encounter and so did the information they offered. The talks were not taped; notes were either scribbled down inconspicuously during
our talk and later typed or, as in most instances, typed from memory shortly thereafter.

Each case study is presented separately. Our relation to each other, their family background and a characterization of them as individuals are presented at the beginning. Following this basic introduction, a situational account of predelinquency follows utilizing this same order: fun with friends, life in the community, at school and in the home and their perspectives about adults. However, different attention is given to these topical areas and other topics are included as well, depending on the individual. I.e., the main emphasis is on understanding their actions, thoughts and behaviors in given situations; some situations are more important than others depending on the individual. To protect their identity, fictitious names have been given to each one of them and, at times, specific details will be blurred.

The case studies are presented in an order that gives some semblence to a range in a pattern of predelinquency. The first case is of a middle school girl in Minami who, at the time of our encounters, was preparing to enter a low ranked high school in Shonan city. The second case involves a Hoku girl who had been working full-time since middle school graduation. The next two cases are of a boy and girl from privileged
family backgrounds; they had, for the most part, stayed on an academically oriented tract. They were met in the time period right before college entrance examinations. The last two cases are of youth who reported the greatest number of acts of misbehavior in this study, although they are two quite different people.

Ms. Mochizuki

At the time of the initial interview Ms. Mochizuki was a fifteen year old third year student at Minami middle school. In the summer of 1984 she agreed to further talks in exchange for English language lessons. At the time of the follow-up interviews she was getting ready to start a new school life at a low ranked commercial high school in Shonan city. We met during the month of August, 1984 at her house for three sessions, each session lasting for an hour and a half.

Ms. Mochizuki had lived in Minami for nine years. Her father passed away when she was nine years old. She now lives with her mother and an older sister. The mother runs a small business in the home. An elder brother lives outside of the home and works at a small company. Her elder sister graduated from a low ranked high school and became employed as a fashion model.
The elder sister had recently quit her modeling job expecting to marry.

Ms. Mochizuki is a mature urbanized young girl and very likeable. She enjoyed telling me about what she had done during the week and especially the details of her past and present love life. Boys were her favorite topic for conversation.

Ms. Mochizuki met all ten of her "best friends" at Minami middle school and they lived nearby the neighborhood. They did a variety of activities together such as bowling, playing badminton, shopping in Shonan city, hanging out at the fast food places and spending time talking together at tea shops. She very nonchalantly talked about the misbehavior they did together, none of which was anything unusual for young Minami girls. She and her friends gathered together at each other's house and talked about boys and their future families while smoking and drinking cocktails. To her, such behavior is a matter of course.

Her present lover is a boy who failed high school entrance examinations and was later accepted by a night high school. He works during the day and goes to school at night. They see each other at least once a week and everyday he telephones her and they talk for sometimes more than an hour at a time. In the summer they go the
beach together and also visit movie theaters or tea shops sometimes returning home late at night. During our talks she expressed the hope that she would like to get married with him as soon as she graduates from high school.

Ms. Mochizuki was a little afraid of the Minami middle school when she first entered it because of hearing that third year students abuse the first year students and from the bad reputation of the school. She liked the school, however, and got along with the teachers quite well. She had one experience there which left a deep impression on her. When she was a first year student she fell in love with a third year student. The two of them would often spend time together in her room and she had a sexual relationship with him when she was 14 years old. He, however, dropped her and she still remembers the pain today.

Ms. Mochizuki did not like to talk about her father's death and this subject was quickly dropped after I realized this. She thinks of her mother as a friend and as a warm and kind person. The mother allows her a lot of freedom and she is allowed to do much more as she pleases than her friends.
Ms. Matsuda

Ms. Matsuda was working as a restaurant helper and had been doing so since middle school graduation when the first interview took place. She had much to say during the interview, seeming satisfied with her life in spite of the stigma of not attending high school. I took a personal liking to her during the standard interview and asked her directly after it for further follow-ups and she agreed. During the follow-up interviews she was still working at the same restaurant. We met five times from September 22nd to November 17th, 1984 at my home. Our talks would last for an hour or more and informal conversation took place while she had dinner with my family. We have also accidentally met in the community a number of times and small conversation took place at these times.

Ms. Matsuda had lived in Hoku for ten years with her parents, an aunt and a younger sister; an elder brother lived outside of the home. Both parents are deaf and the family receives welfare assistance from the city office where they are also employed.

Ms. Matsuda impressed me as a warm, honest and sincere person. She also was an inhibited person who did not like to be around a lot of people. She avoided contact with others as much as possible and I have
observed her running to the train station on a number of occasions and wondered if she purposely did this to avoid possible conversation or long glances from others walking by. Since she was young, she has lead a solitary life and spent most of her time alone at home.

Ms. Matsuda mentioned that she had only one friend who worked at a bar but is now unemployed. They sometimes got together and went to a movie or shopped together. She also did not have any close relations with the neighbors in Hoku. She thought they did not care about her and she did not care much about them.

Ms. Matsuda liked her elementary school and said she got along with everyone quite well. She did not like her middle school. The main problem with middle school life was the sudden shift in school discipline over students. Elementary school was open and free and students could dress as they wished but not so in middle school. The strict school regulations, inspections of uniform and bodily wear and the expected students deference toward teachers did not suit her. She also complained that teachers would keep a personal record on each student and use it against them. She rebelled. She defied school regulations by wearing long skirts to school and had no respect toward the teachers. Misbehavior began and she was frequently truant from
school, smoked cigarettes, violated curfew and, in the last year of middle school, began having contact with members of a youth gang. She decided that going on to high school would be a waste of time and, also wishing to contribute to the family income, she went to work immediately after middle school graduation.

Ms. Matsuda said there were some family disputes when she was in middle school because of school problems but those times have passed. Her parents also objected to her decision not to go to high school but finally realized that it was in her best interest. She is close to both parents now and sometimes drinks with her father while they share each other's thoughts and opinions.

Mr. Suzuki

Mr. Suzuki is the only youth in the study that I knew before the interviews. I had known him since he was a second year student of an upper ranked high school in Kaigan city and our relation spanned two years. At the time of the interviews, he was a third year student at high school; we met two times again after that and talked together for two hours at a time.

Mr. Suzuki had lived in Hoku since birth with his father, mother and younger sister. His father
graduated from a very prestigious fine arts university in Tokyo and worked as a businessman for a large company in Tokyo. The mother was employed at an airline company.

He is an idealist. During the many times we had a chance to talk together, he consistently expressed high ideals. At first he wanted to be a high school English teacher but then he wished to work in an international agency concerned with the education of third world countries. He was also quite shy and thought a lot about what is necessary to be successful. He once had long natural curly hair but, because he did not want to give them the wrong impression, had it cut off before taking college entrance examinations, which also included an interview.

Mr. Suzuki's best friends attended the same high school he did. In his second year of high school they used to have a good time, going to movies, record shops or the beach during the summer time. He once smoked cigarettes and drank alcohol with his friends but that was about it. He and they are now preparing for college entrance examinations and they had little contact with each other.

Mr. Suzuki was quite content with life in Hoku. He thought people got along quite well here and he identified himself as a member of Hoku. He had
nothing but good things to say about the neighborhood.

Mr. Suzuki went to an exclusive, private, college-preparatory middle school in Kaigan city where he said students caused absolutely no trouble. He then went on to an upper ranked high school in Kaigan city. In his freshman year he was a member of the soccer club but quit the club his last year of school in preparation for college entrance examinations. He liked school and got along with the teachers quite well, especially the English language teacher.

Mr. Suzuki admired, trusted and respected his father. His father was a man of action and good deeds. Although his father worked hard he was usually around for advice and conversation on the weekends.

The relation with his mother was also close but he thought she was a little selfish. The mother had a lot of concern about her son's life. Once we met each other walking up the hill late at night and she sought out my advice about her son. There was little I could or wanted to say except that he seemed to be doing just fine in his school work and was an idealistic and sincere person. She seemed relieved to hear that.
Ms. Tanaka

Ms. Tanaka was an eighteen year old student at an upper ranked high school in Kamakura at the time of the initial interviews. She in many ways typified the kind of person going to an upper ranked high school and I wished to know more about her. She agreed to follow-up interviews in exchange for English language lessons. At the times of the follow-up interviews she was busily preparing for college entrance exams. We met nine times at my home from July 26th to November 25th, 1984. Each session lasted between an hour and a half and three hours. We also had met on a number of occasions in Hoku and once stood talking together at the corner for over an hour.

Ms. Tanaka had lived in Hoku since birth excepting a three year stay in California when she was of primary school age. Her father graduated from Tokyo University and is a successful businessman in a large Japanese company; the mother did not work outside of the home. Her elder brother was a college student and lived at home.

Ms. Tanaka was a well mannered and conservative girl. She often spoke using honorific language and acted and spoke in a manner adults expect of her. She also has yet to be on a date and once expressed her shock
that young girls these days are kissing boys. She wanted to meet the right boy at college and settle down to a "normal" life; she did not want to work after marriage.

Ms. Tanaka was also a nervous and anxious person. She was well aware that her future largely depended on entering a good university and this made her anxious. Her fear of failure, however, was not only because of a concern for the future. Failure would have reflected badly upon her; she would have been embarrassed to see her friends (all of them intended to enter college) and it would have reflected badly on her family.

The results of the pressure to study for college entrance examinations seemed manifest in Ms. Tanaka's attitude and behavior. She felt guilty when out of the home, thinking she should have been studying. Even when the energy to study dissipated she stayed at home just to be near her books. On the trains or in other public places she said she felt the stares of other people and it gave her an irritable and uncomfortable feeling. Whenever possible she avoided being around strangers and, when in public would keep her head down facing the ground in fear of meeting another's eyes.

She had three close friends; one she met at kindergarten and the other two at high school. During
her second year of high school, she played tennis with her friends and they would chat together at school. But because of preparing for college, the whole friendship group shared little time together.

Ms. Tanaka had been studying at juku (cram schools) in addition to school study ever since her middle school days and perhaps earlier than that. She never had any troubles at school and entered an upper ranked high school in Kaigan city. She liked school and got along with the teachers quite well. She mentioned that students at her high school did not misbehave. She also supported the high value in Japan given to academic achievement and school status (the stratification of schools (including college) based on the prestige given to them) and its subsequent relation to occupational status. She said students should be rewarded commensurate with their school efforts and achievements.

Ms. Tanaka sees her mother as a friend and spends a lot of time with her. Her father was firm with her and expected her to study hard. From the beginning of the summer until our last meeting held at the end of November she went out in the evening for fun just once to a volleyball match with her friends and even then her father got angry with her because he thought she returned
home too late; however, she had returned home immediately after the match finished. Although she is afraid of the father she respected him and said one reason she did not misbehave was because it would have made him angry.

Mr. Inoue

Mr. Inoue was a *ronin* at the time of the initial interview, having just graduated from a low ranked high school outside of Kaigan city. I offered him assistance with English in exchange for interviews and he agreed. We met three times at my home each time for two to three hours during October and November, 1984. We had spent additional time, however, outside our interview sessions and more was gained from these encounters than what was said during our scheduled time.

Mr. Inoue had lived in Hoku for 10 years with an elder brother and his parents. His father worked for a large company in Tokyo and his mother was a housewife. The elder brother was attending a computer school.

Mr. Inoue is a very personable and fun loving type of person though he has an inferiority complex toward other more academically successful Hoku youth. He is also very popular with girls and, judging from the look in their eyes when they see him (and in the opinion of
at least one Hoku girl) he is one of the best looking boys in the neighborhood. He dresses in surfer style, wearing the latest fashion in causal clothes. On two separate occasions he was observed flirting with girls near the train station and they were quite pleased with his approach. In another encounter outside of the interview session, it was quite obvious that girls were magnetically attracted toward him; he took it all in stride.

Mr. Inoue met his best friends in high school. They were a wild bunch, smoking, drinking, playing pachinko, going to discos and picking up girls. In fact, Mr. Inoue had engaged in just about every misbehavior on the misbehavior check-list (see Appendix I). His approach to these activities was that they were fun and enjoyable; otherwise he got bored. He also smoked quite a lot, about two packs a day, and drank beer at home while he studied for entrance exams. He could hold a lot of alcohol and at a few of our sessions he was a little "high." He hid his behavior, however, from Hoku neighbors although many of them knew about it.

Mr. Inoue thought the neighbors gossiped about him because of his low school status and somehow the word passed around that he was a "bad" boy. He said this only made him want to be more "bad." But he is not
an aggressive type and felt that he was a failure, especially since most Hoku youth are "achievers."
This came out clearly in one particular encounter we had.

On that day, Mr. Inoue and I went out together until well into the evening; as we stopped at the gate in front of my apartment and were about to bid each other a good night, we met my landlord's son. He had graduated from college and just started working for a large, well-known company in Tokyo. The two boys hardly knew each other even though Mr. Inoue lives but two houses away. I asked the one if he had any advice that could help Mr. Inoue pass his college entrance examinations. Mr. Inoue then said of himself that he was a failure and a stupid person. The other boy replied that going to college was no big thing and that he envied Mr. Inoue for having been able to enjoy himself during his high school days. The talk went for some time and both boys seemed to benefit a lot from getting to know each other.

Mr. Inoue is a typical case of misbehavior escalating in the wake of going to a low ranked high school. The school regulations were harsh; teachers were mean and hit students, in turn he was constantly in trouble with the school. The harder the school
cracked down on him the more he rebelled. He said all his friends rebelled as well and in his words, were "delinquents." The only regret he later had about these troubles was that he later felt sorry that his parents had to constantly apologize to the school.

Mr. Inoue's parents tried to control him when he was in high school but in vain. He said he would often quarrel with them because of his plans to go out at night during the school week. He would go out anyway and that would be the end of the matter. Other than quarreling they had good relations, although he hardly ever saw his father who spent a lot of time at his company.

In his first interview, Mr. Inoue had an interesting comment about the intergenerational gap in Japan. It reflected his character and revealed what may be a common perspective for youth who have not achieved in Japan's achievement oriented society. Here it is in its entirety:

In this age the present society puts emphasis just on academic performance. This may be changing somewhat but for the time being an academic performance counts and only graduates of a top university can enter a top enterprise. So young people study hard to enter a top university and once they are at the university they play a lot to make up for the time when as middle and high school students they studied hard and didn't play.
I somehow feel sorry for these young people who only think of entering a top high school, a top college and a top enterprise. But they may be winners because they can get a steady income working for a top enterprise.

Those who haven't taken this [achievement oriented] course, like me, can enjoy their lives for the time being [before work]. Most people [that took the achievement oriented course] play when they are in a university. But they didn't play like we did in their middle and high school days when most people want to play a lot. We have a lot of memories of this period, and I feel sorry for those "dark people," if I may use a currently used word, who didn't play and don't have [good] memories of that period.

Mr. Daida

Mr. Daida had just been expelled from high school at the time of the initial interview and was working part-time at a restaurant. We met three times from July to October at various eating places, each session lasting from two to four hours. We also met each other accidently three times; once on the train and twice in the community when we had small conversations.

Mr. Daida had lived in Hoku for a only a little over a year with his parents and an older brother. His past residence was similar to Minami youth. He lived in a "tough" neighborhood and the city, which was near Shonan city, had a high guidance rate; the activity in the entertainment district was as great as Shonan city.
(It was considered at the outset of this research as a possible study site.) His father was a public employee and his mother a housewife. The brother graduated from a low ranked high school and was later employed at a hair salon.

Mr. Daida began to unwind and say what was on his mind once he sensed we had much in common. He closed himself off from people he could not and possibly did not want to identify with and showed hostility towards people he did not like. He was an intense, serious, aggressive and an extremely perceptive, intelligent boy. In one of our encounters, for example, we went to Shonan city, which was a popular hang out for the particular Bosozoku group he had joined. He knew a lot about the demographic features of Shonan city. (I later found out there were neighborhoods more impoverished than Minami in Shonan city.) He once talked about factory life in the communities and gave a startling account of what it meant for factory workers' children. But he always tried to hide his intelligence by talking in rough language and using a lot of slang, much of which I had never heard before.

Mr. Daida had not only had a wild time with his friends but all of them had had trouble with the law.
He met his ten closest friends in middle school when he lived outside of Hoku. He had no friends in Hoku and gave this reason "Hoku youth are stuck-up and rich and I don't like them. I am a [he gave the name of the city he used to live in] person."

All his friends had either dropped out of high school or stopped attending school after middle school. All were members of the same Bosozoku group. His group often cruised the seacoast on motorcycles. They also gathered to sniff glue or inhale paint thinner. In the summer they picked up girls and sometimes spent the night with them at beach shacks or a friend's house. Mr. Daida said there were special locations near train stations where girls would stand and wait to get picked up by members of Bosozoku groups.

Mr. Daida always talked a lot about Bosozoku activities and strongly identified with them. According to him, the Bosozoku do not like and will attack right wing fanatic nationalistic groups. In one session, he described the latest incident. Most recently Bosozoku members attacked a right wing group called Aikoku Dantai (patriotic party). Members of the Aikoku Dantai were riding down the street on a truck broadcasting patriotic messages to the public. Bosozoku members on their motorcycles sneaked up next to the truck and while
swinging a metal pole with fastened iron chains at the truck shouted, "get off the street you fools." He said the police intervened, protecting the Aikoku Dantai and going after the Bosozoku.

All of Mr. Daida's friends have had troubles with the police. Quite recently his best friend spent time at a juvenile reformatory and got involved with Yakuza after his release. All of his friends are "tough," one of them has the reputation of being the toughest guy in the whole prefecture. Yet Mr. Daida takes special pride in his friends who have reformed. He was proud to say that one of his friends stopped sniffing glue and began working as a carpenter. He also complimented a friend because he is now working hard at a full-time job.

Mr. Daida has been previously arrested by the police and was sent to the family court for not having a license to drive; he was riding with the Bosozoku when caught which perhaps accounts for the rather serious disposition of the case. He was hit by the policeman and he said they threatened to kill him if he did not talk; he refused to answer their questions. He also suspects the police are watching him in Hoku as he has seen a patrol car slowly passing nearby his house and another boy in the neighborhood was asked questions.
about Mr. Daida, although they had no particular relation together.

Mr. Daida mentioned in one of our talks that he cannot apply for work at a large firm since they would investigate his past, find out about his troubles with the police and not hire him. And, even if he did apply for a job at a small firm, he would have to lie about his past troubles with the law in order to get the job; aside from having been arrested he has received guidance three times for misbehavior. He then asked me "so what's the use of an education?" although he wanted to complete his high school education and even go to college.

Mr. Daida enjoyed his elementary school life (all youth in the follow-up interviews said they enjoyed their elementary school days). His troubles began in middle school. He and his friends had fights with students and he was often scolded by teachers. His misbehavior escalated after entering a low ranked high school where teachers physically abused students and, in his case, he reacted to past abuse of a teacher by attacking him and was then expelled from school. He later became more involved with the Bosozoku which led to his arrest and frequent arguments with his parents.

After getting through this trying period, Mr. Daida went to work as a waiter in a restaurant. Relations with
his parents improved and he gradually began to see his Bosozoku friends less often. He, however, was having problems at work.

Mr. Daida could not stay in one job very long. At his third part-time job he became very irritated with the work. He was working at a bar owned by his girl friend's mother. Drunk "salarymen" got on his nerves and he found it difficult to hold back his desire "to smash one of them." He eventually quit this job as well and expressed a desire to give education one more try.

Comparisons

These case studies contribute to this study in two ways: 1) they add validity and credence to the pattern of predelinquency that has been observed and, 2) they allow for an understanding of how each individual youth perceives and acts in situations in their own way and provide an account of the circumstances that partially accounts for them being in those situations to begin with.

Their predelinquency followed similar patterns already observed. Those from disadvantaged family backgrounds, (except Mr. Inoue's family background,) were the least successful in academic performance, had the most troubles at school and were the most rebellious,
especially the two who attended a low ranked high school. Those from an advantaged family background were "achievers" and conformists.

There were two important points related to their character and the situations they found themselves in. Life for the "achievers" was not "all that grand," they had to deprive themselves of a significant part of growing up: taking chances and having to deal with the consequences. It is significant that the youth who had fun in misbehaving did not feel any guilt or shame about it. Rebellion was a part of their misbehavior; it signified their defiance towards adult authority but they had no misgivings about it. They may not be proud of their academic achievement or for two of them their high schools but their questioning of adults' authority and the rigid demands it placed on youth was something they could be proud of.

Postscript

I have had contact with all these youth since our last talks. Their most recent situations are given below.

I accidentally saw Ms. Mochizuki in the Shonan entertainment district this year. She was in "young"
fashion while talking to one of her friends on the phone at a public telephone booth. Her mother was patiently waiting outside of the telephone booth. She finished the conversation and I asked her if she liked high school life but she had nothing to say about it.

Aside from often seeing Ms. Matsuda running to the train station, I saw her one day at the local clinic. I was going to Hawaii the following week and she was asked if she wanted anything from there. She likes macadamia nuts and I bought her some. When delivering the macadamia nuts to her house I met her parents for the first time.

Ms. Tanaka called up to say she passed the entrance exams to a prestigious all-girl university.

Mr. Suzuki called up to give me the bad news that he failed his entrance exams. In a downcast and meek voice he asked for help in English, since he will spend a year to prepare for college entrance exams for the same university. I agreed but he never came around again.

Mr. Inoue was going to try again for college entrance examinations, last year he did not succeed. He, however, has little confidence in himself and fears he will be a ronin his whole life.
The last time I saw Mr. Daida he called out to me as he was passing by on a small motor scooter. He yelled out *sensei* (teacher). He got off his scooter and smiled as he told me he quit his part-time job, was studying for night high school entrance exams and was even planning to attend college after high school graduation.
CHAPTER X
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A Short Review

Field research was conducted in this study of two Japanese suburban communities and the patterns of predelinquency were compared and contrasted for the youth living there. Observations of this field study were used to interpret and describe the effects of environmental and relative situational conditions of predelinquency and control aimed at predelinquency on youths' behavior, identity and perspectives. Labeling theory explanations fit the circumstances and situations observed and lent an interpretation to the patterns of predelinquency for Minami and Hoku youth. A short summary of predelinquency and the results of control measures follows.

It was initially found that youth of an approximate equal number in both Minami and Hoku visited entertainment districts to have fun with their friends; some of them misbehaved. Entertainment districts are "where the action is" and play there has become a part of Japanese youth subculture. The police are heavily concentrated in these areas and, because Minami youth are proximately much closer to an entertainment district
and thus more visible to the police than Hoku youth, they had more police contacts. There was not a single youth in this study who did not express irritation from these police contacts.

Adults' objective in predelinquent social control is to bring about youth conformance to standards of behavior expected of them by adults. Strict social control is applied against youth in those environmental conditions where it is believed they are prone to deviate from these imposed standards of behavior. In this study it resulted in discriminatory control of predelinquency since it was mostly youth from a lower socioeconomic status who were in the environmental conditions thought to be predelinquent prone. Youth were identified as less potentially successful in adhering to adults' standards of youth behavior based upon socioeconomic status and school performance. This was indicated by extensive delinquency prevention in Minami and by the lower family backgrounds of students at low ranked high schools.

Strict social control, however, resulted in greater youth rebellion. Delinquency prevention in the Minami area was more extensive than delinquency prevention in Hoku and resulted in more youth-police contact and greater overall youth opposition towards the
police and community delinquency prevention measures. Youth from disadvantaged family backgrounds experienced the most problems at school. Some of them did not complete high school. The rest were channeled into low ranked high schools where teacher violence, strict school regulations and frequent inspections at school earmarked their school environment and they in turn rebelled. Troubles at school resulted in family conflict which further exacerbated the problem. The isolation, definition and treatment of these youth as potential or actual deviants has had the effect of them accepting their designated deviant role and acting it out. They by far reported more misbehavior than all other youth in the study.

Family socioeconomic status and residence further related to educational attainment. The advantages were clearly on the side of Hoku youth from at least the time of middle school to the rank and commensurate school environment of the high school they graduated from. This resulted in most Hoku youth going on to higher education and most Minami youth working at menial jobs.

Social conflict between generations has been exacerbated by a step-up of official actions taken against youth. Increased efforts of control indicated by spiraling juvenile arrests and "guidance" plus
delinquency measures in the communities and other social sectors has not had the effect of curtailing or containing youth behavior. To the contrary, the crackdown on youth has widened the gap between youth and adults. Youth gave reasons for this.

The perspectives of youth in this study indicated that the majority of them did not feel that adults could understand the problems of youth. This was particularly the case with youth in the strict environmental situations. These youth being subjected to more strict adult control in the schools, at home and in the community, voiced the most complaints. Many of them felt that adults ignore what youth have to say and instead treat youngsters with suspicion and punish them which only results in greater misunderstanding and conflict between the generations. Almost every youth said that a generation gap exists in Japan today. They attributed the gap to the different social environments the two generations were brought up in and consequently felt there was little in common between the younger and older generations.
The Government's Ad-Hoc Educational Council

The government has blamed the rising tide of juvenile delinquency on the postwar educational system (planned and implemented by the occupational forces) and Western influences and is proposing a national revision of the educational system. An official statement that received wide public attention signaled this trend when the then Minister of Education Setoyama Mitsuo stated that:

The deepest root (of juvenile violence) is the influence of Occupation policies [after World War II]. The Occupation policy was aimed at destroying Confucian morality and customs which existed in the past in Japan.

His remedy in the same article:

We should study old-fashioned teaching methods. The juvenile delinquency problem is not a problem merely for the Education Ministry, but a problem which should be tackled seriously by the school, family, society, and the country as a whole" (Asahi Evening News, February 23, 1983).

The official text of the government's Ad Hoc Educational Council's proposals for revising the educational system are consistent with the former Minister's view. Postwar educational policies are criticized especially for neglecting to indoctrinate students on the distinctive elements and good aspects of traditional Japanese culture (Japan Times, June 27, June 28, 1985). Western influence is also said to be
responsible for the social woes of the people which is said to have filtered down and polluted the schools. The Council plans to increase moral education at the schools with an emphasis on the students developing a Japanese identity. There are numerous citations about this included in the proposals but only two will be presented here. In the first set of recommendations the Council said:

The postwar educational reform had the inclination toward ignoring the distinctive features and good points of Japan's traditional culture making little use of moral education and putting a disproportionate emphasis on rights in comparison to duties. The postwar educational reform did not do enough in developing a person's character and nurturing respect for individuality (Japan Times, June 27, 1985).

Below is a later comment from the government's Ad Hoc Educational Council:

As a result of introducing individualism and the principle of equality from Europe and America, Japan's traditional values were ignored and selfishness and a distorted sense of equality, which could [sic] produce new types of inequality spread over the country.

Human communities founded on agriculture and people's close cooperation collapsed rapidly in the postwar period. Instead of such [sic] a community, a new mass society, in which individual's lack a common bond with others, emerged.

In line with these social changes, school education was standardized across the country.
School authorities and teachers also became less responsible for problems arising in their schools almost every day, and their reliability is decreasing (Japan Times, January 23, 1986).

Their proposed moral education program has been opposed by the majority of educational leaders who fear such action will lead to a revival of nationalism (Japan Times, June 27, June 28, July 11, 1985). Nikkyoso (Japan Teachers' Union) officials "charged that council proposals to introduce 'moral' instruction in schools, teacher review boards and new instructor training procedures were attempts to extend government control of the education system" (Japan Times, January 23, 1986). Opposition political parties as well have sternly objected to the government's proposed action. The Japan Socialist Party criticized the proposals for "highly evaluating pre-war education while taking a negative view of post-war education" and the Japan Communist Party: "charged that the recommendation was clearly intended to revive what it called 'prewar reactionary education' and asserted that this was indicated in the emphasis it placed on 'morals' 'the intellect' 'the physique' and patriotism'" (Japan Times, June 27, 1985). The government's Ad Hoc Council on Education has remained on course and plans are to begin implementation of the proposals within a few years.
Future Research

The results of this study raised a number of questions about delinquency and other preventive programs in Japan or, on a broader level, social control in related areas. These need further attention warranting future research.

Prevention tactics ranging from police guidance for "predelinquent behavior" to school inspections of the school uniform were more a process of containment and early identification and punishment of non-conformers than programs dealing with the prevention of behavior we commonly associate with crime. They did not prevent delinquency.

Some preventive programs may not be preventing what they purport to prevent and must be held accountable for this; they should be considered within their political and social contexts in relation to the costs and consequences they produce (see Kassebaum, 1974: 142-160). Thus, future research will be focused on the actual (as opposed to ideal) purposes and tactics of preventive programs and the nexus by which they impose their measures on a targeted group (see Steinhoff, 1984 for an example of an approach to this). The stated purposes of the programs must be weighed against costs (human efforts directed in one way and not another and
what is being taken away (civil and social rights) from the persons undergoing scrutiny). Consequences are an empirical matter and are experienced by the persons being singled out for treatment. Effects thus should be (as in medicine) assessed from those who are the subject of attention and not from those applying the treatment.

Areas in need of such attention are delinquency control areas/programs not covered in this study (juvenile confinement, courts and probation). On a broader level social control and/or specific prevention programs of other related youth problems (bullying at schools, student violence, youth gangs or groups etc.), organized deviant groups (Yakuza), leftist or radical groups, for example, chukakuha (middle revolutionary group) or social movements (women, student and minority groups) are problem areas in Japan that would all benefit from such an analysis.

While greater anticipatory attention, detection and punishment of predelinquency was found to be a matter of social class in this study, and whereas the criminal justice system in crime prevention is held to be just and answerable to inquiries of social discrimination by social class, ethnic group or sex, future studies using official data should include class, ethnic group and sex differences regarding arrests, disposition of cases,
court actions and post-release care of the offender for both adult and juvenile crime. Of particular importance are labeling consequences. Kiyonaga (1980, 1982) reported that the probability of delinquent arrest increased in direct proportion to the number of times guidance was received in a follow-up study of over 2,000 youth who received guidance. Including social class and carefully assessing the effects of guidance on both youth and police behavior could tell us about official sanctions against predelinquency as an important link to a pattern of career deviance in delinquency.

While social class is a much neglected area in studies on youth in Japan it is particularly an important variable to consider in education since that, for the most part, determines a child's future. The link found in this study of residence and family socioeconomic status to the quality of middle schools and high schools (by rank) deserves central attention to understanding the educational process in Japan. Moreover, social class would appear to be an essential part of any youth problem and there is much potential for study of its origins, maintenance and practical effects. That is to say, most areas of established studies and past findings would benefit from future work treating social class in Japan.

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in a more objective and empirical manner. Indeed, I believe such a shift of attention would reveal that social relations and the consequences of them in Japan are as dependent on and salient to social class as in any other industrialized society.

**Predelinquency in Japan: its Basic Features**

From an overall viewpoint the consequences of predelinquency in Japan appear to fit labeling theory as a variant of conflict theory.

In short the: "labeling theory explanation of conflict involves two converging processes: creating and imposing the label of 'deviant' on certain acts and persons and the individuals acceptance of the label as a central feature of their identity" (Steinhoff, 1984:195). Central to this process are three separate but interrelated elements of predelinquency which were found to be instrumental in Japan. These elements reveal how youth reject the "label," what are the consequences of "labeling" and why the labeling process is able to proceed even though results are clearly not the expected outcomes.
Firstly, as an institutionalized code of behavior that applies to youth but not to adults "predelinquency" has not changed much in postwar Japan--but the youth have. Adults perceive "predelinquent" behavior as "immoral" or "bad", while youth feel these conservative standards are outdated: adults make too much of misbehavior and the way of thinking of the two generations are different. Therefore, partially because of this most youth at one time or another misbehave without feeling it to be so wrong.

Secondly, the state exercises its rights in enforcing, prosecuting and punishing others for crime through powers provided in criminal law. Public cooperation in compliance with authority follows the principle that the state has the power and legitimate right to be carrying-out the will of the people. It should be recognized, therefore, that "The cause of crime is thus to be found in the existence of the law" (Kassebaum, 1974:77). That is, law as a cause of predelinquency, has also gone beyond mere police control; social control directed at predelinquency involves most notably the community and the schools as well. These controls are mainly punitive and concentrated in those Japanese communities and schools that are alleged to have
the most problems in delinquency (predelinquency included).

This study found that the target of strict social control was precisely dependent on social class. Delinquency prone individuals were youth least likely to succeed by virtue of having lower family backgrounds either in a community or by attending low ranked high schools.

Youth were treated differently in the community and at school because of family socioeconomic status. It is the ecological conditions of communities and schools that determine the quality of youth-adult interactions and relations and they result in the real consequences; the ideal standards and intended results propagated by delinquency prevention organizations and the schools are not what is happening but merely what they wish for others to believe is happening. Thus these circumstances culminated in lower class youth having been less "primed" toward conformity than those in more privileged situations and they faced the strictest social control that is an informal and formal derivative of the predelinquent code.
There is a paradox involved in this form of strict social control aimed at predelinquency. Kassebaum (1984:80) states: "Punishments that do not deter can scarcely be urged upon us because of their utility, and treatments that do not produce effects must be regarded as empty." In this study strict controls resulted in further objections and greater rebellion by youth. This runs counter to the objectives of bringing about youth conformity to adult standards of behavior. However, the least likely to succeed were isolated and ultimately given almost no chance of attaining a socially influential position. Social control of predelinquency thus serves as a means to cast off those who represent the most potential threats to established social practices, customs and beliefs. It is legitimatized and sanctioned under the rubric of the predelinquency code.

The final feature of predelinquency labeling lies in this implied susceptibility to conflict arising out of power. The conflict between the generations is partially due to an intergenerational differences of values and perspectives, more in degree than kind: that alone, however, cannot account for the rapid escalation of the official attempts at social control over youth. The escalation may be seen in part as a hidden form of power. The tightened social control over youth is a
pure and simple case of oppression. Yet the public has been lead to believe that youth-adult friction has been caused by the aberrant thoughts and actions of youth or on a wider scale by an external foreign source. Such a belief has turned public attention away from the rapidly increasing and debilitating social control measures planned, implemented and imposed on youth by those in power. The clash between the generations is an internal trait of human conflict in Japan which with other similar forms of deviance has had a long precedence in Japanese history. The ultimate result rests with the people and what they decide is in the best interests of their children and of future generations.

If maintaining the tight social control of predelinquency becomes too costly either politically or socially, there is a possibility that adults may relax their grip on youth, though it is unlikely that the category of "predelinquency" will change much. The establishment's labeling machinery is a potent force that will always have to be reckoned with. The young people I was fortunate to meet would certainly welcome such relaxation and I, for one, wish it would happen; but youth remain in a most vulnerable position.
APPENDIX I
INTERVIEW FORMAT

The English and Japanese versions of the interview format used in this present study are presented.

(Interview Format in English)

Interview Format

Part 1- The first part of this interview format concerns general information about you, your school, and your parents.

1. Sex  M     F
2. How old are you?
3. What is the name of the school you are now attending? If not attending school- what is your job?
4. Is your school a public, private, commercial or vocational school?
5. Compared to all *high schools in Kanagawa prefecture what rank would you say your school is (or was): high, middle high, middle, low middle or low?
   * Middle schools used for middle school students.
6. What year in school are you? If not attending school- how many years of school have you completed?
7. How long have you lived in this neighborhood?
8. Does your mother and father of birth live at home with you?
   If no- why?
9. Please tell me the relationship of all the people who live at your house?
10. Compared to other families what social class do you think your family belongs to: upper, low upper, middle, low middle, or lower?
11. What is your father's occupation?
12. Does your mother work?
   If yes- what is her occupation? In a common week how many times do you meet your mother?
13. What school or social activities are you involved in?
14. Do you work part-time?
   If yes- what is your job and how often in a week do you work?
Part 11- The second part of this interview is about your school life.

15. Do you like school? Please explain.
16. Do you get along with your teachers?
17. Have any teachers ever consulted you for improper behavior?
   If yes- what was the behavior? What did the teacher do?
18. How would you say your school achievement at school has been: excellent, good, fair, poor or failing?
19. Are you proud of your school? Please explain.
20. If someone asks you about the school you are going to how do you feel?
21. How much time a week do you spend studying?
22. Would you say your mother is an "Educational Mama?"
Part 111- The third part of this interview is about your best friends?

23. How many best friends do you have?

24. Where did you first meet your best friends?

25. What kind of fun do you have with your best friends?

26. Where do you often go to have fun with your best friends?

27. Would you like to be the type of person your best friend is?

28. Would you say that your best friends understand you more than your parents?
29. Please write the number of your best friends who have done the following things below.

How Many Persons?

a) smoked cigarettes
b) drank alcohol without parents knowing
c) sniffed glue or used paint thinner
d) absent from school without parent(s) permission
e) ran away from home
f) violated curfew
g) bothersome to others in public
h) had a troublesome argument with another person
i) rough with another person
j) dated
k) sexually enticed a person of the opposite sex
l) sexually mischievous
m) had a sexual relationship
n) visited the places below:
   game centers
   pachinko parlors
   clubs or cabarets
   bars
   porno theater
   other places off limits to youth
o) had contact with persons of a youth gang, for example, bosozoku
p) had contact with gangsters
q) ever been a member of a gang
r) carried a dangerous weapon
s) read a porno magazine
(Respondents given a self-reported misbehavior checklist).

30. Please indicate whether or not you have done the things listed below. (They are asked to read questions 31, 32, and 33 (below).) The respondent's are reminded to make appropriate marks adjacent to the misbehavior act, e.g., the age they first smoked cigarettes.

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a) smoked cigarettes
b) drank alcohol without parent(s) knowing
c) sniffed glue or used paint thinner
d) absent from school without parents permission
e) ranaway from home
f) violated curfew
g) bothersome to others in public
h) had a troublesome argument with another person
i) rough with another person
j) dated
k) sexually enticed a person of the opposite sex
l) sexually mischievous
m) had a sexual relationship
n) visited the places below: game centers pachinko parlors clubs or cabarets bars porno theater other places off limits to youth
o) had contact with persons of a youth gang, for example, bosozoku
p) contact with gangsters
q) ever been a member of a gang- if yes- what is the name of the gang?
r) carried a dangerous weapon
s) read a porno magazine
(Questions 31, 32 and 33 were on the same sheet of paper as the misbehavior check-list that was handed to the respondent's, but space does not permit it to be shown that way here.)

31. If you have ever been caught by the police up to now for the above listed misbehavior acts go to that item and make an O mark.

32. If you answered "Yes" to any of the above items put the age when you first did such behavior in the appropriate place.

33. If you have been caught and given a warning by a member of a delinquency prevention association up to now for any of the above listed misbehavior acts put a triangle mark next to that item.
Part IV- The fourth part of this interview is about your daily life.

34. How often do you go to the (local) train station during the week?
35. What places do you visit near the (local) train station?
36. Have you ever engaged in misbehavior near the (local) train station?
37. Have you ever been stopped by a guidance worker for any reason near the (local) train station?
38. Have you ever been stopped by the police for any reason near the (local) train station?
39. Do you think of yourself as a misbehaved youth?
Part V- The fifth part of this interview is about your neighborhood?

40. Would anyone in the neighborhood report you to your parent(s) if they saw you misbehaving?

41. Would anyone in the neighborhood report you to the police if they saw you misbehaving?

42. Has anyone in the neighborhood warned or given you advice for any misbehavior?

43. Do you think most people in the neighborhood trust each other?

44. Do you think youth from your neighborhood misbehave: Very Often, Often, Sometimes, Almost Never or Never?

45. Are you aware of any activities of a Delinquency Prevention Association in your neighborhood?
   If yes: what activities are you aware of?
   What contact have you had with the members of the delinquency prevention association?
   What do you think about these delinquency prevention programs?

46. Do you think the delinquency prevention association in your neighborhood can prevent delinquency? (In the case of Hoku youth: Do you think delinquency prevention associations can prevent delinquency?)
Part VI- The sixth part of this interview is about your relations with your parent(s).

47. Do your parent(s) understand you?

48. Do you often quarrel with your parent(s)?

49. Do you think your parent(s) are too strict?

50. Do your parent(s) smoke at home? drink at home?

51. Do your parent(s) play pachinko?
   If yes: have they ever taken you to a pachinko parlor?

52. Would your parent(s) object to you: smoking?
   drinking?
   playing pachinko?
   dating?
   staying out after your house curfew?

53. Would you like to be the type of person your mother is?

Would you like to be the type of person your father is?

54. How many days do you see your father in a common week?

55. Would you be very ashamed if your parent(s) knew you were doing something wrong?

56. Does a feeling that your parent(s) would be disappointed in you if you misbehaved inhibit you from misbehaving?

57. Tell me how attached you are to your mother?
   Tell me how attached you are to your father?
Part VII- The last part of this interview is about your feelings toward the problems of youth?

58. Do you think parents can understand the problems of youth?

59. Do you think teachers can understand the problems of youth?

60. Do you think neighbors can understand the problems of youth?

61. Do you think the police can understand the problems of youth?

62. Do you think there is a generational gap between youth and adults?

63. Is there anything you would like to say to adults?

Do you have any other comments about this interview?

Thank you for your cooperation and feel assured that this information will remain confidential.
*Part I (Japanese Version).

第1章  この面接の最初の部分は あなたとあなたの学校
および両業界についての一般的内容についてです。

① 性別 男・女
② 何歳ですか？
③ あなたが今通っている学校の名前は？
もし学校に通っていないならば あなたの業界は？
④ あなたの学校は 公立・私立、商業・職業学校の
うち どれですか？
⑤ 神奈川県内の全ての高校と比較して あなたの学校は
どの位にランクされますか？
上・中の上・中・中の下・下
⑥ あなたは何年生ですか？
もし学校に行っていないなら 何年生まで在学していましたか？
⑦ この近所に何年間 住んでいますか？

This is a copy of the actual interview schedule
prepared and used in interviews with Minami and Hoku
youth. Although three persons (a bi-lingual Japanese
male graduate student in sociology with field work
experience, a bi-lingual Japanese female undergraduate
(senior year) sociology major of a high academic standing
and myself) spent a great deal of time and effort
together in making this schedule, it is recognized that
language use and its translation into English (see the
English language version above) are not free of error.
Part I (Japanese Version).

⑧ あなたは "生みの親"と現在同居していますか？
もし「いいえ」ならば はあですか？
⑨ あなたの家に同居しているすべての人々の紹介を教えて下さい。
⑩ 日本の他の家族と比べて あなたの家族はどの社会的階級に属していると思いますか？
上流・上の下流・中流・中の下流・下流
⑪ あなたの父親の職業は何ですか？
⑫ あなたの母親は 働かれていますか？
働いているならば 職業は何ですか？
普通 一週間で 何日休 お母さんと顔を合わせますか？
⑬ どんな学校 または 社会的活動に あなたは所属していますか？
⑭ あなたは今 アルバイトをしていますか？
もし「はい」と答えたならば どんな仕事ですか？
そして 一週間のうち 何時間 働いていますか？
Part II (Japanese Version).

第Ⅱ部 この面接の２番目は あなたの学校生活についてです。
⑮ あなたは学校が好きですか？ その理由を教えて下さい。
⑯ 先生たちとうまくいっていますか？ その理由を教えて下さい。
⑰ 今までに先生が悪い行動について あなたも見たことがある
ありますか？ もし「はい」と答えたならば どんな行動でした
ですか？ とこの先生は どうでしたか？
⑱ 学校での あなたの学力も言っていただけでは どうでしょうか？
優・良・普通・普通以下・あらかじめ
⑲ あなたは あなたの学校を 誘いに 思えますか？
その理由を 教えて下さい。
⑳ もし 人があなたに あなたの通っている学校を尋ねた時
あなたは どんな返事しますか？
⑲ あなたは 家で 過何時間位 親に読むですか？
㉒ あなたは 自分の母業員 と "教育ママ" とあると言えると
思いますか？
Part III (Japanese Version).

第III部 この面接の3番目の部分は あなたのお見返しについてです。

③ あなたは親友が何人いますか?
④ あなたが親友と初めて会ったのは どこですか?
⑤ あなたは親友と何をして楽しんでいますか?
⑥ あなたは親友とどんなところで楽しんでいますか?
⑦ あなたは親友と同じタイプの人になりたいと思うますか?
⑧ あなたは両親よりも親友の方が あなたのお事をおよく理解してくれると 思いますか?
あなたのお友達の何人位が下記の事をしているか教えて下さい。
人数を書いて下さい。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>何人</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>喫煙（タバコ）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>親の知らない飲酒（酒を飲む）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>親着物やシンナーを吸う</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>親の許しがない学校を休む</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>家出</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>門限以後 大人を伴わない夜 外出する</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>公の場所で他人に迷惑をかける</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>他の人の間で内密になるようなロケンコ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>他人に対して乱暴にふるまう</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>デートをむ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>異性に対して性的な言語をする</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>性的意図</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>性的関係を持つ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>下記のような場所を訪れる</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ゲームセンター</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>パチンコ店</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>クラブ キャバレー</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>バー</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ポルノ劇場</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>他の未成年者入場禁止の場所</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>たとえば 転走族のような非行グループとつきあう</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>非行団とつきあう</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>非行グループの一員である</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>危険な武器を持ち歩く</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>ポルノを見る</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Respondent's Misbehavior check-list
Japanese Version.)

③下記の事についてあたかも事があるかどうか
教えて下さい。△印を置いて下さい。

a. 喫煙（タバコ）
b. 楽器の知らない飲酒（酒との酒）
c. 持着剤やシナナーを吸う
d. けしぇの持ちに学校と休む
e. 家出
f. 間隔以後 大人とも伴わずに夜外出する
g. 公の場所で 他人に迷惑をかける
h. 他の人の向で 問題になるようなコニック
i. 他人に対して 乱れにいるさま
j. デートする
k. 輪行に文を言う 性的な誘惑をする
l. 性的いとうる
m. 性的関係を持つ
n. 下記のような場所で起こる ゲームセンター
   バラコ店
   カラオ・キャバレー
   パー
   ボール劇場
   他の未成年者立ち入の禁止の場所

o. たとえば 暴走族のような非行グループもつってる
p. 暴力団もつってる
q. 非行グループの一員である もはや一員であった
   もし「はい」ならば そのグループの元先は?
r. 危険な武器を持ち歩く
s. ボール興奮を裏見る
(Questions relating to misbehavior check-list
Japanese Version.)

①もしあなたが 合まに 上記のような 不良行為のいずれかによる 警察につかまったことがあれば その項目に〇をつけ下さり。
②上記の項目について「はい」と答えた箇所に あなたが はじめて そのような行動をした時の 年齢を記入して下さい。
③もしあなたが 上記の不良行為のいずれかによって 合ま 付犯会の人たちに 注意されたことがあれば その項目に△をつけて下さり。
Part IV  (Japanese Version).

第IV部　この面接の第4番目の部分はあなたの生活についてです。

34 一週間のうち あなたは何回駅に行きますか？
35 あなたは駅の近くのどんな場所へ行くのですか？
36 あなたは今まで駅の近くで不良行為をした事がありますか？
37 あなたは駅の近くでどんな理由にしても警察官に呼び止められた事がありますか？
38 あなたは駅の近くでどんな理由にしても警察官に呼び止められた事がありますか？
39 あなたは今までに自分の事と不良少年だと思った事がありますか？
第7部 この面接の前番目の部分はあなたの近所についてです。

④1もしくは近所の人か あなたが不完全行為を見た時 警察に報告する と思いますか？

④2もしくは近所の人か あなたが不完全行為を見た時 警察に通報すると 思いますか？

④3近所の人の誰かが 不完全行為について あなたが注意したり 警察に通報した と思いますか？

④4あなたが近所では 人々が互いに信用に住んでいると 思いますか？

④5あなたが近所の青年が 不完全行為をする 思いますか？

④6あなたが近所で 非行防止協会（防犯会）の活動に 参加したことがありませか？

④7もし「はい」ならば この活動の内容はどんなものであったか？

④8もし「はい」ならば あなたは この協会の誰かと 何を接触したことがありますか？

④9あなたは 近所の 非行防止協会（防犯会）の活動と どう思いますか？

④10あなたは 近所の 非行防止協会が 非行を防止できると 思いますか？
第11部 本面特の6番目の部分は 親の関係についてです。

17 あなたは 親を理解していますか?
18 たぶん親とケンカをしますか?
19 親は厳しくなると 思う事がありますか?
20 親は 家でタバコを吸いますか？ 親は家でお酒をのみますか?
21 親は パチンコをやりますか？ もし「はい」なら 親が
あなたを連れてパチンコへ行った事がありますか?
22 次の事に 親は反対しますか?
   a) 喫煙（タバコ）
   b) 飲酒
   c) パチンコ
   d) デート
   e) 家の内限以後の外出

23 あなたは 自分の母親と 同じような人になりたいと思いませんか？ 父親については どうですか？
24 普通 一週間に何日位 お父さんと 親を合わせますか?
25 あなたが 何か悪い事をしたのと 親に知られたら 親に対し とても恥ずかしいと思いますか？（自己を恥じますか？）
26 自分が不良行動をしたのと 親が知ったら からかうだろうと思い、不良行為をしないようにしようと 考えますか？
27 お母さんと どの位 親しみますか？
   お父さんと どの位 親しみますか？
Part VII (Japanese Version).

第四部 この面接の７番目は 青年の問題についてです。
⑧親たちは 青年の問題を 理解できると思いますか？
⑨先生たちは 青年の問題を 理解できると思いますか？
⑩お宅の人たちは 青年の問題を 理解できると思いますか？
⑪警察は 青年の問題を 理解できると思いますか？
⑫大人と青少年の世代のギャップは あると思いますか？
⑬大人に何か言いたい事があると思いますか？

この面接に対して 何か意見がありましたら お願いします。
御協力ありがとうございました。
内容は一切 外部には 出しません。

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APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE FORMAT

The following is the translated version of the questionnaire. Inside the envelope was a letter addressed to the mothers giving details about the study and apologizing for being an inconvenience. Also a pen and notebook (making it easier for them to fill out the questionnaire) were included as gifts to the respondents.

QUESTIONNAIRE (IN ENGLISH)

Please tell me about your life.

This (questionnaire) is related to (my) Ph.D. dissertation. It is a dissertation about the everyday life of youth and all information will be kept completely confidential. Please answer frankly each question below writing as much as you wish. (If the space provided in the questionnaire is insufficient please use additional sheets of paper.)

1. Do you belong to any clubs?

2. Please tell me about your school life.
   a) Do you like school?

   b) Do you get along with your teachers?

   c) Please tell me about your school atmosphere.
3. Please tell me about your best friends.
   a) How many best friends do you have?
   b) Where did you first meet your best friends?
   c) Where do you go to have fun with your best friends?
   d) What kind of fun do you have with your best friends?

4. Please tell me about things near the (local) train station.
   a) How many times a week do you go to the (local) train station?
   b) What places near the (local) train station do you visit?
   c) What are the most common things you do near the (local) train station?
   d) Have you ever visited a game center?
5. Please tell me about your neighbors.
   a) Please tell me about the kind of relations you have with your neighbors?

   b) Do most neighbors trust each other?

   c) What do you think about the Youth League?

   d) What do you think about youth in the neighborhood?

   e) Do you know about the activities of the Crime Prevention Association? Have you had any contact with them?

6. Please tell me about relations with (your) parents?
   a) Do you live together with both parents?

   b) What is your father's occupation?

   c) Does your mother work?

   d) Please tell me about how well you get along with your father and mother?
7. Please tell me about your everyday life.
   a) What do you like to do?
   b) What kind of place do you like to go to?
   c) (For example truant from school and so on) have you ever done anything that would disappoint your parents? If you have what was it?
   d) (For example went to play pachinko) have you ever gone to a place that would disappoint your parents? If you have what was the place?
   e) Have you ever done any kind of misbehavior?
   f) What kind of person do you think you would like to be?
   g) What kind of person do you think you are?
8. Please tell me about youth-adult relations.
   a) Do you think adults understand youth?

   b) Do you think there is an adult-youth intergenerational gap?

   c) What would you like to say to adults?

9. Below please circle the appropriate category.

   Sex               Male       Female

   Age               14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20 years old

   School           Middle School. High School. Other
                    (Write -----------)

   School Year      1st year, 2nd Year, 3rd Year

   School Rank      Low. Low-Middle. Middle. Middle-Upper.
                    Upper

   Social Class     Low. Low-Middle. Middle. Middle-Upper.
                    Upper

   Thank you very much for your cooperation. 
   Please return this (questionnaire) by the enclosed envelope.
APPENDIX III

MAKING CONTACTS IN "MINAMI" AND "HOKU"

Examples of Contacts While Carrying Out the Contacts Plan

The implementation of the contacts plan was outlined in Chapter III. Here a few examples of the actual contacts are given. They will show that importance was given to: 1) keeping a record of each contact; 2) adjusting to the situation of each case and, 3) gaining a common bond of identification with those contacted.

Contacts in Minami

As mentioned in Chapter III, the first stage of contacts entailed sending out two letters at timed intervals to the mothers in Minami asking for interviews with their children but only ten of seventy-two youth were able to be interviewed this way. The letters, however, established some familiarity between the families and this researcher and the door-to-door contacts that soon followed benefited from this. If possible both myself and a Japanese colleague (hereafter fictitiously called Mr. Hashimoto) went to the homes and
talked with the mothers or if she wasn't home to whoever was there. Because many Japanese are surprised to hear a foreigner speaking Japanese Mr. Hashimoto spoke first when we arrived at the door. I then would join in on the conversation as soon as possible. At the door there was not any one pattern of conversation followed after our initial apology for intrusion and self introduction. This was so since we tried to establish some familiarity with each family, i.e., mentioning something about their children, complimenting them on their garden, saying that a nearby neighbor's son or daughter had been interviewed, commenting about their shop or home etc.

A simple example of a fairly standard approach that we followed gives some semblance to this:

Mr. Hashimoto: Excuse me; my name is Hashimoto and this is Mr. Yoder. We sent out two letters that described Mr. Yoder's study and asked for your permission to interview Taro [fictitious name of their child]. Sorry for the inconvenience we have caused you, but we were wondering if it is possible to do an interview with Taro. It will not take long, maybe about an hour or so.

Yoder: Yes I have had an interest in youth for some years. Now I'm teaching Sociology at a university, and Mr. Hashimoto is also doing graduate work there. We have been friends for many years. This study is about the youth in Japan mostly about there everyday life. The research is related to a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Hawaii. I understand how busy everyone is and how busy Taro is with his middle school work, but [if possible I would life to interview him].

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Mother: I'm sorry I didn't respond to the letters. Please wait just a minute. Taro please come here. Taro would you like to have an interview these boys are from [name of a Japanese] University.

Taro: Oh, okay.

Yoder: Ms. Tanaka thank you so much. Here is my name card and if there is anything I can do for your son in the future please do not hesitate to contact me.

Door to Door Contacts and Completed Interviews

A record was kept on each youth in Minami and utilized during door-to-door and other future contacts. Below a few examples of completed interviews among the twenty-three persons interviewed by door-to-door contact gives an insight into the various ways interviews were able to come about this way.

Case 7- When we arrived at the house the mother immediately knew who we were (from the two letters sent out). Before Mr. Hashimoto finished introducing us the mother apologized for not answering the letters, asked her son if he wanted an interview and this researcher then began the interview.

Case 41- When we arrived at the apartment the mother was standing outside of the front door holding a baby in her arms. After Mr. Hashimoto finished introducing us I
mentioned that I have a daughter about the same age as her child. The mother then talked about her children and we engaged in this conversation for some time. After about 15 minutes of conversation she was asked if her daughter and eldest son could be interviewed. The daughter was home and an interview took place with her. The mother said, however, the son works and is never home except on Sunday morning. A number of times after that we saw the mother in the neighborhood and established a good relation with her. Finally, one Sunday morning when both of us were walking around the neighborhood we saw two older boys talking on the side street nearest their apartment and thought one of them may be the eldest son of this family. One of them was the eldest son, he knew who we were, the mother standing nearby nodded to him and he agreed to an interview.

Case 29-2- We went to the house and talked to the grandfather. Both parents were working and the children were out playing so my name card was given to the grandfather. I asked him to have either the parents or the youth contact me by phone. They never made contact, but three weeks later while walking in the neighborhood I saw the boy in the front yard with his friend. We had a casual conversation about motorcycles. After our
conversation I asked him for an interview and it was done in their front yard.

Case 34- We both met the father at the door. He said that perhaps neighbors were reluctant to consent to interviews out of surprise that the study was being carried out by a foreigner. He sympathized with our efforts to interview the youth. I thanked him for his comments and said it is understandable that neighbors feel anxious about the study. He said he would ask his daughter if she wanted to do an interview and would telephone me later. He telephoned that evening and his daughter was interviewed the next day.

**Completed Interviews by Telephone Contact**

After door-to-door contacts I waited approximately two weeks for calls from those who said they would telephone to let me know whether or not an interview was possible with their child or children. My wife then telephoned the mothers who said they would telephone but did not and to the mothers who although not promising to telephone did not refuse the interview when we contacted them. Eight interviews were accomplished this way. Two contrasting examples are given below.
Case 14-2- The mother responded to the second letter and agreed to allow the youngest daughter to be interviewed. She, however, did not mention about an interview being done with the oldest daughter. I commented to the younger daughter during the interview that I would like to interview her elder sister. The interview went off well and a good relation was established with the mother. Not wanting to seem ungrateful no mention was made to the mother about interviewing the elder daughter after the interview with the youngest daughter was finished. My wife (Sonoe) called up a few weeks later and an interview with the eldest daughter was immediately set up and completed.

Case 65- When visiting the home their son was not home but the parents invited me in and we had a long talk together. They assured me they would ask their son for an interview and call me back. They never did call back. Sonoe telephoned them, thanked them for the nice talk we had and asked if an interview could be scheduled with their son. They asked their son for an interview and it was arranged and completed.
Returned Questionnaires

There remained thirty-one individuals that refused the interview by letter, door-to-door contacts and telephone (if they had one). Eighteen of these persons did return the questionnaire. A few examples of contacts that lead to the eventual returning of the open-ended questionnaire are presented.

Case 9- I met the mother while she was cleaning up in the yard, and apologized for all of the inconveniences the study has brought to her. She said her child is an adult (working) and so it is not necessary for her to fill out a questionnaire. I agreed with her but mentioned that the study was concerned with youth from 14 to 20 years old. She said her daughter was a mischievous child during her school days but is now a good girl. I replied that it is natural for kids to have some troubles at a young age and it is nothing to worry about. We talked for a few more minutes and the mother offered to hand her daughter the questionnaire. The questionnaire was returned.

Case 39- The mother just arrived home from work and I met her at the front gate of their house. She was tired from work and I showed empathy to her. I mentioned that I understand how busy her children are with their club
activities (that was the reason she gave in a previous contact when refusing the interview with them) implying that interviews with them are unreasonable. She said neighbors are suspicious about a foreigner wanting to interview their children. I replied that it is natural for them to be suspicious of an outsider, mentioned about all the interviews that had been done and said that the details of the study were given in two letters sent to the mothers and since then by door-to-door contacts. Then she was given a detailed explanation about the motives, reasons and purpose of the study. I also asked her to read the letter inside the envelope of the questionnaire that gave further details about the study. She said she was glad to have talked with me, would give the questionnaires to her two children and promised that they would return it. They returned it.

Case 53- The name of the family was Yōda, the same as mine pronounced in Japanese (Yoder becomes Yōda). My hanko (Japanese kanji signature stamp) has the same characters as this family so I brought it with me when we visited the family. Only the grandfather was home and after introductions I showed him my hanko. I gave him my name card and he promised to tell the mother about our visit and asked us to come back again. On the next visit
the mother said her child is now too busy with school work for an interview. I asked her if he would be willing to fill out a questionnaire. She said he would and a questionnaire was later handed to him. The questionnaire was returned.

Refusals

Refusals usually came from parents not consenting to the study, although communication between the parents and their children after contacts were made is not known. Two examples of this are given below.

Case 1- Mr. Hashimoto and I went to the house and the mother answered the door. She was shabbily dressed and seem frightened to see us. She said she never received the two letters sent to her and knew nothing about the study. Then the father came to the door. He said he knew of the study but his children cannot do an interview and quickly shut the door. I went back to the house alone a couple of months later (they had no telephone). The father answered the door and as I was about to ask him if his children would fill out a questionnaire he shut the door.
Case 15- Mr. Hashimoto went to the house alone. The mother asked him why such a study was being done in the neighborhood and demanded to know what questions were being asked to the youth. She was a member of the Minami Crime Prevention Association so Mr. Hashimoto mentioned that he knew a few members. She refused the interview for her children. I went back about a month later with a questionnaire. She said to me that I told your friend no and then abruptly walked away.

Contacts in Hoku

In Hoku 45 youth were interviewed after responding to a letter (15) or telephone call (30). Because my family lives in Hoku my wife established a network among families in the community by telephone calls; although in most cases we did not personally know the family. There were, however, 28 instances where an interview could not be arranged by phone but door-to-door contacts resulted in interviews (7) or the returning of the questionnaire (21). A few of these examples will follow.

Door to Door Contacts and Completed Interviews

Case 7-1- On the telephone the elder daughter agreed to an interview. The younger daughter also said she would call back for an interview at a later time. I
interviewed the eldest daughter but the younger daughter never called back. I went to the house, met the younger daughter and mentioned to her that the interview is simple and would only take an hour or so. She consented to an interview and one was arranged and completed.

Case 31- On the telephone an interview was scheduled for Sunday but on that day the mother called and cancelled it. I went to their house and talked with the mother. They once lived in Brazil for a few years and we talked about life in foreign countries. She set up another time for an interview with her daughter and it was completed.

Case 33-1- On the telephone only the younger son agreed to an interview; the elder brother was busy with his work. He came and was interviewed. I asked the boy to tell his brother that I would like to interview him. After the interview I met the boy again and he said his brother now would like to be interviewed. I called up the elder brother, arranged an interview with him and he was interviewed.
Returning the Questionnaire

Of the remaining refusals to an interview twenty-one (of thirty-five) youth filled out a questionnaire and returned it. A few examples of this will follow.

Case 40- On the phone the mother did not agree to an interview with her children. I went to the house and met the mother. She has two German schnauzers and we talked about dogs. After some time she apologized that her two daughters could not do an interview and asked one of them right then if she wanted to have an interview. The daughter did not give an answer to the mother's request and the mother said I'm sorry. I asked the daughter if she would be willing to fill out a questionnaire and she agreed. Later two questionnaires were given to the mother and both daughters eventually returned them.

Case 43-2- I interviewed the youngest daughter and asked her if her brother would like to be interviewed; he had previously refused. She said no. I asked her if he would fill out a questionnaire and she said he probably would. A questionnaire was dropped off at their house and he returned it.
Refusals

Refusals, like Minami, appeared to come from the parents' objection to the study. Two contrasting examples of refusals are given.

Case 6- Sonoe telephoned the house and the elder brother said his sister is too busy for an interview and even though she was home at that time he did not ask her about the matter. I went to the house and met the mother. She asked me many questions about why such a study was being done and why I wished to interview her daughter. She said the family is too busy now and the daughter cannot be interviewed. A questionnaire was later dropped off at the house but it was never returned.

Case 39- My wife called and the mother said her children did not want to be interviewed. I went to the house and met the father outside of the home. I handed him the questionnaires for his two children and asked him to give it to them. They did not return the questionnaire.

Tips in Personal Encounters for Making Contacts

Follow-up contacts in Minami increased the response rate from 14 to 82 percent and in Hoku from 17 to 84 percent. Below brief mention is made on the method of contacts followed in the present study that may aid others
(most pertinent to foreign researchers) in gaining an acceptable response rate from a community in Japan and with some minor changes elsewhere as well.

1) It is advantageous to observe Japanese mannerisms but not to overdo it. Many of the persons contacted were relieved by my ability to communicate with them but the conversations centered around persons and not cultures. Naturalism and sincerity are universal qualities seemingly most appreciated and can go a long way in establishing familiarity and rapport.

2) It is somewhat of an advantage in being a foreigner when going door-to-door in Japan because many of them are curious to meet one. But you should identify yourself as a member of some known organization in Japan that you happen to be affiliated with. The persons contacted related more to the name of the Japanese university where I teach at than to the idea that the study was being done at the University of Hawaii. The mention of being affiliated with a Japanese university and proof of it (by use of a name card) appeared to erase more doubts about the study than anything else.
3) If you are not known in the community have a Japanese colleague make rounds with you most preferable someone of the same sex and of a similar status. And even if you are somewhat known in the community have a Japanese who is known in the community vouch for you. But above all for reasons of validity and reliability do not involve anyone with an official organizational involvement that may give the study a predefinition.

Many persons contacted seemed somewhat relieved when seeing Mr. Hashimoto with me while we were making door-to-door contacts. This made the initial contact come across much smoother than if I had went to the door alone. After introductions they also realized that he had made some commitment to the study and that we were both affiliated with the same organization.

Similarly, my wife's telephone calls in Hoku gave the mothers an assurance that a known Japanese member of the community was closely connected with the study. However, Mr. Hashimoto and my wife were not associated with any official organization that gave the study a predefinition. The persons contacted and later the youth interviewed thus did not expect that we wished them to comply with the study in any particular way.
4) Try to identify with those contacted in whatever way possible. It is advisable not to barge in and expect someone to immediately agree to an interview because you think they will have an interest in the study. In the door-to-door contacts (or on the telephone) those contacted were apprehensive until we established rapport based on commonality. And it was this identity that perhaps also was relayed to their children that resulted in them agreeing to an interview. People have their own interests and personal idiosyncrasies. This is vital since so much popular literature about the Japanese presents stereotypes. It would be wise to forget about what others have said about them and concentrate on the individual.

5) Downplay the interview, do not make it the center of conversation. This is a corollary with point four; of particular importance here is to delicately bring up the subject of the interview. Because all of those contacted had already been reluctant to agree to the interviews (they did not respond to the letters sent out) an abrupt request for an interview with their children would not have been well received. Only after it was felt that we were on familiar grounds did I broach the subject of an interview with their child.
6) Time the visit when the person you desire to interview is likely to be home. Contact was always made in the evening (after school was out) or on the weekends and interviews were completed mostly on the spot. When the child was not home at the time of contact only in a few cases did the families after being asked to contact me actually do so.

7) Look clean and neat but casual. Being shabbily dressed is a reflection on your character but also dressing too formally may make them feel inferior. In the case of this study it meant fitting dress to the mothers and youth. Visual contact makes the first impression and both parties will feel uncomfortable if it is out of place with the situation.

8) Remember not only that they are doing you a favor but that you must make an attempt to return it. Acknowledge your appreciation of them giving up their time at the beginning and the end of an encounter. A name card is important as a sign that you intend to return the favor of them allowing you to do an interview. Adults especially were appreciative of my understanding of girī (act of returning a favor) by offering my services through the giving out of a name card.
In summation it should be kept in mind that field work involves human encounters. Probably the same techniques followed out in this study's sampling plan, albeit adjusted to language and cultural practices, would aid in gaining an acceptable response rate anywhere. What was learned from these experiences was that persons are more likely to cooperate when some form of being "we" instead of "they" can be established. Relating to each individual as they present themselves to you and working to establish communication based on what you have in common facilitates good rapport.
APPENDIX IV

POST INTERVIEW ASSESSMENT FORMS

Post interview assessment forms were completed by both the respondent's and interviewer. These forms were created borrowing from Strong's (1978) post-interview assessment forms and were intended to measure any problems of misperceptions during the interview because of sex, nationality or demeanor of either the respondent or the interviewer. After each interview I went over the Subject's Post Interview Assessment form after completing the Interviewer's Post Interview Check List. There were found no major discrepancies either on the subject's completed form or in a comparison of my remarks and the respondent's. The interviews completed by the Japanese interviewer and myself did not show any major problems of sex, nationality or demeanor according to these completed forms.

The following are the Subject's Post Interview Assessment Form and the Interviewer's Post Interview Check List in an English translation.
Subject's Post Interview Assessment Form

1) I felt during the interview:  
a) very much at ease  
b) moderately comfortable  
c) a little nervous  
d) very nervous

2) The interviewer impressed me as:  
a) cold and aloof  
b) polite but stuffy  
c) polite and business like  
d) very warm and friendly

3) The atmosphere of the interview location (room) was:  
a) comfortable  
b) somewhat comfortable  
c) uncomfortable

4) The interviewer being of the same or opposite sex (underline which one) influenced me to:  
a) answer the questions more frankly  
b) did not make any difference  
c) feel shy to answer the questions frankly

5) During the interview I felt that I:  
a) answered all questions frankly  
b) answered most questions frankly  
c) did not answer most questions frankly

6) How do you think the fact of the interviewer being a foreigner (or in the case of the Japanese interviewer: of the same nationality) influenced the interview:  
a) I felt that I could be more open and frank  
b) made no difference  
c) made me feel less open and frank than if he were a Japanese (in the case of the Japanese interviewer: a foreigner)

The information of this interview will be kept confidential and I ask that you do not discuss the contents of this interview with anyone.

Thank You
Interviewer's Check List

Interviewer's Name
Age
Sex
Date of Interview
Location of Interview
Case Number of Person Interviewed
Information about the interview:

1) The person interviewed seemed: a) very much at ease, b) moderately comfortable, c) a little nervous, d) very nervous, during the interview.

2) I feel that being of the same or opposite sex (underline which one) as the subject: a) helped to establish an atmosphere of common trust and openness on the part of the subject, b) may have caused the person to be slightly threatened and guarded in his/her responses to the questions, c) was of absolutely no consequence to the person interviewed nor did it influence his/her responses to the questions.

3) Comment on whether or not the information seemed to be reliable or not or on anything else of consequence to the interview situation.
APPENDIX V

LEGAL ASPECTS OF PREDELINQUENCY

Juvenile Law and Predelinquent Juveniles

Predelinquent juveniles fall under the third category of juveniles under the Juvenile Law of Japan (White Papers on Police, 1982:48):

Under the Juvenile Law of Japan persons under twenty years of age are classified as juveniles and are subject to special procedure designed for their protection, education and treatment. Juvenile delinquents under the Juvenile Law fall into three categories:

(1) Juvenile offenders: Persons aged fourteen through nineteen who commit offenses under the Penal Code or special legislation.

(2) Child offenders: Persons younger than fourteen and thus not amenable to criminal penalties under the Penal Law, who commit acts which, if done by adults, would constitute criminal offenses.

(3) Predelinquent juveniles: Persons younger than twenty years of age who, on the basis of criteria contained in the Juvenile Law, are thought likely to commit future offenses.

Predelinquent juveniles are further classified as Crime-prone juveniles or Misconduct juveniles as discussed in Chapter I.
Official Guidance Rates

The number of youth who have received "guidance" from the police for "predelinquent offenses," also referred to as "acts of misconduct" or "misbehavior," is much greater than for any other category of offense included under the Juvenile Law. Below a breakdown of all police guidance given to juveniles is presented (White Papers on Police, 1984:92,96).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REASON FOR GUIDANCE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PENAL CODE OFFENSES</td>
<td>261,634</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPECIAL LAWS OFFENSES</td>
<td>40,277</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIME-PRONE JUVENILES</td>
<td>5,195</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MISCONDUCT:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoking</td>
<td>599,774</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roaming at midnight</td>
<td>353,973</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reckless driving</td>
<td>108,177</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsound companionship</td>
<td>89,301</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truancy</td>
<td>42,537</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking</td>
<td>39,246</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhealthy amusement</td>
<td>25,755</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>25,691</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td>24,928</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other</td>
<td>120,516</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>1,737,004</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Below the most recent statistics in 1983 for major penal offenses is provided (White Paper on Police, 1983).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JUVENILE DELINQUENT OFFENSES</th>
<th>NUMBER OF OFFENDERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FELONIES</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VIOLENT CRIMES</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assemble w/weapons</td>
<td>1,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>7,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injury</td>
<td>11,406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimidation</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackmail</td>
<td>8,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LARCENY</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoplift</td>
<td>81,358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcycle Theft</td>
<td>40,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycle Theft</td>
<td>27,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auto Theft</td>
<td>5,490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thieving</td>
<td>5,604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop Burglary</td>
<td>3,099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Burglary</td>
<td>2,674</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warehouse Burglary</td>
<td>1,677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break-in</td>
<td>897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>33,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EMBEZZLEMENT</strong></td>
<td>1,590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ALL OTHER</strong></td>
<td>9,158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>261,634</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Recent Legal Step-Up of Delinquency Prevention

Noteworthy restrictions on youth by a new law follows:

a) No shops that affect the public morals (see Chapter IV on places said to affect public morals) may operate within 200 meters of a city office, hospital or library.

b) All so-called sex businesses (peep shows, strip joints, companion houses etc.) must show their prices outside of the shop and only charge that amount.

c) All shops affecting the public morals must close at 12 P.M..

d) All shops affecting public morals must be lighted inside.

e) All shops affecting public morals must put a notice outside that persons under 18 years of age cannot enter.

f) Shops can only engage in one business, i.e., dance halls cannot serve alcoholic drinks.

g) After 10 P.M., juveniles cannot enter pubs, restaurants etc., and there will be no serving of alcoholic drinks to them.

h) Youth under 18 cannot enter hotels without some form of adult supervision (mostly concerned with love hotels in Japan).
i) Pornographic theaters must be more discreet in showing sex films than before.

j) Game centers or places with slot machines must now obtain special permission from the police to operate.

k) There must be a sign in front of game centers that states that youth 16 years of age and under can only visit from 10 A.M. to 6 P.M. and 18 to 20 year olds from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M..

l) It is prohibited to hire juveniles to work in the places that affect the public morals.

* One of my students at Sophia University is planning to become a police officer and did an oral presentation for one of my classes on a new law just put into effect to control youth behavior in amusement centers (the shinfuzokueigyoho law). He read up on the new law, went and talked to the police about it and observed the new law in effect.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
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</table>

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A short description of obtained materials pertaining to the research sites of this study follows.

**City Office Materials.** Pamphlets and statistics on: crime prevention, demographics, history, juvenile counseling centers, and other general features (cultural events etc.) of the two cities and communities.

**Crime Prevention Association Materials.** Pamphlets and newsletters describing the activities of the Minami Crime Prevention Association and Minami Youth League.

**Other Materials.** Statistics of guidance rates in the two cities and other materials on crime prevention outside of the two research sites.

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