

Necktie-Alcoholics: Cultural Forces
and Japanese Alcoholism

By

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To the Faculty of Washington State University:

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Chair

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NECKTIE-ALCOHOLICS: CULTURAL FORCES AND JAPANESE ALCOHOLISM

Abstract

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This thesis is an anthropological investigation of Japanese “necktie-alcoholics (*nekutai-aruchu*),” white-collar workers who have an alcohol dependence syndrome but are not considered alcoholics by Japanese society. The thesis explores why, and with what social consequences, necktie-alcoholics are not recognized as alcoholics. I examine the function of drinking in Japanese society in terms of the anthropological concept of “*communitas*,” a conceptual world induced when communication on an emotional level (*honne*) lets people become more intimate with one another (*uchi* [inner] relationship). The significance of alcohol is that it lets a person’s mental state become ego-centered (*honne*) rather than society-centered (*tatemae*), and if this sentiment is shared, it has a great potential of inducing *communitas*. This thesis discusses how this works in Japanese society by considering work-related drinking from the perspective of the Japanese concept “*amae* (feeling of seeking care, to be cared for by somebody).” Due to this function of drinking, which unites people on a more intimate base and is linked to the “productivity” of the group (company), necktie-alcoholics are not recognized as alcoholics as long as they play their roles as a worker. However, in Japan, on top of the basic function of drinking (inducing *communitas*), drinking occasions have become an institutionalized strategy so that people intentionally drink to become favored by people

of higher status and so effectively satisfy their *amae* (i.e. *toriiru*). Often, people blindly follow the belief “sacrifice is good” and employ *tatemaie* (superficial) behavior. It is this value of self-sacrifice in the name of “productivity” that prevents Japanese from realizing necktie-alcoholics’ physical and mental discomfort that comes from drinking. In Japan, many people experience stress because of the high value the society puts on productivity. The phenomenon of necktie-alcoholics is hidden behind the materially prosperous society; but economic prosperity and necktie-alcoholism are different sides of the same coin. The admired “economic growth” with its side effects is not limited to Japan but a trend in many industrialized societies today.

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Prologue

“Mr. N is a middle-aged gentleman who was brought up in one of the town’s good old families. I was a physician working at a municipal hospital in the town. Mr. N and his mother were both my patients...More than ten years ago, when I first met Mr. N, I did not think he had an alcohol dependency syndrome. Or rather, I have to admit that I did not know much about this disease. He was branch manager of a big company whose mild mannered character did not fit with my conception of alcoholics, who are often imaged as dirty, violent, and selfish. I simply regarded him as a patient with diabetes and liver disorder, who needed to drink a lot as an extension of his work, such as in *settai* (reception with customers) and in *nomi-kai* (drink-gathering) with his colleagues.

“I remember once he almost died. When he was brought into the hospital, he was half-conscious with arrhythmia (irregular pulse) and his blood pressure indicated only 60 mmHg. Looking back from now, I guess he was in the middle of a continuous-drinking phase at that time. While transferring him in an ambulance, he was hovering between life and death. Fortunately, he survived. I was told a few days later that he had a complication of pneumonia, which is caused by a coliform bacillus. After this all, he made a comeback to his normal working life.

“Later I resigned from that hospital and practiced internal medicine in Sendai City. About three weeks after opening the clinic, he came here and wanted to become a regular patient. Seemingly, he was a healthy workaholic man. The result of the blood inspection is taped on his medical record: total bilirubin 1.6 mg/dl, GOP 150 IU/l, GTP 82 IU/l, γ -GTP 546 IU/l, cholinesterase 4.03 IU/l, neutral lipid 778 mg/l, level of blood

glucose 131 mg/dl. I still did not ask him about his drinking habits; instead, I gave him medicine for diabetes and sleeplessness.

“Mr. N was crazy about his work. He goes out drinking every day as an unofficial part of his work. Though he is currently abstaining from drinking, he still needs to frequent bars...

“As time passed by, I became aware of my patients’ drinking problem. I started warning Mr. N not to drink that much. He obediently accepted my advice without any complaints, such as politely saying, ‘Yes, I will be careful,’ or ‘I appreciate your advice.’ Nevertheless, his liver disorder kept hanging in the balance. After one and a half years, he had to begin insulin injections. At this time, I was aware of his ‘core’ problem that caused the inability to control his diabetes and his liver disorder. Maybe the past pneumonia was also related to his alcohol dependency syndrome. From that time, I handed him pamphlets, books, copies, and other information about alcohol dependency syndrome, of course with my severe advice. In those days, every time when he came, I noted his drinking habit on his medical record: ‘2 *gou* of *sake* (*gou*: 360 ml) + bit of *shochu* (Japanese ardent spirits)’ or ‘30 cigarettes + 3 glasses of whiskey.’

“One evening, I received an unexpected phone call from him. He said that he was hospitalized because of a bad nosebleed. Despite an otolaryngologist’s treatment, his bleeding did not stop at all...After some conversation, I proposed Mr. N’s transportation to an otolaryngological department in Sendai City’s general hospital by an ambulance. I told the otolaryngologist to strictly prohibit Mr. N’s drinking since his severe nosebleed is due to his liver-disorder, which is caused by his alcohol dependency syndrome.

“Despite the hospitalization from this incident, Mr. N did not stop drinking. One day when he came to my clinic, he said his stomach was swelling in spite of his loss of weight. I examined his abdomen with an ultrasonic scanner and found a pathological amount of ascites. I realized my fruitless effort to point out his drinking habit. With strong anger and emptiness, I could not understand why he had to drink this much (The blood inspection results of that day: total bilirubin 1.4 mg/dl, GOP 113 IU/l, GTP 41 IU/l, γ -GTP 419 IU/l, cholinesterase 0.37 IU/l, neutral lipid 72 mg/l, level of blood glucose 155 mg/dl). I thought he would never stop drinking unless he died...It was one year and ten months after I started my new clinic...Without any conversation, I ended his examination of that day. I gave him some medicine and he left without a word.

“Despite my silent treatment since that day, Mr. N continued coming to the clinic. Strangely, with my mute treatment, Mr. N’s inspection records somehow became better. The more he came, the better was his complexion as well. One day I finally asked him, ‘Are you still drinking?’ He replied, ‘No.’ ‘Why did you stop drinking?’ ‘You said I should do *danshu* (total abstinence from drinking) for I can’t do *sesshu* (moderate drinking).’ ‘I said that a long time ago, why did you stop drinking this time?’ ‘That is because I realized *sesshu* never lasts for me. I have been in and out of the hospital although I determined to do *sesshu* every time after that pain.’ Of course, I did not believe a word. However, unexpectedly, he has totally abstained from drinking since that time, which is more than six years by now...

“After that, Mr. N left Sendai. He was promoted to the company’s managing director. Sometimes, he still comes to my place in his Mercedes. He told me that one day while he was working, a strong pain struck his toe. The orthopedist said that he should

stop smoking. Mr. N said, 'How about drinking? That doctor replied, 'Just a little bit of drinking is rather good for this disease.' I broke into his talk and asked, 'So did you drink?', but Mr. N answered, 'No. I have had enough of that.'

“For a doctor, giving up means that there is no way to cure anymore. For me, as a physician, alcoholism is different from other diseases. It is a mysterious disease because contrary to my expectation, Mr. N’s condition became better when I gave up on him. Maybe I should give up on people like in Mr. N’s case from now on, or maybe even earlier...”

— Dr. X (1995)

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

In the prologue, I introduced Dr. X's essay to give an impression of necktie-alcoholics. The word necktie-alcoholic (*nekutai-aruchu*) is used among Japanese specialists engaged in alcohol related problems to conveniently address the modern type of alcoholics who are different from stereotypical alcoholics (e.g. dirty, selfish, violent, irrational, stinky, and without a stable occupation). Similar to the case of Mr. N, necktie-alcoholics have alcohol dependence syndrome problems; their character is not degraded but rather they are serious, working middle-aged men, which is contrary to the stereotype of ordinary alcoholics. Often, they do not seriously consider themselves to be alcoholics because of the negative image the word alcoholic carries. On the other hand, doctors, misled by the necktie-alcoholic's serious looks and attitude, only advise them not to drink too much and do not take proper care of the necktie-alcoholics' alcohol problems. In many internal medicine clinics in Japan, where most necktie-alcoholics go to momentarily relieve their physical pain, the necktie-alcoholics' core problem of alcohol dependence syndrome is dismissed, and thus not treated or cured properly [p. iii].

Later on, in chapter 2 under "Definition of Terminology," I will first explain the disease of alcohol dependence syndrome and some related terms. Understanding the difference between "alcoholism" and "alcohol dependence syndrome" is important. In this thesis, I will use the word alcoholism as a social label used ambiguously to stigmatize abnormal drinkers. The usage of this label varies through cultures. On the other hand, "alcohol dependence syndrome" is a medical term, which indicates a mental and physical disease (e.g. craving sensation or withdrawal symptoms when abstaining)

caused by excessive consumption of alcohol. It is a concept that precisely focuses on the psycho-biological reality and is only weakly influenced by cultural context, unlike the word alcoholism (although the medical treatment differs between societies). “Necktie-alcoholic” indicates a person with alcohol dependence syndrome, but this person is not recognized as an alcoholic because of his tidy appearance and regular occupation in society [p. 21].

In Japan, the Kurihama Alcoholism Screening Test (KAST) is used in the medical field to identify patients who have a high potential for alcoholism. According to this test, alcoholism in Japan is relatively loosely defined compared to the U.S. screening test. In fact, KAST is designed to avoid stigmatizing many white-collar workers who appear as alcoholics in the American alcoholism screening test. Why is this so? Why does Japanese society, even the medical field, which we think of as a field backed up by scientific truth, have a more permissive attitude towards drinking? The inventors of KAST consider the American alcoholism screening test to be inapplicable to Japanese society due to the function of drinking in Japanese society. What do they mean by “the function of drinking,” or why is drinking “functional” in this society? [p. 26]

Building on the background introduced in chapters 1 and 2, chapters 3, 4, and 5 discuss the issue from an anthropological perspective. The discussion employs several Japanese words because they carry meaning that can not be concisely expressed in English. The behavioral patterns described with these Japanese words are not limited to Japanese, but are visible in all human beings. For convenience and to help the reader, they are briefly explained in a Glossary at the back of the thesis (see page 121).

In Chapter 3, I discuss human nature as reflected in the Japanese concept of *amae* (a feeling of seeking care, to be cared for by somebody), whose relevance to the subject might not be obvious but it is indeed crucial to understand the phenomenon. Doi (1996) indicates that Japanese society is an *amae*-society where people sense each other's *amae* without actually expressing their demands. First I explain what an *amae*-society means and why Japanese society functions in that manner. People satisfy their *amae* by relying on others, which in Japanese culture induces a difference in social rank (relying person = lower rank). Here, the situation is somewhat easy for a social inferior than it might appear to non-Japanese people's eyes. Japanese emphasize this vertical human relationship on a societal level, which Nakane (1970, 1977) calls "a society of vertical social structure" [p. 32]. However, the vertical relationship is not an instant relationship. It requires a lot of time and energy, which prevents Japanese people from being involved in many groups (Nakane 1977: 66). The second section of chapter 3 introduces the way to become an *uchi* (inner) member of a group by providing an example of establishing a vertical relationship in Japanese mandatory club activity. To affiliate oneself to a group follows a certain pattern, which applies to all groups in this society. On an institutional level, establishing a vertical relationship requires an intensive reserved attitude, which will decrease over time. Once a person is affiliated to a group, the person gains great benefits (including mental security) from the group. It is this benefit people gain which makes Japanese draw a strong line between *uchi* and *soto* (outer) and behave differently: *tatema* (superficial) behavior to non-group people and *honne* (true) behavior to group members. Thus, in Japan, the people's impulse to affiliate themselves to a desired group is tremendous. In the third section, I discuss the reason why there is a great demand to

rely on others and how those demands are successively actualized in Japanese society [p. 40]. This chapter will help the reader understand the rest of the chapters since many phenomena seen in the life of necktie-alcoholics are explainable according to the basic patterns of this Japanese behavior.

Chapter 4 discusses how drinking practices contribute to the group or to the members of the group according to Victor W. Turner's (1966) concepts of *communitas* and anti-structure. Turner's idea is relevant for explaining the Japanese drinking custom with respect to the occasion's distinctive phenomena: *honne* (related to existent "sentiment of humanity"), *breiko* (related to "eliminating artificial social status and roles"), and the development of more intimate human relationships (related to "revitalization of the structure"). First, Turner's concepts of *communitas* and anti-structure will be introduced [p. 60]. Then, his argument that "human's experience of *communitas*, which accompanies human sentiment, revitalizes structure" will be discussed from the perspective of *amae*, which will have been introduced in the previous chapter. I suggest that the Japanese concept of *tatemae* is closely related to Turner's concept of structure, and *honne* to anti-structure. This idea leads to the argument that the significance of drinking is that it effortlessly and positively leads people to the state of *honne* (ego-centered), and if this sentiment is shared, this leads to the world of *communitas* [p. 63]. Finally the problem with Japanese drinking customs, which uses drinking strategically, will be presented. Here, the concept of *communitas* will be broken down into "society level *communitas*" (Turner's sense of *communitas*) and "individual level *communitas* (a world induced by one confronting one's *honne*)" to explain this phenomenon. I will also argue that the tendency of increasing "individual level

communitas” applies not only to Japanese society, but also to industrialized societies in general, which ignore or devalue the importance of “society level communitas” [p. 70].

Chapter 5 explains the function of drinking and how this creates a pitfall for Japanese workers. In this society, it is safe to say that the cost of drinking among workers or between workers and their clients is an investment for the company. This is so because the human relations in Japanese business are based on an emotional trust, which can be developed through drinking occasions. The social structure explained in chapter 3 applies to the human relations in the Japanese business world. In the lifetime employment system, people are united on an emotional level that develops gradually through time. This enables the business world to function smoothly. Here, alcohol is an effective tool to unite workers as a group, which makes it possible to achieve business goals in the long run [p. 70]. Although this is very advantageous for the company, the *salarymen*’s emotional involvement in the company also induces a situation where there is no border between private and official life. Often, the *salaryman*’s private life is sacrificed for work-related matters, especially for occasions that develop these close relations with important people. In the course of time, the continued emotional involvement in the company shapes the workers’ character in such a way that they perceive their work and their company as their highest priority in life and thus become workaholics [p. 84]. This affects their family circumstances in a negative way [p. 90]. The tendency to workaholism is common among middle-aged *salarymen* in Japan, which is a social problem; however it is not considered by many to be a problem in Japan. This is because the values of this middle-aged generation are a reflection of the drastic economic growth in the 1970s, which required these hard working ethics. In other words, Japanese

economic success and the abundant number of middle-aged workaholic men in this society are two sides of the same coin. Here, drinking is believed to be strongly related to the productivity of the society. The problem of necktie-alcoholics not being considered as alcoholics is due to this supportive attitude toward drinking, which brings profit to the society (macro level) but prevents people from understanding the problems which alcohol can bring to the individual's health and to his private life [p. 95].

In contemporary Japan, there is almost no effort to reveal and alleviate the problem of necktie-alcoholics. If this continues, the number of necktie-alcoholics could increase; and the damage to the hidden victims (people surrounding necktie-alcoholics, especially women and children) is immeasurable. Thus, it is necessary to investigate the problem and take appropriate measures promptly. In my analysis, I point out the importance of human emotions, which play a significant role in people's lives, and what happens to Japanese society if these are neglected [p. 101].

Motivation

This thesis examines Japanese *inshu-bunka* (drinking culture) from the perspective of cultural anthropology. Two factors, which are both closely related to my personal background, motivated me to conduct this research. First, I was brought up in circumstances where “the effects of alcohol on people” were observable. Second, as a typical Japanese “returnee child”¹ who tends to experience conflicts with native children after his/her return, “what is Japanese culture?” has always been my interest. Although both of these experiences were accompanied by harsh feelings, I now feel most comfortable doing this research, because it helps me understand the phenomenon, which was causing some discomfort in my mind for a long time.

The harmful effects of drinking have always surrounded my life since I was thirteen years old. The biggest influence was a person known to my family, a physician, who brought insights about alcoholics to our family. Due to his clinic being adjacent to our house, we had contact with his alcoholic patients in various ways. Thus it was my opportunity to know about other families' dysfunctional circumstances hidden behind their outward behavior suggesting a peaceful household.

This physician told us the tragic stories of his alcoholic patients. He spoke about people, who appear to have no problem at all, but actually have an incredibly tragic life because of the abusive husband/father interfering and destroying the family. It was surprising to know that those troublesome alcoholics included people of high social status, such as professors of famous universities, doctors, branch managers and executives of big companies. An idealistic couple, for instance a person of respectable occupation and his beautiful wife, can have violence inside their house, so that she comes to the clinic with heavy make-up over her painful bruise ashamedly asking the physician if there is any way to prevent her husband from drinking. What I generally imagine when I hear the word "necktie- alcoholics" is people who are superficially peaceful and idealistic, but are hiding their tragic dysfunctional life inside their house where non-family members can not observe it.

In addition to a relationship with this physician, our house was located next to and across from bars. Almost every night, especially on Friday night, we witnessed middle age *salarymen* enjoying themselves singing and yelling in front of our parking lot. Asking them to quiet down was utterly useless. Despite the expensive bar targeting

people of somewhat higher income, the drunks, although still wearing suit and necktie, did not behave gentlemanly at all. Especially in a society with the custom of *breiko*, where people are expected to behave freely because of the belief that all rigid rules diminish when drinking, some seem to know no limit and cannot retain even basic decent behavior. Knowing about the tragic lives of alcoholics on the one hand, but witnessing many happily drunken people every night on the other, puzzled me greatly. I instinctively closed my mind not to think about this paradoxical issue, until I finally realized that this is a social problem, which needs to be studied.

What justifies Japanese people's drinking is a custom called *inshu-bunka* (drinking culture) which involves a positive attitude towards drinking. For instance, according to Japan's Census Bureau, 73.2 percent (80.9 percent for males) of Japanese believe that drinking helps smooth people's relationships, a process they call "*nomination* = *nomu* (verb: to drink) + *communication*" (Sorifukouhoshitsu 1989: 36-37; De Mente 1987: 261). Historical materials are rich with information that proves this point. According to Japanese history, drinking partners solidified communal ties that were a foundation for performing agricultural tasks (Ito 1984: Chapter 2, 3; Wakamori 1965: 43-56). This custom of drinking with work-mates still remains today even after the transformation from an agricultural to an industrial society. There is a relation between this drinking custom and the participants' personalities that builds upon the cultural environment. Thus, without understanding the culture and personality of these people, excessive drinkers who even abuse their health cannot possibly be understood.

Characteristics of Japanese can be positively stereotyped as "*wa no sekai* (world of harmony)" (Hendry 1987: 213-214), or negatively as "*murashakai* (village society)"

(Miyamoto 1994; 171). I am personally interested in Japanese culture because I myself, as a returnee child, have had the experience of clashing with Japanese people when I was a child. After living in Maryland for three years, my parents, who probably considered my educational situation rather than my potential culture shock, left me in my grandparents' care in a rural area of Japan. It was a natural consequence for a third year elementary school student, who did not have any understanding of Japanese culture, to squarely confront the small town's children who were conservatively raised with the value of harmony (i.e. do not stick out from the group). The American spirit of individualism, which I believed in, prevented me from realizing that I was irritating my classmates and from understanding why I was wrong according to the Japanese norm. It was a hard time; however, when I recall those days, I consider it as the most precious time in my life because this harsh period allowed me to experience the influential root of Japanese culture. There are similarities between these village people and Japanese who live in a city. I believe that the history of Japanese agriculture built a character of a group oriented agricultural people, which is strongly latent in contemporary people's character.

In addition to my personal experience described above, this research topic attracts me for it strongly points out a blind spot in our industrialized society. The problem of alcoholism is a problem of the people's mind, which especially the industrialized societies confront these days. Alcoholics are not much different from the rest of us. I feel they represent our dilemma of the benefits of society and the conflict that the benefit brings to our minds. Their miserable days of alcohol addiction and what they gained after their intolerable life tells us about the nature of people who seek dependence, love, emotion, and humanness; things that are characteristic of humans although we do not

emphasize them loudly in this busy society where *tatemae* (superficial behavior) prevails. I feel that the phenomenon of alcoholism conveys a warning to our society, which is so aimed at making profit, that it neglects the above problems.

My environment, where I could observe alcoholics without being deeply involved, and being a returnee child, who became interested in culture and started to study anthropology, motivated me to conduct this research. Even before my background in cultural anthropology, I had an idea that the Japanese alcoholism problem is not merely a biological issue due to the consumption of alcohol but also something related to “custom (culture)” and “society.” As this issue of necktie-alcoholics is strongly related to the norm of the society, it is hard to solve. This thesis follows a certain research method described in the next section. However, my experience since childhood, which led me to think about this issue, is my fundamental base.

Method

This research investigates necktie-alcoholics’ perspectives and their environment by observing them and people related to them such as their family members, doctors, counselors, social workers, and the members of self-help groups. Interviews were conducted with as many people as possible and as many times as the circumstances allowed (altogether 15 necktie-alcoholics and more than 16 non-alcoholics were interviewed). Observation took place during three months, from May until August 1998. The fieldwork was based at a clinic in Sendai City, which is an internal medicine clinic that specializes in the diagnosis and analysis of alcoholics, a rare combination in Japan.

First, a self-help group's journal called *Sunadokei* [Hourglass] was examined. Second, among the contributors to *Sunadokei* and the clinic's physician's patients, fifteen necktie-alcoholics were selected and interviewed. Third, participant observation was conducted at various self-help groups in the area of Sendai City. Here, special attention was paid to necktie-alcoholics' feelings, such as their interests, frustration, and perspectives concerning their working place or Japanese drinking customs. Fourth, informal conversations with other relevant people were held in order to grasp the environment of necktie-alcoholics. This included interaction with ex-alcoholics and their family members and specialists, as well as non-alcoholics such as general *salarymen*, company executives, *gekos* (people who cannot drink), and people who work at bars.

To prepare for the interviews, the self-help group bulletin *Sunadokei* was examined. *Sunadokei* is a minor journal issued by a group of people in Sendai City in Miyagi prefecture (north part of Honshu) and its surrounding area, which promotes better understanding of addiction problems, especially alcoholism. Most of the contributors have suffered from alcohol related problems and use this journal to think about themselves, receive feedback from others, and broaden their knowledge to prevent similar kinds of problems in their society. This monthly 30 to 40 page bulletin accepts for publication almost all submitted essays. Thus, there are some incomplete or nearly incomprehensible essays due to the contributors' inexperience in writing. However, because of this, the reports contributed by serious alcoholics are so vivid and the issues the journal touches are diverse. Typical article topics include:

One's crazy experiences during his/her excessive drinking phase (Osawa vol. 3, 5, 10: 1992; Shimosato various articles from vol. 1-74: 1992-1998 etc.)

Specialists' (psychiatrists, physicians, and social workers) honest views (Kono vol. 73, 74: 1998; Sugiura vol. 59-71: 1997-1998; Kato vol. 18-74: 1993-1998 etc.)

Ex-alcoholics and adult children recalling their personal-history (Sakurai vol. 1996; Amethyst A vol. 28, 32: 1994 etc.)

The joy of realizing the importance of family bonds (Y.S. vol. 4: 1992 etc.)

Experiences and ideas of leaders of other popular self-help groups (Iwasaki vol. 15-18: 1993; Kobayashi vol. 16-18: 1993 etc.)

Alcoholics' personal histories (Shimosato various articles from 1-74: 1992-1998; Kuromi vol. 31-32: 1994; Kuromi vol. 63-67: 1997 etc.)

Difficulties of maintaining an active self-help group (Sugiura vol. 34-36: 1994-1995; Kumasaka vol. 71: 1998 etc.)

Letter to abusive father from victimised child (Isomura vol. 51: 1996; Isomura vol. 65: 1996 etc.)

The editions of this journal that I examined to prepare for my research contained approximately 500 essays (from April 1992 to April 1998).²

Then, possible necktie-alcoholic informants were selected from among the contributors to *Sunadokei* and the clinic's patients. Informants were chosen through two procedures. First, each contributor of *Sunadokei* was examined for being a necktie-alcoholic. To do this, I selected people who in their journal essays had used phrases, such as "I feel the sensation of alienation from my colleagues because I quit drinking," "I feel frustration because I have to obediently follow my boss," "When I started to work, I was astonished by the drinking atmosphere at my work place," or "I drink to distract myself because of the difficulties I confront at my workplace."³ Second, among the clinic's

patients, white-collar workers, diagnosed as suffering from alcohol dependence syndrome, with whom it seemed safe to conduct interviews, were selected. Although it was obvious that many contributors to *Sunadokei* and many of the clinic's patients were white-collar workers, many were ineligible for interviews because an interview with an inexperienced interviewer could possibly lead to serious mental difficulties.⁴ Finding the informants with whom to conduct interviews was the most difficult part of this research. Altogether, fifteen white-collar workers who were diagnosed as suffering alcohol dependence syndrome but could be interviewed without risk to mental health were interviewed.

After selecting the informants, interviews, which included the questions listed in Appendix 3 (see page 118), were conducted. For informants recruited through *Sunadokei*, priority was given to extending and enriching upon their essays. For instance, I interviewed one informant, who wrote the following in *Sunadokei*:

My work operates through interaction with others. Thus, we do have troubles of conflicts between people, especially for business trading. In the past [during my drinking days], I was more likely to be caught in those troubles and easily panicked. There was a formula within me, which automatically switched to the behavior of drinking when I was panicked.

For this case, I asked questions, especially prepared for these informants, such as, “Could you provide some concrete examples of the troubles you had to confront?” and “What does ‘the formula’ mean in detail?” rather than asking the questions listed in Appendix 3 (see page 118). In addition, when the informant's story wandered from the subject, if it was interesting, I let him/her talk and asked further questions about his/her story. For instance, in the early period of the fieldwork, I was conducting interviews with the premise that *settai* (reception with customer) and *enkai* (banquet) are something

enjoyable, until one informant corrected this by saying, “No, no, Keiko-san, *settai* is not an enjoyable thing. It is rather difficult and tiresome.” When I heard this, I abandoned the remaining questions and asked further about this statement. By doing this, I learned that some people even re-drink after the stressful *settai*. The informant called this process *shime-zake* (final drinking or drink of closure). Due to these flexible interviews, there were cases when questions listed in Appendix 3 were not completed due to time constraints,⁵ which was contrary to my intention of conducting consistent interviews. However, looking back, I consider this a minor problem since the purpose of conducting interviews was to understand necktie-alcoholics’ perspectives and environment. Nevertheless, efforts need to be made to develop a questionnaire that can be completed within a time frame of thirty minutes for future studies.

Besides formal interviews, participant observation at self-help groups was conducted. In Sendai City and its surrounding area, at least one self-help group holds its meeting on any given day. Several of those different types of self-help groups were observed: AA (Alcoholics Anonymous), *Danshu-kai* (Group for total abstinence from drinking),⁶ SKK (*Shinsei o Kangaeru Kai*: Group for Thinking about a New-life), AKK (*Adikushon-mondai o Kangaeru Kai*: Group for Thinking about Addiction-problems).⁷ All the self-help groups I participated in were open-meetings (everyone is welcome for these meetings) as opposed to closed-meetings (these meetings are rather personal compared to open-meetings and only certain people are welcome). The number of participants in self-help groups varied from two to twenty people depending on the group’s popularity. During the observations, special attention was given to the characteristics of those different self-help groups and the participants’ stories, especially

necktie-alcoholics.’ Those white-collar workers were often noticeable due to the contents of their stories and their appearance. They seemed to come to the meeting directly from work where suit and tie are mandatory. These people’s stories expressed their anxiety, slipping (drinking again), the pressure to drink at the workplace, sarcastic expressions directed at one for not drinking, etc. I participated in self-help groups ten times, where approximately fifty participants’ stories were relayed.^{8 9}

In addition to the observation of ex-alcoholics, I interviewed or informally talked with people who specialize in alcohol related problems. This includes four social workers, one psychiatrist, one physician, and one counselor. I asked how they think about alcohol-related-problems, such as what kinds of difficulties they confront as specialists and what they view as a solution to this issue. I also interacted with non-alcoholics, such as many middle-age *salarymen*, two executives of large companies, five of my friends (two of whom are newly hired employees and the other three are/were hostesses), and two non-Japanese who experienced Japanese drinking customs. These people’s perspectives differed from ex-alcoholic people’s point of view, which helped to broaden my perspective for this research.

The fieldwork was conducted by being actively involved with people who face alcohol-related problems. The examination of *Sunadokei* was helpful to understand the informants’ personal backgrounds and to build a base for conducting effective interviews. In general, participant observation in self-help groups was more effective for hearing alcoholic people’s personal feelings than formal interviews; but it was the reverse for understanding specific issues, such as how *settai* works or what people gain through it.

The necessary deficiency of this research method was that the informants were not selected randomly but rather subjectively. Since I was anxious not to insult sensitive alcoholics and not to confuse the informants by asking unfamiliar questions about their society, I selectively chose people who seemed safe to ask about this issue.¹⁰ A strategy to solve this problem must be developed in order to conduct more efficient fieldwork in the future.

Chapter 2: Alcoholism in Japan

Definition of Terminology

“Alcohol dependency syndrome” indicates the psycho-biological reality of alcoholism. The term was created in reaction to the ambiguous meaning of “alcoholism,” which includes medical, psycho-social, and environmental factors that relates to an individual’s consumption of alcohol. During the 70’s, for the improvement of medical treatment, some clinicians believed that the medical aspects of alcoholism should be considered separately from the social because they need to be dealt with differently (Saito 1979: 46). Until today, alcohol dependency syndrome is diagnosed according to the up-to-date diagnostic guidelines [e.g. ICD-9 (International Classification of Diseases, 9th division)], which are announced by medical authorities. Contrary to alcohol dependency syndrome, “alcohol-related disability (*arukoru kanren shogai*)” refers to the social-cultural reality of alcoholism. Creation of this term was due to the existence of non-medical factors that cause drinking problems or effect the people who suffer from “alcohol dependency syndrome.” In Japan, the necktie-alcoholic is a white-collar worker who suffers from alcohol dependence syndrome but superficially adapts to social life and thus is not considered “alcoholic” by the society. The word “necktie” contradicts the stereotype of alcoholics, which carries the image of hooligan (e.g. dirty, unemployed, bankrupt, violent, selfish, etc.). Necktie-alcoholics are hidden behind the stereotypical image of alcoholism with other *kakure-aruchus* (hidden alcoholics) such as the kitchen drinker, adolescent drinkers, and aged drinkers.

Originally, the word alcoholism was a medical term. According to the Swedish physician Magnus Huss (1849), *alcoholismus* (alcoholism) indicates a disease with characteristic symptoms (neurological signs, anxiety, trial of suicide, hallucination, epileptic attack, farmication and sensory disturbance beginning from the toes, and memory disturbance) caused by the excessive use of alcohol (Saito and Shimada 1990: 971; Saito 1979: 38-39).

Despite the medical definition of alcoholism, the term broadened its meaning through time. Firstly, social science, especially the fields of cultural anthropology and sociology, considered alcoholism as a social phenomenon closely related to society's practices and beliefs or what they call "social structure" (Saito 1992: 972). Secondly, "alcoholism" started to include not only biological problems but also alcohol-related social problems such as domestic violence, traffic accidents, crime, and all other problems caused by alcohol consumption (Kono 1980: 26). Thirdly, it became a negative label for socially dysfunctional people who also tend to drink excessively (Saito 1992: 971).

The ambiguous usage of "alcoholism" led clinicians, such as the American Griffin Edwards, to separate out the non-medical implications of alcoholism from the general word (Saito 1979: 46). He proposed the necessity to determine the precise responsibilities of medicine for alcoholism (Saito 1979: 46). In 1976, the World Health Organization (WHO) renounced the usage of the term alcoholism as a specific medical term, since it had been used too commonly to express the wide and vague conditions caused by alcohol drinking (Saito 1992: 971).

For this reason, the new concept “alcohol dependence syndrome” was introduced. Dependence indicates a state of the host’s excessive consumption of an agent due to the host’s desire to become intoxicated (Kono 1985: 87; Kono 1980: 24). The concept of dependence focuses not only on the biological factors (physical dependence) but also on psychological factors (psychic dependence) (Kono 1985: 87).

In 1975, the WHO group of investigators directed by Edwards announced ICD-9, which defines the criteria for identifying and classifying “alcohol dependence syndrome” (Saito 1992: 973). The proposed medical term originated from Edwards’ concept of alcohol dependence syndrome, which is characterized as follows:

1. Narrowing of drinking repertoire
2. Salience of drink-seeking behavior
3. Increased tolerance to alcohol
4. Repeated withdrawal symptoms
 - (1) Affective disturbance
 - (2) Tremor
 - (3) Nausea and retching
 - (4) Sweating, and specially paroxysmal night sweating
5. Relief-avoidance of withdrawal
6. Subjective awareness of compulsion to drink (Impairment of control)
7. Reinstatement after abstinence (Edwards 1977: 142-144)

The term “alcohol dependence syndrome” precisely focuses on the psycho-biological reality as opposed to the ambiguously used word alcoholism. However, in reality, there exist still many serious social problems because of people’s consumption of alcohol. In Japan, many feel these need to be taken care of by the government at the policy level. To fulfill this purpose, the term “alcohol related disability (*arukoru kanren shougai*),” which indicates the medical and socio-cultural problems caused by alcohol usage, was introduced (Saito 1992: 971; Kono: 1980: 26). Alcohol related disabilities are

not necessarily caused only by people with alcohol dependence syndrome or alcoholics. They are just problems related to alcohol consumption generally. They include not only medical concerns but also social problems such as domestic violence, crime, car accidents, death from *ikki* (Japanese practice of drinking *sake* at a gulp), juvenile delinquency, etc. (Kono 1980: 26; Kato: 1978: 67-70).

Necktie-alcoholics are alcohol dependent but are not recognized as alcoholics by society. Often they superficially adapt to social life and do not show their non-medical alcohol related disability. Since they do not conform to the characteristics of stereotypical alcoholics, people in general (including necktie-alcoholics themselves), do not consider necktie-alcoholics as alcoholics unless they cause serious trouble to others. In Japan, necktie-alcoholics go to internal medicine clinics for momentary relief of their physical discomfort, but their alcohol dependence syndrome is dismissed because of their well mannered behavior.

According to Kato, who currently conducts research on the types of hidden alcoholics in his internal medicine practice, 30.6 percent of his patients in their fifties are diagnosed with alcohol dependence syndrome. As Kato indicates, this number seems to be a conservative estimate (Kato 1989: 303-310). According to the KAST (Kurihama Alcoholism Screening Test) conducted at 41 general clinics in Saga prefecture, 19 percent of male patients had more than 2 points (more than 2 points indicates a person has a high potential of being a “problem drinker”) which is more than that of Kato’s patients, 7.7 percent of whom had more than 2 points (Kato 1989: 308).

Necktie alcoholic is a subsection of “social-alcoholics,” which includes not only white-collar workers, but also people of other social classes. Social-alcoholics and

necktie-alcoholics are the same in terms of their apparent proper behavior in public and their private behavior being largely unknown. Japanese behavior differs strongly depending on *uchi* (private) and *soto* (public) contexts. The problem of the necktie-alcoholic's private life is well hidden. The fact that the private behavior can not be seen from outside makes this problem hard to solve. It often happens that the well-mannered gentleman, who does not conform to the stereotype of alcoholic at all, is a troublesome alcoholic at home. In fact, I learned from several interviews and articles in *Sunadokei* that some women are abused harshly by their husbands who do not outwardly seem to be violent at all.

The usage of a medical term “alcohol dependence syndrome” was due to the broadened meaning of the preceding term alcoholism, which was employed ambiguously by society (Saito and Shimada 1992: 972). The term alcoholism no longer just referred to the medical disease but also to various non-medical factors. Necktie-alcoholics are alcohol dependent but may not show non-medical alcohol related disabilities. However, since people confuse the usage of these terms, the logic “I don't have alcohol dependence syndrome (which is alcoholism for them) because I am working and supporting my family with a decent salary” exists. Since society, in general, considers alcoholics as people who violate the working norm (Saito 1979: 15), such as absence from work because of habitual drinking, necktie-alcoholics' non-medical alcohol-related disabilities, such as domestic violence, sexual harassment, and family dysfunction problems, are in general not taken seriously or even thought to exist in society. This thesis questions

whether necktie-alcoholics, who are considered normal by society, should still be called non-alcoholics.¹¹

KAST and the Japanese Alcoholics

The criteria for “alcoholic” differ between cultures. The Kurihama Alcoholism Screening Test (KAST) is used in the medical field in Japan for “an elementary but precise discrimination for potential alcoholics” (Saito 1978: 229). It is based on Manson’s ALCAAD test and M. L. Seltzer’s MAST (Michigan Alcoholism Screening Test) in the U.S. It has been adjusted to the Japanese perception of alcoholics where different criteria apply. KAST is adequate to determine problematic drinkers in Japanese society who tend to have alcohol dependence syndrome, but is inappropriate for detecting drinkers in Japanese society who are not yet problem drinkers but have a strong potential for alcohol dependence syndrome such as the people called necktie-alcoholics. In fact, KAST was designed to avoid categorizing *salarymen* (middle aged white-collar workers) as alcoholics because many of these people are considered “normal drinkers” in Japanese society, but are “problem drinkers” according to the ALCAAD test and MAST. The Japanese practice of *bureiko*, which encourages inebriety while drinking, has the cultural function to unite the people of a group (Nada 1966: 106-109; Saito 1979: 25-27). Because of this, some characteristics of alcoholics in the U.S. society are not considered deviant, but are rather expected in Japanese society, and therefore not valid as criteria to define alcoholics. It is this cultural attitude towards drinking that is the bottleneck in solving the problems of necktie-alcoholics in Japanese society.

Japanese medical treatments have generally followed Western medical treatments. It has often been the case that the Western model had to be adjusted because of the biological differences between Caucasians and Mongoloids (e.g. average body size). However, this kind of adjustment is different from the adjustment for the treatment of alcohol dependence syndrome, since cultural factors influence the definition of alcoholism.

In the 70s, alcohol specialists argued about where to draw the line to distinguish problem drinkers from normal drinkers in Japan. Methods used to detect alcoholism in the U.S. were introduced and applied to Japanese people, such as the screening tests ALCAAD test, MAST, and CAGE¹². However, many researchers argued that the American criteria were not applicable to the Japanese concept of alcoholism since Japanese people drink in different circumstances than Americans.

For instance, in 1972, the ALCAAD test was applied to one hundred Japanese *salarymen* and one hundred executives (Shimada 1979: 143-155). The ALCAAD test detects the possibility of alcoholism by asking 60 yes/no questions about alcohol related problems. By adding up the “yes” scores that count as one point each, 20 points is considered to be the cut-off that distinguishes alcoholics from non-alcoholics. According to the investigation, 54 percent of salary-men and 45 percent of executives scored more than 20 points (Shimada 1979: 150). Since not all of these drinkers were considered alcoholics in Japanese society, Shimada suggested rising the cut-off to 25 points, which seemed to be appropriate for Japanese society [see Table I in page 28] (adapted from Shimada 1979: 151).

Table 1. ALCAAD Score of Japanese Executives and General
Salarymen

(SOURCE: Shimada 1979)

“Yes” Score	Executives	General <i>Salarymen</i>
40 or more	0%	0%
35-39	0%	3%
30-34	5%	6%
25-29	12%	18%
20-24	28%	27%
15-19	31%	15%
10-14	10%	21%
5-9	10%	6%
0-4	4%	4%

Japanese ALCADD
cut-off line

ALCADD original
cut-off line

Similarly, the MAST was applied to Japanese people. MAST is a consistent quantifiable, structured interview instrument for the detection of alcoholism, which consists of 25 questions that can be rapidly administered [see Appendix 1 in page 114] (Selzer 1971: 1653). The alcoholic/non-alcoholic cut-off is set at five points. This border appears to be effective (e.g. specificity 70 percent and sensitivity 90 percent) for finding alcoholics in the U.S., but not in Japan (Selzer 1971: 1653; Higuchi 1993: 237). Mitamura (1978) indicated that in order to detect the actual alcoholics in Japanese society, the cut-off should be raised up to twelve points (Higuchi 1993: 237).

One of the influential reasons why American alcoholism screening tests can not precisely detect Japanese alcoholics is due to the Japanese practice of *bureiko*. *Bureiko* refers to the disappearance of rules, which govern people’s daily social behaviors, while drinking. People’s actions, especially rude behavior, are expected to be forgotten by the

participants, thus, a person who caused trouble while drunk is not supposed to be accused when he/she returns to sobriety. The practice of *bureiko* emotionally unites the group by providing an opportunity to understand each other's private feelings that are not expressed in daily social life. Because of this drinking custom, inappropriate behavior questioned in the American screening tests are rather overlooked in Japanese society.

KAST was invented considering the Japanese drinking pattern and medical care system (Saito and Ikegami 1978: 229). This alcoholism screening test consists of fourteen questions where the discriminant point is set at 2.0 points [see Appendix 2 in page 116] (Saito and Ikegami 1978: 230). One study showed that KAST indicated 98 percent accuracy when it was applied to 608 normal drinkers and 253 people of the Japanese Sobriety Party who were all diagnosed with alcohol dependence syndrome (Saito and Ikegami 1978: 234). Due to its reliability and usefulness, KAST is employed in the medical field to detect alcohol-related problems.

A question arises. Is it still appropriate not to label these white-collar-drinkers (necktie-alcoholics) as alcoholics? Although the Japanese *salarymen's* drinking habit is accepted by society and they are not considered as alcoholics, other people seem to suffer from these drinkers. Many wives of necktie-alcoholics in the self-help groups report how they were victimized. During my fieldwork, I understood that they suffered for a long time in their homes before they finally asked for help and were happy to know that they were not the only ones. There are also many young women who are openly sexually harassed by white-collar drinkers near the drinking districts or on the streets but do not report this to the police.¹³ While the white-collar-male-workers and their employers

benefit from this drinking custom, many people surrounding them such as family and young women are irritated or even victimized by this custom.

Not much has been done about the problem of white-collar-drinkers, since, firstly, these people are generally not stigmatized as alcoholics. Secondly, women are not likely to publicly express their victimization by these drinkers because speaking out about their sexually victimized experiences is considered “shameful thing” in the society. A similar attitude governs how officials, such as the police, react to this domestic victimization and sexual assault. Officials do not take problems like sexual harassment and domestic violence seriously (Hojo 1998), and victims, especially women, in turn, do not even bother to ask for help. Thus, the victims’ voice is ignored by society and the problem cannot be addressed. If the victims’ voice becomes more evident, the two points cut-off of the KAST will have to be reconsidered.

When one considers how the KAST was developed, one understands that it was designed to distinguish Japanese alcoholics from Japanese non-alcoholics, for it had to avoid stigmatizing white color workers (necktie-alcoholics) who often appeared as alcoholics in the American alcoholism screening tests. The word alcoholism is defined as the condition of people who become a problem for society due to their alcohol consumption. People who show alcohol dependence syndrome but have not yet become a problem for society (unemployed, public trouble makers, etc.) are not considered alcoholics in Japan. Because of this, *salarymen*’s drinking is overlooked by society. Even though he is inebriated and troublesome, society perceives him as a hard-working *salaryman*, who is drinking as part of his work. However, it is not known how many

Japanese people actually think that these people are troublesome drinkers who should be defined as alcoholics. There are many victims of these drinkers such as family and young women. However they hide from society since many cultural factors prevent them from speaking out. This thesis predicts that there are people called necktie-alcoholics who are not labeled as alcoholics but need treatment because they are troublesome to society even though it is hidden.

Chapter 3: Japanese Social Relationships

***Amae* and the Japanese Vertical Social Structure**

According to the Japanese psychiatrist Takeo Doi (1996), the concept of *amae* is the key to understanding Japanese mentality and behavior. *Amae* is a noun, which describes the human feeling of seeking care, to be cared for by somebody. It is normally used to address the incapable infant's behavior of seeking its mother's care in the mother-infant relationship. The *amae* relationship is basically a bottom-top relationship. This relationship is prevalent in Japanese society; people of power are expected to sense and respond to the *amae* of the less powerful ones. This vertical relationship is different from the Western model of power, which is often grasped as a situation where the top dominates and represses the bottom. The Japanese vertical relationship involves a power of the bottom that can influence the top due to the top's duty to respond to the subordinates' *amae*. Just as in the way an infant receives care from the mother, the subordinate receives benefits from the superior without any actual effort on the part of the inferior one. The balance between the top and the bottom is not as unbalanced as in the Western model of power. *Amae* does not take the superior's side, but rather the subordinate's side.

An infant is incapable of verbally conveying its wishes such as by saying, "please change my diaper," "feed me," or "play with me." Thus, when a baby cries, the baby's mother soothes the baby and checks all the possible reasons for the baby's crying. In this mother-infant relationship, there are situations where the baby cries for no apparent reason, which appears to us as the baby seeking its mother's attention. Japanese people

interpret this behavior as stemming from the baby's seeking its mother's love, and call the feeling "*amae* (noun)" and the baby's behavior "*amaeru* (verb)." In general, an infant's *amae* is responded to by its mother's loving care.

Doi (1996) pointed out that the feeling of *amae* is strongly latent in Japanese people's mentality. Just like the baby in the mother-infant relationship, Japanese take it for granted that others should understand one's situation and that others should act according to one's situation without requiring a precise verbal request or command. Doi hypothesized that there is a strong tendency within a Japanese person to seek other's understanding of one's real intention, which is seeking spontaneous care. He also called this feeling *amae*.¹⁴

In Japan, there is a difference between verbally saying one's wish and not saying it. In general, verbally expressing one's desires and asking for their actualization is something that only independent people can do. Opposed to this, *amae* is the feeling of expectation that seeks for one's problems to be solved by others (often superiors) making a vague move to initiate it but rather passively waiting for it to happen. It is similar to the state of an incapable infant showing a unclear dissatisfaction until its problem is solved by someone else.

Even though Japanese speak with vagueness and few words, people can live without discontent since their verbal communication is supported by the societal expectation that people will pay attention to other people's feelings, especially the unspoken expression of *amae*. In fact, Doi's life in the U.S. made him realize the previously taken-for-granted feeling of *amae* in his own mind. He felt the lack of proper responses to his *amae*, which he never felt before when he was in Japan (Doi 1996: 4;

1973: 11). He understood that he was missing the satisfaction of *amae*, which he took for granted in his home country. His dissatisfaction was amplified even more since his feeling was easily expressible in the Japanese language but not in English because the equivalent words in English do not convey what he really meant in Japanese. The rich Japanese vocabulary that expresses people's state of mind led Doi to conclude that Japan is an "*amae* society" where people's interest is directed to other people's feelings, especially the feeling of *amae* (Doi 1996: chapter 2; 1973; chapter 2). Doi's concept of *amae* is now a classic in *Nihonjin-ron* (studies of Japanese) that represents Japanese culture.

As Doi indicates, the concept of *amae* is not exclusively Japanese; non-Japanese people also possess *amae*. Just like non-Eskimos can understand the various words for snow if explained, non-Japanese people can also perceive the *amae*-related words when properly explained (Doi 1988: 48). In fact, words related to *amae* do exist in English as well. For instance, a person who senses another person's *amae* feeling and responds in an appropriate manner is addressed as "kind" or "thoughtful," which are both highly valued in U.S. society. However there are many Japanese *amae*-related words that can not be translated in a single neat word or phrase in English such as: *nekonadego*¹⁵, *higamu*¹⁶, *suneru*¹⁷, *gureru*¹⁸, *toriiru*¹⁹, *yoroshiku-onegaishimasu*²⁰, etc. (Doi 1996: chapter 3; 1973: chapter 3). The problem is a matter of degree. Japanese sense *amae* related situations more than English speakers since it is important for their communication. Sensing *amae* is a crucial tool for their survival, since verbal communication is less important for communication in Japanese culture than in American culture.²¹

The *amae* culture formulates a communication pattern very different from a society that values an individual's words. For instance, in the U.S., people are expected to speak out if there is anything that needs to be taken care of by others. This norm is a natural consequence of the U.S. cultural environment where people of various cultural identities coexist in the same place. Here, verbal language is the most effective tool to convey one's thought since there are various expectations based on different cultural backgrounds. In addition to this cultural environment, the importance of spoken language as the primary communicative means is increased by the higher value of time in the U.S. The more the society develops techno-economically and becomes busy, the more the importance of non-verbal communication diminishes since employing precise words is a more convenient way to avoid misunderstandings with less time and energy. In the U.S., despite a person noticing the other party's reserved attitude, which seems to be asking for the person's actions, it is likely to be ignored until the other party actually asks for something verbally. An individual's intention is expected to be verbally expressed, and in this way, other people are supposed to respond.

For instance, Doi's ice cream story exemplifies his *amae* being violated:

For example, not long after my arrival in America I visited the house of someone to whom I had been introduced by a Japanese acquaintance, and was talking to him when he asked me, "Are you hungry? We have some ice cream if you'd like it." As I remember, I was rather hungry, but finding myself asked point-blank if I was hungry by someone whom I was visiting for the first time, I could not bring myself to admit it, and ended by denying the suggestion. I probably cherished a mild hope that he would press me again; but my host, disappointingly, said "I see" with no further ado, leaving me regretting that I had not replied more honestly. And I found myself thinking that a Japanese would almost never ask a stranger unceremoniously if he was hungry, but would produce something to give him without asking. (Doi 1973: 11)

Despite Doi's reserved attitude as someone unfamiliar to the host, which he expected to be understood and thus his desire for the ice cream to be served, his word was understood as his real wish and thus respected in the way he actually said it. In the U.S., words function as means of communication. As opposed to this, Japanese exchange the following kinds of conversations:

Situation: A confectionery is served on the table. A boy is staring at the cake. However, he is not stretching his hand by himself to take the cake. It appears to the host that he is showing the reserved attitude.

Host: Would you like some cake?

Boy: Oh, no.

Host: Let me serve one for you.

Behavior: The host serves the cake on a plate and places it in front of the boy.

Boy: Oh, I am sorry. Thank you.

Situation: The boy eats the cake and finishes.

Host: Would you like some more?

Boy: Oh, no.

Host: Oh, why not just take this one on the plate. If you can not eat it anymore, I can just throw it away. It's really no problem.

Boy: Oh, no. I am very full. I can not eat any more.

Host: Are you sure? Oh, then, why don't you take these to your brothers?

Boy: Oh, no. I had enough. Thank you.

Behavior: The host pretends that she did not hear the boy's words and packs the cake into a box.

Host: Will two be enough per person...

Behavior: The host finishes packing the cakes and hands it to the boy.

Host: Here you are. Do not forget to take it home.

Boy: Oh, I am sorry. Thank you.

In this conversation, the host interprets the child's reserved attitude according to her general experience; one is expected to show restraint in this kind of situation but one's real intention is for the sweets to be served. In general, people try to understand other people's unspoken language that is hidden behind the spoken language in this way.

Thus, in this case, despite the child's negative response, the words are ignored and the cake is served. Here, the child is passive but he knows that the cake will be served despite his denial. It is very easy for the child since he just needs to passively wait.

People's relationships supported by the concept of *amae* are basically vertical relationships. It is a relationship where the top has a mother-like and the bottom an infant-like role. According to Chie Nakane, in a society with a vertical social structure, people have strong relationships between different statuses; in a horizontal social structure people's relationships are stronger among people of equal status (Nakane 1968: chapter 3; Nakane 1970: chapter 2). Nakane defined vertical and horizontal social structure according to the importance of people's relations for the society to function. Despite the fact that Japan and India both have a hierarchical social system, the contents, the way people interact with one another, is quite different. In Japan, interaction with people of lower/higher status is more significant than the interaction with one's equals; however, it is the reverse in India. Nakane characterized Japan as a society with a typical vertical social structure and India a society with a horizontal social structure. That Japanese society has a vertical social structure does not mean that the society does not contain horizontal relationships at all; a horizontal social structure exists in Japan as well but is of less significance when looking at the function of the society as a whole. For instance, the relationship between friends is a horizontal relationship and it is reflected in their usage of language that signifies their equality. However, if it comes to a big group, such as a company, mandatory sport club, *yakuza*/the Japanese Mafia, or any other group formed for a certain purpose, the group will tend to emphasize the vertical relationships. People accomplish their needs through these vertical relationships rather than through the

horizontal relationships. Doi pointed out that the persistence of the Japanese vertical social structure is supported by the Japanese mentality of *amae*, in which the subordinates seek the superior's care, which is often granted (Doi: 1971: 23).

In general, especially in Western societies, the vertical relationship is interpreted negatively since it signifies an unfair, controlling relation; it provokes an image of a superior repressing an inferior. The histories of Western liberation movements have always shown a struggle against unbalanced relationships, which Western ideology bases on this concept of an intolerable pyramid-type model of power. Thus, non-Japanese, especially Westerners, who superficially observe Japanese people's vertical relationships, show a strong sign of rejection towards this custom. Some of them perceive the Japanese as poor people who lack basic human rights and feel greatly relieved for not being born in this country. Looking at Japanese vertical relationships through American eyes often leads to a misunderstanding of Japanese culture; many perceive Japanese people's relation as a power relation where the weak (especially women) are taken full advantage of by the dominator.

It is true that the top people abuse their power in Japan as well as elsewhere. However, this does not reveal the whole picture of Japanese vertical relationships. In addition to the superior-subordinate power relation previously discussed, Japanese vertical relationships involve a strong element of the superior influenced by the subordinate (bottom-top relationship). Just like the more powerful mother appears to be the servant of the less powerful infant in a mother-infant relationship, the superior is controlled by his sense of responsibility, which requires the superior to take care of the subordinates. In other words, as opposed to the Western hierarchical system where the

power relationship prevails, Japanese society has a strong element of appealing an inferior's *amae*, which may be safe to call "the privilege of an inferior."

Japanese society's vertical social structure influences various aspects of people's lives. This is well reflected in their language. The Japanese language includes extensive vocabularies that signify one's status within the conversation; one chooses one's words - subject, verb, and all others - according to the status of the other party compared to one's own status (Bonvillain 1997: 43, 88-89, 126-26, 215). In addition, the lower status people employ attitudes that signify lower status such as bowing more often, using phatics (an empty word that does not carry much meaning e.g. the greeting "How are you?" in the U.S.), allowing their speech to be interrupted more often, and so on. When a person encounters someone, he/she instantly determines his/her relative status and that will be automatically reflected in his/her language. Here, Japanese people do not employ low status language with a wretched feeling. People who employ low status language do not consider themselves miserable persons lacking basic human rights; they rather talk in that manner since that is likely to be beneficial for themselves. *Amae* is prevalent in this bottom-top relationship. Establishment of this high and low status determines the roles of providers and receivers, and usage of the respect words involves the intention of *amae* which seeks for care that shall be granted. It is important to take into account the power of *amae* to understand the Japanese people's vertical relations; the force from the bottom is more significant than that of the U.S. vertical relations that are perceived as negative.

The Japanese vertical social structure has an aspect where the subordinate has the advantage. Thus, it is very important for individuals to establish this vertical relationship

when they first enter a group. Japanese are aware that this vertical relationship is the expected and the most effective way to survive in this society. However, establishing this intimate vertical relationship, which is not automatically established as one enters a group, is not easy. Establishing a vertical relationship requires one to go through a ritual-like process. In fact, Japanese learn this ritual-like process when they grow up. Once the way is learned, people apply the same procedure to many other cases since it is understood to be the correct way to enter a group and establish one's position. One of the places where children learn this procedure is at the frequently mandatory club activity after class in junior-high and high school. The next section will explain this procedure which Japanese follow to acquire vertical relations. It will focus on sports clubs since they show remarkable ritual-like procedures for the acceptance of new members. These kinds of procedures are prevalent everywhere in Japanese society; they even extend to the relationships at the workplace.

The Process of Creating a Vertical Relationship

Japanese learn the custom of creating a vertical relationship through their membership in various groups during their lifetime. In general, the vertical relationship comes into shape by a person performing unconditional loyalty to the powerful ones, and is strengthened by the emotional unity that develops through time. With time, a person's understanding of other members' personality develops. This enables the person to sense and properly respond to their *amae*. After this relation is established, the person's position in the group becomes better because the others understand this person's situation better as well. The whole process is also a process of a person becoming an *uchi* (real as opposed to

superficial) member of the group. Often, stronger ties between members let the group achieve its goals more successfully. For instance, the mandatory club activity at junior-high and high school is one of the more influential opportunities where students learn this custom. Here, one can understand that what Japanese students learn in club activities is not merely how to play basketball or tennis but rather how to understand the significance of *uchi* relationships, which naturally creates a strong bond between people. In this section, the characteristic aspects of creating a vertical relationship and becoming an *uchi* member will be introduced by focusing on this activity. The examples provided here are all based on facts, which I actually experienced and witnessed as a student in Japan. They are not rare but rather common everywhere in Japanese schools.

[1] Unconditional Loyalty

The basic rules for juniors are, to bow when they greet elder students, use respect forms when they talk, and attach the honorific title *senpai* when speaking about and with seniors. In the beginning, the subordinate attitude does not necessarily agree with the junior's *honne* (real intention); despite their behavior that signifies respect to the senior, the junior may have no such feeling at all. However, at this point, it is important for the junior to show respect, regardless of his/her real intention. If a junior does not follow the rule of showing respect to the seniors, he/she may be blamed for not doing so, and sometimes this results in violence. How the seniors impose these rules is a matter of degree; some may do this violently while others may keep distant from juniors who do not behave properly. In general, the seniors' power is so overwhelming that the seniors' character may be taken into consideration when juniors pick a club. Clubs that exhibit abusive seniors are likely to be unpopular among juniors; there are students, for example,

who want to participate in basketball but do not enter the basketball club because of the atmosphere created by the seniors.²² The following stories are an example of seniors putting a junior in her place by imposing the proper manner of a subordinate.

Masako, who graduated from a local elementary school, is now a freshman in the local junior high school.²³ She examined many clubs, and finally decided to enter the track-and-field club. First, Masako was puzzled about how to address her seniors whom she knew from elementary school.²⁴ Since Masako was used to interacting with the seniors on an equal level, using *-chan* (title for a person of equal status. e.g. Keiko-*chan*) and informal language of equal status, she felt uncomfortable changing her way of communication towards them. This was such a problem for Masako that she even consulted her friends about it. She could not call them *-senpai* (honorific title for a person's senior. e.g. Kato-*senpai*) since she felt awkward when she did so. Masako ended up calling the majority of the seniors *senpai*, but remained with some in the previous way.

One day, when Masako was chatting with her same-age friends in the classroom, one of her classmate came to her and said, "Seniors are calling you...they are waiting for you at the staircase." Masako immediately recognized that it was the *yobidashi* (summons). Her friends were worried and asked whether they should call the teacher for her or not. Masako, although she looked terrified, replied, "I'll be okay."

Masako knew many people who were bullied by their seniors because the seniors considered them as *namaiki* (insolent).²⁵ For instance, her friends Akiko and Kaori were summoned to come to an unoccupied building where the seniors waited for them. Her classmate Masayuki, who was a serious student, was summoned to come to the backside of the school building where few people walk around. He was yelled at, pushed, kicked, and asked to kneel down on the ground and apologize. Yuki, who had her hair dyed (brownish), was asked to come to the toilet. She was scolded and forced to re-dye her hair black.²⁶

When Masako went to the staircase, three seniors were waiting for her. Masako knew all three since they were friends from elementary school and members of the track-and-field club. Fortunately, contrary to Masako's expectation, the seniors were friendly. She was told to call them with the honorific title *senpai* and greet as the other juniors do. She was relieved. However, the fear that she experienced this day left a mark in her character.

[2] Juniors of Lowest Status

(1) Chores

In general, when juniors first enter a club, they are required to perform incidental works that are not required of the seniors: picking up balls in the tennis club, wiping balls in the basketball club, mopping the floor at the beginning and the end of activity in the *kendo* (Japanese fencing) club, picking up pebbles in the track-and-field club, setting up and taking down the net in the volleyball club, etc. Some clubs require seniors to do these unpopular works as well, but it is rare for seniors to take over these jobs. Often, the subordinate role is inherited by the next generation in the name of tradition. However, sometimes, although the occasion is rare, the practice of making the juniors do all the work is abolished, but, of course, not by juniors but by the seniors who are in charge of the club's operation. The following story is an example of the conventional custom being abolished by some seniors.²⁷

Yoshihiro, who had been playing basketball since junior high school, joined the basketball club when he entered high school. Compared to the junior high school's basketball club, this one was more hierarchical. Besides the hard practice, freshmen were required to do the morning practice, which included floor wiping, and the cleanup after practice. Although Yoshihiro was discontent with this rule, he remained in the club. Two years later, he finally became the oldest senior; now it was his time to enjoy his position of less work. Although Yoshihiro's grade's members could have taken advantage of the juniors in this way, they did not do so. Since they thought that the cleanup rule was unfair, they decided to abolish it. In other words, the members of Yoshihiro's grade did not retain the privilege of less work, but rather took over more of the burdensome work than previous seniors. Due to them, the conventional custom was abolished, and now, seniors have to do the cleaning work together with their juniors.

(2) Harsh Training Especially Until the First Event

In addition to the incidental works, freshmen are likely to go through severe difficulties, especially in the beginning. This early stage is the part of the ritual-like process that transforms an outsider into an inside member of the group. This part contains an aspect of wresting away the new member's feeling of *amae* which seeks for care and instant acceptance into the group. The seniors train their juniors by driving home that discipline and endurance are the key to success during the severe training conducted by the seniors. In this phase, the atmosphere is far from enjoyable, but rather like a time of torture. The rigidity of this unconditional severe stage reduces over time. Often the seniors start to allow more latitude in the juniors' behavior, after the first competition or a party for the new members.²⁸ Gradually, from this point on, seniors start showing acceptance of their juniors. The following are examples of juniors who experienced the drastic change in the seniors who used to behave like a machine with no mercy.

Takeshi entered the *oendan* (supporter league)²⁹ when he entered high school. During the first one and a half-month, until the regularly scheduled game with the rival high school, he was not allowed to talk to the leader of the *oendan* who remained silent. Until this big event, juniors had to undergo much hardship, including a repetition of monotonous flag waiving, under the dominant seniors' supervision. After the game, Takeshi, for the first time, talked with the leader. The leader treated him more kindly than Takeshi had expected. The leader revealed how hard it was to maintain his serious face when Takeshi, who was behaving seriously, made laughable mistakes in front of the leader.

Hiroko joined the cheerleaders club when she entered high school. At the beginning, she felt that the seniors were always abusing their power by repressing the juniors. Seniors direct and supervise the juniors' dance. Although Hiroko felt her physical limits due to the constant practice, the atmosphere did not allow her to ask for a break. While she was dancing, she peeked at Kiyoko's face, whose eyes were filled with tears. Kiyoko was more often scolded by the seniors than other juniors, since she could not move in the way seniors had directed. Kiyoko was warned, "Don't cry. Crying is evidence of *amae* in your mind!" Hiroko started to harbor hate

towards the seniors. Although the experience was harsh, her feelings towards the seniors mellowed during the newcomer's party, which took place after the first performance in front of an audience. The seniors showed a different character than usual until now, they were joking, telling funny stories about teachers, scary myths about the school, asking about the junior's love life, inviting juniors to parties where they can meet men, and the like. It was the time when she moved one step toward an intimate relationship with the seniors.

[3] *Uchiage*: Opportunity for Emotional Unity

Japanese have the custom of having *uchiage* (the end party) when a big project or competition is accomplished. Its purpose is to provide relief from the hardship and celebrate the accomplishment together with one's mates. Compared to the hardship days when chitchat was not allowed, *uchiage* creates an at-home atmosphere where small talk is appropriate. Intimacy is based on emotional ties, where people share *honne* (real intention as opposed to superficial behavior (*tatemae*))³⁰ with each other. The reserved attitudes, which everyone has when he/she enters a group, diminish through shared hardship and conclude the first phase with an occasion where everyone can share the feeling of *honne*. This cycle repeats itself frequently and gradually creates the feeling of *uchi* (insider's) spirit. The stricter the activities, the more intimate are the relations members are likely to create.

Among junior high school students, *uchiage* takes place without alcohol; however, starting around high-school age, students use alcohol for *uchiage*. Despite the fact that Japanese law prohibits underage (less than 20 years) drinking, adolescents perform *uchiage* with alcohol both privately and publicly.³¹ Sometimes, with the effect of alcohol, the participants behave in a way in which they never would in their normal life. Making a fool out of everybody results in an equalization of status. Since everybody

participated in the foolish activity, no one can retain his/her status, now they have an equal status in a human base. This is one of the ways to create emotional unity in the group. The following are examples of two underage clubs' *uchiage* where participants became drunk.

When the biggest competition of the year was over, the teacher came to the *uchiage* party with one *sho* (1 sho=0.477 U.S. gallon) of *sake*. There were already some other alcohol bottles donated by alumni on the floor. Members were enjoying their *uchiage* for they were finally relieved from the tension. Although Tsuyoshi could not drink, he still enjoyed the time with his club members as well. The members stayed until midnight and then moved outside. These intoxicated members went to the park's fountain, dipped their feet in the water, and sang their school song loudly. On the next day, they found a store's mannequin and commercial flags in their clubroom, whose origin was unclear.

When Izumi's club's competition was over, her teacher donated many alcoholic drinks. According to the seniors, it was the club's tradition to share a keg of beer among the members and there had always been people who had to be taken care of afterwards. Izumi was scared³² since she was underage and did not have much experience in drinking. However, the teacher said, "you can't say 'I can't drink.' in front of me!"

During the *uchiage*, the seniors attempted to impose *ikki* [see endnote 32] on the juniors. At the same time, the frustrated juniors, who were dominated by the seniors, took revenge by imposing *ikki* on the most dominant senior, which is usually not possible. However, they failed. She simply responded, "When I drink, all of you guys must do *ikki* too, OK?" Thus, it turned out that all the juniors performed *ikki*.

Izumi was drunk but somehow managed herself since she tried to be the pourer rather than the drinker. After several hours, Izumi noticed that members of her age were not around in the room anymore. So she left the room to find her friends. She found one giggling at the stairs hanging one leg over the railing. Two were vomiting at the bathroom while the remaining two took care of them.

[4] Formation of *Uchi* (insiders group): Exclusion of Outsiders

Eventually, this emotional tie between the members becomes so strong that they are likely to feel more comfortable with club mates than with non-members. In other words, it creates a world where it is hard for an outsider to fit in. The border of *uchi* (inner) and *soto* (outer)³³ is very strong that people in general prefer not to leave their current group and join a different one. Often a person who quits a group has a hard time joining a new one. Especially when the person wants to join a group where the emotional unity has already been formed, he/she is likely to have a hard time that may be accompanied by mental difficulty. The new member tends to feel excluded by the other members. The following is an example of a person's loneliness due to his transfer from the baseball club to the basketball club.

After the most important competition, Masayuki quit the baseball club because the seniors bullied him harshly. Although he had good relations with the members of the same age, he could no longer tolerate the seniors who were extremely picky with him. He believed that the strong relation with the members of the same age would persist. However, it faded away within a very short time. Although Masayuki tried to talk with them in an intimate manner as he used to, many of his previous friends started to show distance from him. At the same time, Masayuki made an effort to fit into the new club, but it was also quite difficult. He always felt as an outsider. He felt lost frequently and experienced many empty times. During this time, he regretted his transfer. He blamed his thoughtlessness, which led him to the unexpected loss of many friends.

[5] Seniors as role model

When the emotional tie is formed, that is when the border of *uchi* is formed, and the life of the juniors becomes much easier. The juniors start seeing different aspects of their seniors; they perceive them not only as trainers for the club activity but also as a role model for their life. Juniors can now tell jokes, spend time with seniors outside the club, and ask for advice from their seniors. Some seniors tutor their juniors during

summer vacation or support their study by providing notes or past exams. They sometimes go out together, for example go shopping or to an amusement park. Seniors become idols whom juniors want to imitate as they become older. When this relation is formed, the seniors become respected and preferred from their hearts, which is the establishment of the Japanese vertical relationship.

[6] How this Pattern is Employed in General Life

Although the procedure of becoming an *uchi* member in every day adult life is in general not as rigid as the pattern explained in the club activity example, it is fairly similar. Whether the group is a flower arrangement meeting, PTA (Parent-Teacher Association) meeting, or volunteer activities performed by mature adults, the difference is only a matter of degree. First the new member is treated with distance and eventually becomes an *uchi* member when there is a feeling of intimacy. Even if the group seems to consist of people of equal status, the members tend to form a vertical relationship determined by age, sex, experience, reliable character, or in women's groups, sometimes the status of a woman's husband. By experiencing hardship and sharing their *honne*, people become more comfortable in the group.

For instance, if a person enters a group, he/she in general behaves more humbly than necessary according to the perspectives of non-Japanese. The person expresses how incapable he/she is, to establish him-/herself in an inferior status so that his/her *amae* should be granted. First the vertical relationship of unconditional loyalty is at work. Newcomers accomplish this through use of elaborate respect words and a humble attitude.³⁴ The rigid vertical relation gradually develops into a vertical relationship where *amae* is accepted. This will happen through hardship and opportunities to express one's

honne. When this is accomplished, the person is finally an *uchi* member where he/she should feel comfortable since his/her intention will be understood in many aspects.

The Japanese vertical relationship is not a spontaneous relationship established when more than two people meet. The custom is learnt throughout one's entire lifetime and is transmitted from generation to generation. Through this, people learn that to become a successful person, one needs to become an *uchi* member of the group, which requires one to become very humble, modest, and subordinate to the older member of the group. This section explained this procedure which Japanese follow to develop vertical relations by focusing on sports clubs since they show remarkable ritual-like procedures for the acceptance of new members.³⁵ These kinds of procedures are prevalent everywhere in Japanese society; they even extend to the relationships at the workplace. This will help the reader understand why Japanese do not feel uneasy when they confront a new situation with a reserved and submissive attitude. This appears to non-Japanese as begging or as being overly submissive to the group. However, as I have discussed, Japanese behave this way since they expect to be understood as a loyal person so that their fidelity will be answered by satisfaction of their *amae* and eventual acceptance into the group.

Uchi/Soto and Honne/Tatemaie

To accurately sense somebody's *amae* requires frequent interaction with the person. In other words, actualizing efficient communication (enabling the exchange of *amae*) depends upon how well one knows the person. Japanese distinguish people with whom they can exchange *amae* feelings from others and call them *uchi* (inner) people as

opposed to *soto* (outer) people. They also show different behavior depending on these categories: *honne* (real intention) behavior for *uchi* members and *tatemae* (superficial) behavior for *soto* people. The pattern of sharing emotion with close people while employing *tatemae* behavior to distant people is a universal human trait. However, Japanese, compared to Americans for instance, make a clearer distinction between *uchi* and *soto* due to the different sociocultural environment they confront. In the following section, people's behavioral patterns, not only Japanese but also people in general, are explained using the Japanese words *uchi*, *soto*, *honne*, and *tatemae*. Then, the significance of a person becoming an *uchi* member, especially in Japanese society, is discussed.

In Japanese, the behavior connected to one's feelings is called *honne*, as opposed to *tatemae*, a behavior that conceals *honne* to keep up a certain appearance. For example, we can return to Doi's ice cream story quoted in the previous section "Amae and Japanese Vertical Structure" on page 32. When Doi was asked if he was hungry for an ice cream, he did not frankly answer "Yes, I am hungry" although he hoped for the host to insist. In Japanese, the behavior which Doi performed (the reserved attitude) is *tatemae*, and what he thought ("I was rather hungry, but finding myself asked point-blank if I was hungry by someone whom I was visiting for the first time, I could not bring myself to admit it") is *honne* (Doi 1973: 11). After this, he wished to be pressed again to have ice cream. However, he probably did not say anything. Thus, his mild hope was not sensed and the ice cream was not served. In this case, the behavior of not doing anything is *tatemae* and his feeling ("I probably cherished a mild hope that he would press me

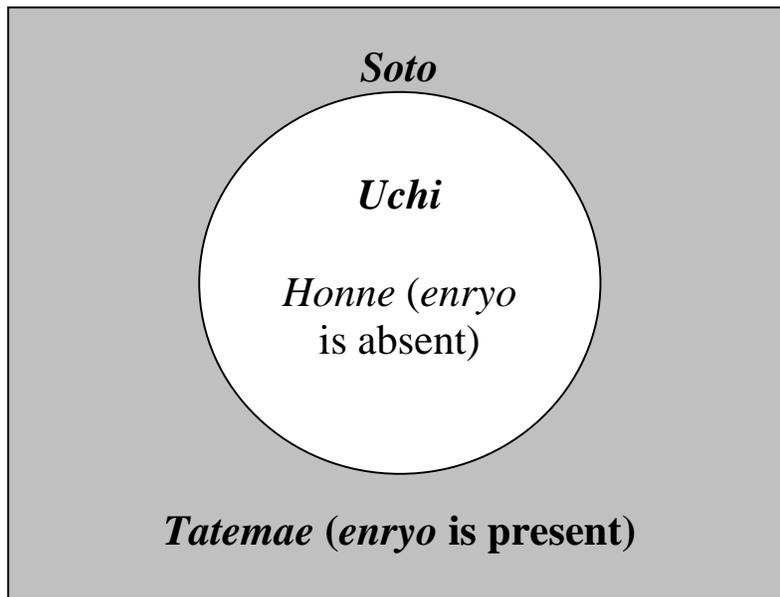
again... leaving me regretting that I had not replied more honestly”) is *honne* (Doi 1973: 11). Furthermore, Doi later experiences an ethnocentric feeling for not being served the ice cream (“Japanese would almost never ask a stranger unceremoniously if he was hungry, but would produce something to give him without asking”) [Doi 1973: 11]. In this case, too, his behavior of not doing anything is *tatemaie*, and what he thought in his mind is *honne*.^{36 37}

Doi’s unexpressed *honne* involved a sentiment of his desire to passively be cared for (*amae*). However, he did not reveal this intention because there was a feeling of *enryo* (restraint or holding back) in his mind, although Doi expected his *enryo* to be sensed and thus the host to insist on giving him the ice cream.

Doi indicates that presence or absence of *enryo* is the criterion of distinguishing the types of human relationship that Japanese refer to as outer (*soto*) and inner (*uchi*): *enryo* is present among outers, while it is absent among inners (see Figure 2) [Doi 1996: 38; 1973: 40].

Figure 1. Honne/Tatemaie and Uchi/Soto

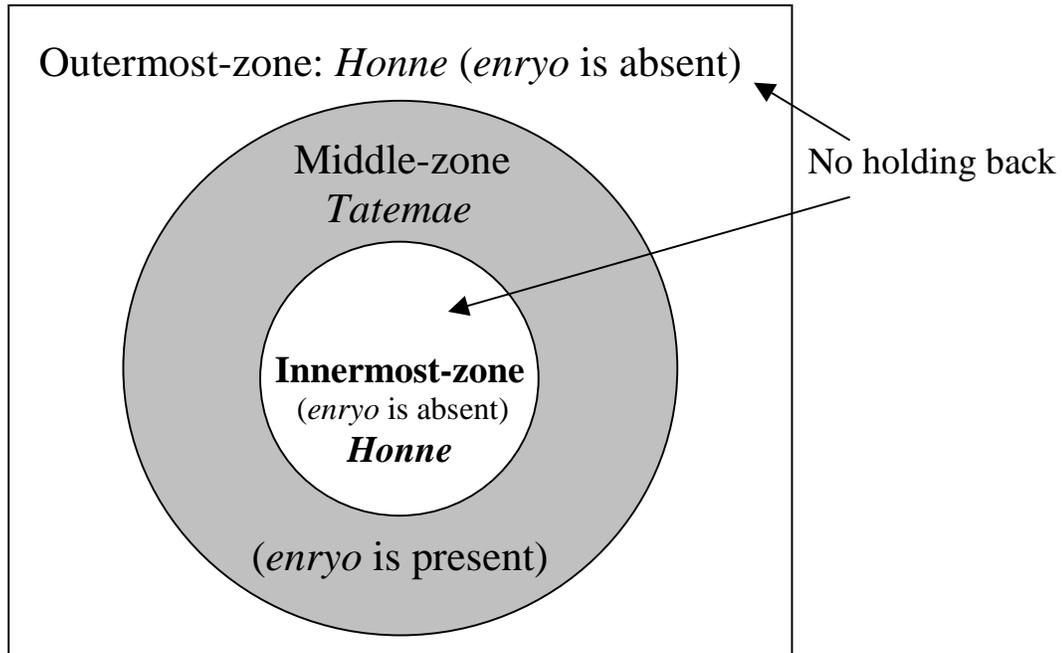
(SOURCE: Doi 1996, 1973)



People of *uchi* are the people with whom one can associate on an intimate level. Here people are more likely to express their *honne*. On the other hand, people of *soto* are the people with whom one interacts politely and with distance. Here, people are more likely to behave in *tatemaie*.

Furthermore, Doi added that “If one takes relationships in which *enryo* is at work as a kind of middle zone, one has on the inner side of it members of one’s family with whom there is no *enryo*, and on the outer side strangers (*tanin*) with whom the need for *enryo* does not occur” (Doi 1973: 41). For convenience, I will call the former the innermost-zone and the latter the outermost-zone (see Figure 3).

Figure 2. The Innermost, Middle, and Outermost-Zone



People behave in *honne* with the innermost-zone people, *tatemaie* with the middle-zone people, and *honne* with the outermost-zone people. In the innermost-zone, the relationship is established on an intimate level that one can confidently ask for fulfilment of one's *amae* without being disliked. In the middle-zone, people must behave politely with the sense of restraint since being burdensome can lead them to lose the connection with these people (the relationship is not established as strongly as with the people of the innermost-zone). In the outermost-zone, people behave without care since they do not expect any fulfilment of *amae* from them.

Both in the innermost and in the outermost-zone *enryo* is absent. However, the reason for this consequence is different in the two zones. In the innermost-zone, it is absent since one's *amae* is accepted because of the existing *amae*-relationship. In the outermost-zone, on the other hand, one does not expect one's *amae* to be accepted, and thus does not need to employ *enryo*. (Doi 1973: 41).

According to Doi, people hold back in middle-zone “with the idea that one must not presume too much (*amaeru*) on the other’s good will. The fear is at work, in other words, that unless one holds back, one will be thought impertinent and disliked accordingly” (Doi 1973: 39). He also describes people’s nature of preferring an *uchi* relationship than a *soto* relationship as follows:

Enryo decreases proportionately with intimacy and increases with distance. There are relationships, such as those between friends, in which there is a great absence of *enryo*; indeed, ... close friend indicates precisely this type of relationship. [People], in their hearts, ...do not care much for *enryo*. Everybody believes that if possible an absence of *enryo* is ideal. (Doi 1973: 38-39, emphasis added)

Here, the presence and absence of *enryo* can be replaced by the prevalence of *tatemaie* or *honne*: *tatemaie* dominates (*honne* is completely hidden) in *soto* (or middle-zone), while *honne* is gradually shared as the relationship becomes closer to the *uchi* relationship (innermost-zone). Although this association is by no means clear-cut in practice, the concept is persistent at an ideological level. This association agrees with the “no restraint” behavior in the innermost- and outermost-zone pointed out by Doi; this is the case in the innermost-zone because *honne* is prevalent, while in the outermost-zone *tatemaie* is unnecessary.³⁸

The *tatemaie* and *honne* behavior indicating the closeness of people’s relationship is not exclusively Japanese. Although some cultures may not have definite words like *honne/tatemaie* or *uchi/soto*, the behavioral pattern applies to all humans no matter to which culture one belongs. According to the perspective of evolutionary psychology,³⁹ the reason why people behave in a *tatemaie*-like manner is similar to Doi’s reason of why people do *enryo*. Because they fear their *amae* being denied, which is the reason for *enryo*, people employ *tatemaie* due to the fear of their *amae* (*honne*) not being accepted.

Tatemae behavior is the result of adaptation in the situation where people need to fulfil their own *amae* in an environment where many other people exist. In other words, *tatemae* is a defensive behavior, which people employ when they do not know how much they can expect their *honne* to be fulfilled by *soto* people. People behave in *tatemae* manners, especially to *soto* (middle-zone) people, since they do not know how much they can depend (satisfy their *amae*) on these people, though the connections with them are crucial. They can not freely express their *honne* because *honne* is egocentric and is often considered burdensome by others, which can lead them to be denied and to loose the connection consequently, which is a grave loss for their survival. Accordingly, *tatemae* is a behavior that people developed in the process of adaptation during their long history of living in a group neighboring many other groups.

By frequently interacting with one another, one learns what one can expect from the other person, which is equivalent to learning how much one can fulfil one's *amae* through the other person. One explores this by frequently interacting with the other person in *tatemae*, but gradually lowering the barrier of *enryo* (revealing his/her *honne*). By doing this, one understands the limit of the other's tolerance and satisfies one's *amae* accordingly. Often, the relationship maintains its balance by reciprocal giving and taking/receiving. Once the dependent relationship is established, people distinguish these people from others just as in the way Japanese distinguish *uchi* from *soto* and feel more comfortable with *uchi* people. Although not all societies have words equivalent to Japanese *uchi* and *soto*, many societies do have words to describe close people such as husband/wife, best friends, or kinship terms, which distinguish these special people from others. They also possess words such as foreigner (outermost people) where dependency

is absent, who are the people that receive no sympathy or care at all.⁴⁰ The fact that human language distinguishes between close people and others, innermost-zone, middle-zone and outermost-zone people, signifies that humans distinguish the degree of benefit people have for one's survival.

Supported by the human universality described above, the Japanese developed a custom emphasizing this aspect of human nature. This was influenced by a variety of geographical, historical and economic factors. Here, the factors which produced people who resemble each other in terms of behavioral patterns and thoughts are: island country (difficult to invade), homogeneous nation,⁴¹ a Chinese philosophy since the 6th century that influenced nationalism in modern Japanese thought, a background of agricultural society based on rice cropping,⁴² national isolation and abandonment of Christianity from the 17th to 19th centuries,⁴³ a government which practiced strong centralization of administrative power,⁴⁴ defeat in WWII, rebuilding the nation under the directions of the U.S. government, the economic miracle in the 1970's, and producing citizens of mostly middle-upper class, etc. All of these factors contributed to the unification of the country as a cluster of 120 million people with similar values, ideas and behavior.

A society which consists of similar people produces an environment where people sense each other's *amae* without much difficulty compared to a diverse society; a person can understand the behavior of another person since he/she can sense the underlying feelings that caused the behavior. Among the Japanese, the ultimate goal of *uchi* interaction as opposed to relations with *soto* is to understand the other's *amae* without words. The ideal goes beyond the level of revealing one's *honne*, and also includes understanding and behaving accordingly or being understood and receiving care without

any request. At this stage, the world is very easy for people because it is moving in the way one wants without any personal effort. The virtues of the Japanese phrased as *ishindenshin* (telepathic communication), *me wa kuchi hodo ni mono o iu* (eyes speak as much as the mouth does), *a-un no kokyu* (breath of “a...” then “un (un-huh)”: a communication when one says “a...(starting of the conversation)” the other person understands one’s intention and responds “un-huh (I understand)” immediately, *anmoku no ryokai* (there is no actual information but people understand each other: tacit understanding), are all ideals that people hope for among the *uchi* group. It is similar to a situation where a baby is understood and properly taken care of by his/her mother without precisely expressing what he/she really wants. This non-verbal communication is only possible if people know each other in depth.

How much could the *uchi* group concretely benefit a person in Japan? *Uchi* people have a higher priority than general *soto* people do. For instance, once the inner relationship is established, other privileges besides the initial reason why they are together (such as in learning how to arrange flowers in a flower arrangement group) become important. Especially if a person has an *uchi* relationship with a person of power, it is possible to depend on the influential person’s power, which will be beneficial for the person. Due to the help of the *uchi* group, it is possible to go through crises and secure benefits without severe difficulties: finding a mate for marriage (arranged marriage), employment,⁴⁵ promotion, making contracts for selling goods, or even entering a university.⁴⁶ The strength of *uchi* is helpful when a person is in serious trouble. This can work in a strongly biased manner, such as excluding *soto* people while preferring *uchi* ones, even though official social rules indicate that this favoritism should not happen.

For example, consider a young man, Taro who is job-hunting at the time of his senior year in college. Taro's mother will mention to her or her husband's relatives that her son is looking for a job, also telling them that he is qualified for such and such. She may also do the same thing with her *uchi* friends. Some actually ask people who have connection to a famous company if their son can be hired by relying on these peoples' connections.⁴⁷ In Japanese, this connection is called *tsute*.⁴⁸ Taro's father may also do this ground work by using his *tsute* at his workplace. Using *tsute*, Taro's mother's sister might say, "my husband's company is seeking a person like Taro..." Even though Taro takes a qualifying exam for the company and does extremely badly, a notification of appointment may still arrive. This is unfair for people who study seriously, take exams and do well, and go to the stage of being interviewed, but are not accepted. However, such passing with impunity is the strength of *tsute*. The custom of *tsute* remains strong in Japanese society, which sometimes extends to scandalous problems such as a politician helping his supporter's son entering a university through the back door, or making backdoor deals with companies, etc.^{49 50}

Distinctions of *tatemaie/honne* and *uchi/soto* are not exclusively Japanese. However, on top of human nature, which desires one's *amae* to be satisfied and seeks to perform *tatemaie* behavior for actualizing this effectively, the factors that enabled Japan to become a solitary society produced an unique culture in Japan, which makes stronger distinctions between these concepts than do others (at least more so than Americans). Due to the similar character of members in Japanese society, it produced an environment that enabled Japanese people to sense each other's *amae*. Because of this, Japanese

practice a custom of rigid *tatemae* behavior, which is unfamiliar to non-Japanese. In this circumstance, Japanese hope a relationship will go beyond the wall of *tatemae*, where *honne* is understood without being made explicit. A world of *honne* is an idealistic relationship for Japanese since *amae* is exchanged without much effort. The privilege of *uchi* is often exercised in this society, although it sometimes causes bias that is unfair to other people. Based on this custom, when Japanese workers enter a company, their first effort is to become an *uchi* member so that life will become easy for them. They strongly seek to do so because they are in an environment where customs were built under solitary circumstances that were supported by the human nature of distinguishing *honne/tatemae* and *uchi/soto*. Chapters 5 will discuss the importance of Japanese workers' desire to be an *uchi* member, which goes beyond the ties of a contract, which, in turn, creates stress and produces necktie-alcoholics in this society. But before this discussion, I discuss how the function of drinking, which is to induce *communitas*, is used in Japanese society.

Chapter 4: Function of Drinking

***Communitas*: Theory by Victor W. Turner**

The British social anthropologist Victor W. Turner observed seemingly irrational phenomena such as boisterous merrymaking in various rituals: Isoma ritual, Wubwang'u ritual, ritual process of the Ndembu, Western Halloween and Carnivals, etc. He understood these apparent deviant acts as an emergence of a spiritually involved world “*communitas* (anti-structure)” that is different from the world one normally lives in as a member of different groups which have certain goals. Social structure is a cluster of rules, social positions and institutions, often based on people's economic needs. Opposite to this, *communitas*, which involves human sentiment, is a momentary situation that releases one from the repression of the social structure. Not only did Turner point out the individual's burden in the social structure, but he also realized the importance of *communitas* as a cultural device that allows for the revitalization of the individuals in the social structure and thus the maintenance of the existing social structure. *Communitas* emerges in any society. It supports rigid social structure from outside of it, which is crucial to maintain the working of the community. He perceived *communitas* as a gift from human nature, which allows for cultural and historical renewal.

The concept of anti-structure, proposed by Victor Turner, is the antithesis of the concept of the social structure. *Communitas* is a world where only existential human relations matter: neither status, role, groups, networks, organizations, nor institutions matter in this spiritual world, for social structure is abolished or left behind in this anti-

structural world. Social-structuralists often perceive these phenomena that express *communitas* or anti-structure as primitive or barbarian, since they cannot be explained in the social-structural perspective. However, this “irrationality” is the characteristic of *communitas*. Its function is to maintain the existence of a rigid social structure by releasing tensions that occur through time.

Communitas often appears to be a mere waste in our modern economically-oriented perspective: a spree in an indigenous ritual, carnival in Latin culture, hippies’ drug indulgence during rock concerts, Hell’s Angels’ rituals, etc. However, Turner regarded these as functional phenomena that enable people to bear with social structure since people cannot completely adapt to the rationality of society. When people escape from the bonds of the social structure, they realize existence, which Turner calls “ecstasy” (Turner 1969: 138). Turner points out that *communitas* often involves, 1) a “peculiar linkage between personality, universal values and spirit or soul” (121), 2) the “structurally inferior as the morally and ritually superior (equality)” (125) and 3) a “strong sentiment of human kindness (universal human values)” (134).

In addition to this functional aspect, the experience of *communitas* energises people who afterwards return to the social structure. It also provides a chance to question or even challenge the existing social structure, by proposing how the society ought to be, or by introducing new values such as universal basic human rights. These functions of *communitas* are as important as the existing social structure and are as necessary for socio-cultural development. In other words, structure and anti-structure are different sides of the same coin that allow people to survive in a society where social structure dominates.

Turner compares *communitas* to the ideas of Taoism, which emphasizes mutual production – an idea that especially values the existence of the non-existent.⁵¹ According to Turner, systematic social structure is supported by the *communitas*, which allows the individual's spiritual escape to an anti-structural world. *Communitas* is a spiritual experience in the anti-structural world that accompanies the sentiment of humane existence (ecstasy), which functions to energize the participant for the next period of ordinary existence in society.

Turner analyzed the relation between the individual and the group by adding the new concept of anti-social-structure to the concept of social-structure, and perceived both as a complementary set that explains much human behavior. He did not ignore the social phenomena that are often labeled as “primitive” or “backwards,” but rather attempted to explain the function of those otherwise unexplainable behaviors that play a significant role in rituals. *Communitas* is not only the consequence of the human escape from socio-cultural repression, but also a capacity for people to live in the society where one's will needs to adjust to the will of the group.

As opposed to social structuralists who perceive society as a static structure, Turner understood society as a process that oscillates between structure and anti-structure, which permits change of the social-structure. In other words, social structure changes through this process, which can also be called “rejuvenation” in general. His perception is more advanced compared to the perspective of social structuralists, since he included in his model the behavior that was labeled as “irrational” or “out of mind,” and interpreted it functionally and dialectically.

Anti-structure is the antithesis of the idea of social structure. It supports the stability of social structure by absorbing the “wildness” of humans living in a society. Turner called the situation where the human wildness bursts forth, *communitas*. He perceives people’s minds as oscillating between structure and anti-structure, which makes change in society possible. The next subsection explores the reason why Turner’s perspective that “the experience of *communitas* leads social structure to an advanced stage” is relevant, by focusing on the human psychology according to the perspective of the previously discussed *amae* theory. I will also explain the role of alcohol in people’s minds and suggest that this drug use promotes the individual’s transition to a state of *communitas*.

Emotional Unity and Anti-Structure

According to Victor Turner, the experience of *communitas* re-energizes structure, which makes the existence of social structure possible (“men are released from structure into *communitas* only to return to structure revitalized by their experience of *communitas*”) [Turner 1969: 129]. This section discusses this phenomenon from the perspective of the Japanese concept of *amae*. It will examine what the experience of *communitas* does to the mentality of individuals and how that in turns influences the group. I will discuss the close relationship between *tatemaie* and social structure, and *honne* and anti-structure (see glossary in page 121). *Honne* is a world where people focus on their emotions, which, if shared, determines the relationship between people for the future on an interpersonal level, and promises a healthy balance in society. In this respect, alcohol is a powerful tool that diminishes the barrier of *tatemaie* without any effort on the side of the drinker, and if

this mentality is shared with others in a positive way, it induces a world of *communitas*. The whole process of people's interaction and its influence on the group is possible due to the nature of humans, who naturally seek help from others (*amae*) for their survival.

Turner's concept of *communitas*, which accompanies "the sentiment of humanity," is induced by people sharing *honne*, which is a world generated when people confront their own emotions. According to Turner, "the sentiment of humanity" indicates "ecstasy," which is "to stand outside the totality of structural positions one normally occupies in a social system" (138). *Communitas* and *honne* both accompany this sentiment. The difference between these two is that *communitas* is induced by people sharing *honne* while *honne* is just one's state of mind confronting one's emotions. As Turner points out, what people seek in the experience of *communitas* "is a transformative experience that goes to the root of each person's being and finds in that root something profoundly communal and shared" (138). In other words, *communitas* is a world of shared emotions (shared *honne*), such as happiness, madness, sadness, and joy, emotions which are universal forms of communication among humans.

On the other hand, the behavior of *tatemaie* generates social structure [see endnote 37].⁵² As discussed previously on page 40-49, the purpose of *tatemaie*, which is somewhat of an untrue behavior, is to satisfy one's *amae* more effectively in the long run rather than being honest to one's *amae* all the time. Appearing as a preferable person through the use of *tatemaie* increases one's potential to maintain ties with people, which brings greater benefit in the long run, whereas, on the other hand, being selfish leads to denial by others, which is a grave loss for one's survival. Social structure is generated

from these practices of *tatemaie*, which are the product of a psychology that derives from human's desire to satisfy one's *amae*. As Turner indicates, social structure is "the very cultural means that preserve dignity and liberty, as well as the bodily existence of [*all human beings*]" (140 emphasize added). Likewise, *tatemaie* is a cultural device that enables the society to function properly and increases the potential for the individual's survivability. Although both social structure and *tatemaie* cause the sentiment of restraint in individuals, they are not "merely the set of chains" because without compromise (the sacrifice to satisfy one's *amae*), communal life of more than one person is impossible (140).

The oscillation between structure and anti-structure is induced by peoples' transition between *tatemaie* and *honne*. Sharing *honne* promises the emotional unity of humans, or perhaps determines what the relationship will be in the future. It does this because emotion is the most powerful means of communication that goes beyond language. As the proverb "eyes are as eloquent as the tongue" indicates, communication on a non-verbal level can sometimes convey more information than the actual spoken language. This is the case because words can be used to hide or twist the truth while emotions expressed in non-verbal behavior are hard to manipulate. According to an extreme perspective, in Japan language itself is one form of *tatemaie* (it is almost impossible to express one's *honne* on a verbal level). In general, the words and behavior, which convey what appears to be the actual emotion, are called *honne*, and what they bring to people's mind is the world of *honne*.

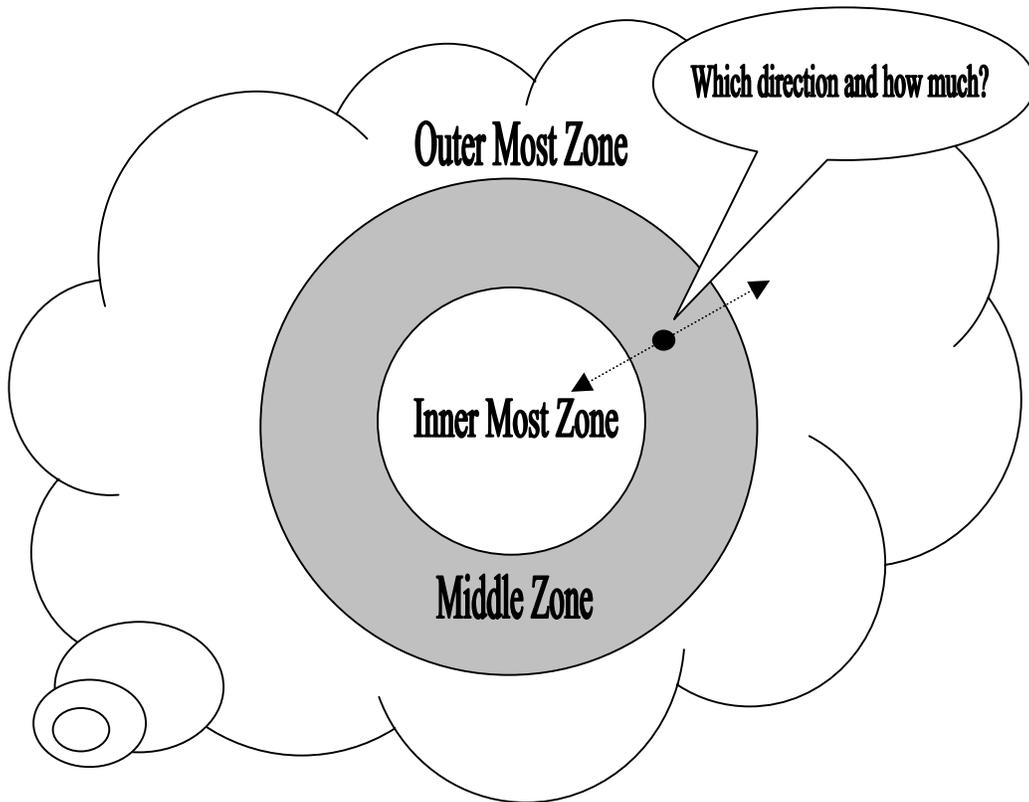
The reason why sharing *honne* leads to a more intimate relationship is that *honne* is a candid expression, where the decorative behavior of *tatemaie* (an intention to look

good/preferable to the other person) is diminished. Communication on this level provides a chance to understand a basic character of the person, which gives clues for one's better survivability. This is so because the information about the person's basic character tells one "what to do" and "what not to do," which enables one to maintain ties with the person, and this consequently lets one satisfy one's *amae* more effectively in the long run.

When *honne* is shared with one another, people understand each other with more confidence and their hearts are touched, which brings "ecstatic *communitas*" to the group. The common experience of *honne* with another person (*communitas*), which creates a "sense of affinity" toward that person, reflects a human psychology that enables humans to cooperate with one another. It seems that this positive outcome of shared *honne*, which brings cooperation to the group, is what Turner means by *communitas*. In other words, *communitas* is one of the two possible outcomes of people sharing *honne*.

I say this because, sharing *honne* can bring the judgmental sentiment "I do not like this person." In any event, I suggest that the experience of sharing *honne* provides clues to determine the nature of the other person. Based on this source, one decides whether the relationship to this person should become more of an inner zone or outer zone character and by how much [see Figure 3 in page 67]. What then should this situation be called when people share *honne* but their relationship becomes worse? Perhaps it is similar to the world of war, where negative feelings such as frustration, madness, and something like violence prevail.

Figure 3. Experience of shared *honne* and the judgement of a person's position



The experience of sharing *honne* provides clues to the nature of the other person and what that means to oneself. Based on this source, one decides whether the relationship to this person should become more of an inner zone or outer zone character and by how much.

Turner points out that the experience of *communitas* re-energizes structure, which makes the development of society possible. Here, “development” indicates “stability,” a situation where unbalance is rectified. This is only possible through the experience of sharing *honne*, which brings the most reliable information on which individuals base their future plans. Regardless of a positive or negative outcome, on an individual level, sharing

honne brings the sentiment of peace because one's uncertainty (unbalance) has diminished and this is the advanced stage of the society according to one's perspective.

This idea also can be applied to people at a drinking occasion. It is the effect of the drug, alcohol, which takes away the barrier of *tatemaie* and enables the individuals' transition to the experience of *communitas*. In other words, through the effect of alcohol, people's minds can easily transfer to a state where the rules of social structure diminish. In their "high" phase, people escape from the bonds of the rigid society, where invisible chains shape and control one's physical and psychological behavior, and feel the sentiment of their existence (ecstasy). This is the significance of alcohol, which does this magic to people's minds.

What people seek from alcohol is not the taste but the sentiment of "high (ecstasy)." An informant, an alcoholic, described this as follows,

Kanashii toki ni kanashii, ureshii toki ni ureshii...souiu kimochi ni sasete kureru no ga sake nandesu. Sake wa sono toki no kimochi wo 100% kara 200% ni zoufuku shite kurerun desu.

Translation: The sentiment of sadness when I am sad, the sentiment of joy when I am happy...those are what alcohol brings to my mind [when I drink]. Drinking amplifies my feelings of that moment from 100 percent to 200 percent. (emphasis added)

These words signify the importance of emotions, and how much they are restrained in daily lives.

According to this perspective, not only alcohol, but ecstatic drugs in general have the same function to bring people's minds to a phase of *honne*, and thus, in this respect, belong to the same category. It should be mentioned, though, that the world of *honne* is also available in various other ways such as in religious ceremonies, meaningful

conversations with friends, reading books, time spent with a significant other, exercising, or even for some scholars who dream the world will change through their work in their secluded office. The opportunities of confronting one's *honne* are everywhere and without limit. People naturally seek this ecstasy, and the word addiction is a word to address people who lose themselves in the pleasure of these opportunities (e.g. alcoholics, gambling addicts, drug addicts, diet addicts, workaholics, shopping addicts, etc). It is important to mention here that some means of inducing the world of *honne* are more dangerous than others. The significance and, at the same time, danger of drugs are that they effortlessly and with almost no error induce the mental phase of *honne*. They additionally make people dependent on these substances, mentally and physically, which can ruin their lives and could even lead to death.

Neither limited to the occasion of drinking nor limited to the Japanese, sharing one's *honne* (emotions) brings the sentiment of understanding a person, which helps to clarify one's relationship to the person. The common experience of *honne* often contributes to the establishment of a firmer relationship (although it can also result in rejection of the person), which is a relationship of reduced tension. I suggest that Tuner's concept of *communitas* indicates one type of world created by people's sharing of *honne*, which promises more intimate relationships. The significance of alcohol is that it generates this state of mind "*honne*" relatively easily compared to other non-drug means to achieve the same mentality. It requires no effort on side of the consumer and the desired effect is almost guaranteed. Additionally, if this sentiment of *honne* is shared, it has a great potential of inducing *communitas*. The next section focuses on the function of

drinking in Japanese society that uses this effect of alcohol to unite people on an emotional level.

The Function of Drinking; Workplace as *Uchi*

The Japanese lifetime employment system hires some men until they retire, which leads workers to be careful with human relations with other workers. Among the *salarymen* (white-collar workers), there is a strong urge at their workplace to become an *uchi* member who seeks to be understood by others. In general, people fulfill this purpose through polite behavior and displaying their spirit of self-sacrifice, which is *tatemae*. They do so because, through this, they create the impression of reliability with others. However, at the same time, this politeness of *tatemae* induces stress since they repress their *amae*. Among the contemporary Japanese *salarymen*, it is safe to say that many problems are bottled-up in them. Thus, drinking is an occasion where they can release this stress by revealing their *honne*. As indicated in chapter 3, revealing *honne* is the criterion of being in the intimate *uchi* group. Since drinking, with the effect of alcohol, breaks the barrier of *tatemae* within the individual and lets one reveal one's *honne*, it consequently creates the sentiment of intimacy, which unites the group on an emotional level. In other words, drinking has a catalytic function that stimulates people's transformation into an *uchi* group. The frequent work-related drinking practice in Japan is the reaction to the rigid norm of *tatemae*, which violates the individual's desire for intimacy.

Japanese *salarymen* regard people's relationships at their workplace as the highest priority in life. They do so since society practices a system called the lifetime

employment system, which brings a long-term relation with other workers that lasts more than thirty years. In Japan, it is difficult to re-secure a lifelong-employed-position because changing one's occupation has a negative connotation, such as "he quit the previous place because he made a problem" (Terada 1993: 81). Even if a person is re-hired by a different company, it is uncommon for the person to experience equal or better conditions than at the previous place, in terms of salary and relations with other workers. Thus, in Japan, most *salarymen* stay in one company until their retirement once they are hired (Terada 1993: 81).

Because of this, Japanese *salarymen* deliberately keep harmony with other workers. They seriously do so since this harmony increases their comfort at the workplace, and can influence their salary in the long run. One should never allow associate workers, especially one's direct supervisor, to remain in *soto* or to shift from the middle-zone to the outermost-zone (see page 67) because, for instance, if a supervisor is prejudiced against a subordinate, the worker's career would be doomed.

Thus, co-workers must be considered as an *uchi* group for lifelong-hired *salarymen*. They should, at least, not feel uncomfortable in their working environment. In fact, when they enter a company, the first thing many people do is to attain a position where they can be mentally comfortable in their working environment. There are strong urges "to fit into the group," "to be considered reliable," and "to become comfortable within the group."

As indicated in chapter 3, Japanese make a clear distinction between *uchi* and *soto* due to the socio-cultural environments they confront. They practice rigid *tatemaie* in general, but at the same time, in their heart, prefer to be themselves, which means sharing

honne, which is possible among the *uchi* group members. This process consequently forms a group with strong human relations where people may understand one another on a non-verbal or emotional level.

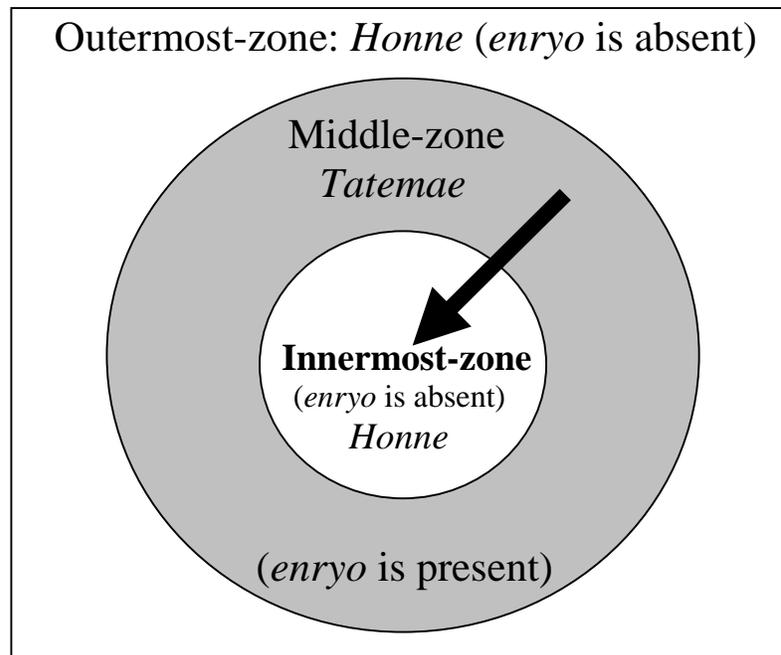
The same process applies to the situation at the Japanese workplace; *salarymen* try to adapt to their working environment, which means becoming an *uchi* member. They do this according to their worldly wisdom that they learned in the past. The most effective or patterned way to become an *uchi*-member is to display the altruistic *tatemae* behavior and loosen it gradually as the other members place more trust in one. Here, *salarymen* do the same thing as the students in a mandatory sports club: they show their properness to the group by expressing attitudes such as loyalty, modesty, perseverance, and self-sacrifice while hiding their ambition to realize their will until they receive the recognition from the group. In other words, they mostly behave politely, employing their *tatemae* manners, especially in the beginning when they have low status. (see page 40-49)

However, over time, a feeling of repression (stress) develops when one is polite. The more polite or *tatemae*-like the behavior is, the bigger is the gap between *honne* and the actual *tatemae* behavior (Takeuchi 1995: 187-189). This is the case because *tatemae* (polite) behavior requires one's *amae* to be restrained temporarily. Behaving against one's *amae* is burdensome because *amae*, which makes people feel good when it is satisfied, is a basic human feeling that enhances survival (see page 55). In general, people employ a *tatemae* manner because those self-sacrifices can be paid back more in the long run than being rejected by others for fulfilling one's *amae* all the time.

Since the rigid norm of *tatemae* causes discomfort in the person, drinking with co-workers has the potential to enable people to expose their well-hidden *honne*, which makes people feel relieved and consequently unites the group on an intimate level. When people consume alcohol, they can not maintain their *tatemae*, which means that they can not lie effectively (Takagi 1992: 10). One of the effects of the drug alcohol is to ease the strained relations of *tatemae* by making people reveal their *honne*.

This effect consequently enables person A to learn what to expect from person B, and how to react to him, which helps creating an efficient functional relationship that can communicate one's will with less difficulties (*amae* relationship). By sharing an emotion with a non-defensive attitude, it enables person A to understand how to deal with B according to B's basic character (e.g. how serious/silly (goofy), reliable/unreliable, friendly/unfriendly, open/close-minded etc. B is). This is because people, in general, prefer to share their *honne* rather than interact in *tatemae* (Doi 1996: 36; 1973: 39). A possible reason is that revealing *honne* (*amae*), which makes people feel good or alive, insures a higher degree of intimacy on an unconscious level. I suggest that drinking with co-workers has a catalytic function that stimulates the shift of human relationships from *soto* to *uchi* or the middle-zone to the innermost-zone [see figure 4 in page 74].

Figure 4. Direction of Human Relationship Stimulated by Drinking



The degree of human relationship at the workplace must move towards the innermost-zone from the middle-zone as time passes. Drinking has a catalytic function, which stimulates this motion by enabling people to reveal their *honne*, which allow them to become more intimate.

Of course, the exposure of *honne* due to alcohol can trigger rude behavior that could offend others. For example, a person who is normally a serious subordinate worker, may criticize his boss by saying “You bragger! Who do you think you are!” or behave in a bossy manner by commanding, “Hey Suzuki (boss’s name), perform the thing that you did last time!” just because the subordinate is drunk.

For this kind of mishap, Japanese possess drinking rules that generously forget or forgive (or don’t take seriously) silly things that occurred in a drinking occasion. This custom is called *breiko*. This drinking norm assumes that all that happened at the drinking place was like a dream - an occasion detached from the real world. In principle,

the norm encourages mishaps, especially shameful mistakes such as whining, complaining, boasting or flirting with hostess, to be excused (Saito 1987: 153-154). In this case, the boss, in principle, should not degrade the subordinate worker because of his rude drunken behavior. Often, when a subordinate makes these kinds of mistakes towards a respectable person, he afterwards goes to the insulted one and apologizes for what he has done at the drinking place. In this case, for instance, if the subordinate apologizes, “Please excuse my rude behavior last night” to the boss, the boss might smile and generously reply with a cliché, “*Iya- sake no seki dakarane...* (Well, it was a drinking occasion... (anything can happen)).”⁵³

The custom of *breiko* protects drunks from paying consequences for making shameful mistakes, and because of this, it encourages people to drink and become drunk. This allows people to make fools out of themselves, which also provides an opportunity to understand others on an intimate level. Understanding another person’s interest besides work, which becomes possible during the drinking time, creates an effective communication between the people which will benefit their work lives afterwards (Nakane 1967: 129). In this respect, Japanese *salarymen* are emotionally united as a group in addition to the contract relationship, which westerners predominately use to maintain ties with co-workers.

The function of work-related drinking in Japan is to unite the working members on an emotional level. This creates closer relationships that enable effective communication, which helps society to function smoothly. Since the Japanese practice rigid norms of *tatemae*, the exposure of *honne* is an effective way to create an intimate relationship. This is so since there is a strong desire to express one’s *honne* (*amae*) within

each individual. When the intimate relations are established among the co-workers, they feel more comfortable working at their workplace. This benefits the company's side since many things function smoothly without frictions. It is safe to say that the cost of drinking among workers is one kind of investment for Japanese companies since the drinking custom consequently profits them in the long run.

Problems Stemming from the Japanese Function of Drinking

In Japan, drinking has the function of facilitating human relations, and this use of alcohol is by now an established custom in the rigid social structure. In the first place, alcohol has the function of reducing the consumers' *tatemae* barriers and let them confront their *honne*; this often helps unite people on a more intimate level, which is advantageous for the individuals in the long run. However, because of this basic function of drinking, which generates *communitas* in the group, the effect of alcohol is manipulated strategically to win one's superior's favor (e.g. *settai* [reception with customer], behavior of *nemawashi* [groundwork]). In this situation, for the inferior one, a real *communitas* does not emerge because *tatemae* behavior that feigns to be *honne* is still being activated. It induces pseudo-*communitas*, where the person does not achieve the basic purpose of drinking (creating a true intimate relationship) nor release stress. It rather causes more restraint in the person's mind, which causes the urge to escape from the bond of social structure. However, in this society of an economically oriented busy world, the chances of real *communitas* for hard working *salarymen* are quite limited because those opportunities are often degraded (e.g. mere waste/unproductive). Thus, people escape from the social structure by just confronting their *honne*, such as by drinking by

themselves. In this case, *honne* is not shared so the world of *communitas* does not emerge, thus does not revitalize the social structure in Turner's sense. This seems to be the trend in the contemporary world where people reduce their stress by experiencing this "individual-level-*communitas*," which is not really a *communitas*, rather than "society-level-*communitas*" in the name of their business.

Alcohol makes people drunk, and shared drunkenness can unite people on a more intimate level. In the previous section, I discussed how easily alcohol diminishes one's barrier of *tatemae* and makes one confront one's *honne*; and if the world of *honne* is shared with others, this induces the world of *communitas*. As a short hand, I will call this "the basic function of drinking." I suggest the reason why alcohol is employed in various rituals and festivals throughout the world is due to this basic function of drinking.

However, there are some people who cunningly use the basic function of drinking to realize their desires (e.g. men's use of alcohol in courting situations to increase the chance of seducing a woman). In Japan, practices such as *settai* and *nemawashi*, are examples of strategic drinking, which intentionally employ alcohol to gain a superior's favor and in turn satisfy one's *amae* accordingly. There exists a hidden purpose such as "to make a contract," "to be favored by the superior," "to express one's own feelings (desire) without offending the boss."⁵⁴ In these cases, drinking is intentionally used to become more of an inner-zone person with another, by showing a preferable character during the drinking occasion.

The purpose of *settai* is for the business situation to become better for the host's side. This is achieved through the host's emotional approach, for which the Japanese

word *toriiru* would be an appropriate expression. *Toriiru* is an *amae*-related verb to address one's flattering behavior, which is intended to gain the superior's care (see endnote 19). Examples of *settai* are drinking *settai*, mah-jongg *settai*, golf *settai*, etc. An informer, a worker in a sales division and a necktie-alcoholic, described the importance of *settai* as follows:

My work is to increase the company's market share and to secure the commodity as cheaply as possible...So, I drink, for instance once a month, with the representative of a company (client) at places, such as hot spring resort A or B, in the name of collecting bills for the commodity...By doing this, I obtain information about the circumstance of their company, such as their business in Tokyo or about the situation of their budget (e.g. when the money will be available)...Generally, the cycle of drinking is like an established custom, such as once a month with company A, once every three months with company B, or this time of the year with company C, which is often arranged to the client's convenience. It (*settai*) is to make our company's situation better, to make our communication better, and to gain a useful piece of information about the situation of the client's company.

Here, the informer's word "for better communication" does not indicate the ability to continue a conversation nor the ability to have a heated discussion. In Japanese, what people mean by "better communication" is "to be able to understand and be treated properly (preferentially) without much action by oneself."

Nemawashi is originally a gardening word that means "to prepare a tree for transplanting by digging around it and [binding] some of the roots" (Nippon Steel Human Resources Development Co. 1987: 163, emphasis added). In business, it indicates "the groundwork done before moving ahead with a plan" (163). People reveal their plan by making personal contact before the official contact, which commonly takes place at a drinking occasion. For instance, one may ask to take charge of an upcoming event in the company, or ask for one's creative plan to be actualized, or express one's usefulness to a

superior to gain the chance of promotion in the future. By making a tacit agreement with these people of power, one can effectively actualize one's wish.

There is a basic principle in strategic drinking, such as in *settai* or when doing *nemawashi*. In every situation, the inferior one, who attempts to satisfy his/her wish, extols the superior one as much as possible. As discussed earlier, the basic function of drinking is to get high and share *honne* (communitas), which makes human relationships more intimate. However, in this strategic way of drinking, the inferior one manipulates the superior by acting as a person who is faithful to the superior one, which lets the superior one have a good impression of the inferior one. This good impression is of great benefit to the inferior one in the long run. Although the inferior one may be enjoying the occasion, his first consideration is to make the superior feel good and gain the superior's support for the future; communitas has a lower priority.

In strategic drinking occasions, an inferior *salaryman* makes all the arrangement to satisfy the superior one. This includes the reservation of the facilities where *settai* will take place, but also arranging taxis, buying gifts, making maps showing how to come to the appointed place, coming to the place beforehand and making sure everything (seats, number of hostess, foods etc) is correct. Additionally, the inferior one may intentionally lose the game in mah-jogg or golf, provide the better seat to the superior in a cabaret, or let pretty hostesses surround the superior one at hostess bars. What is required here is an intensive spirit of *kikubari* (a careful consideration and response without even making the other person notice the need) to gain the superior's one's favor. For example, an informant, a necktie-alcoholic who works in the sales division and sells medical equipment, told me of his experience of arranging a hotel for his client's affairs. He told

me about a client, a doctor and a womanizer, with whom he did *settai*. He said, after the *settai*, the client preferred to stay with his female companion overnight. Since he knew of this habit, he arranged things accordingly. Since it is difficult to attain a room in a decent hotel near the drinking district on short notice, the informant said he made reservations beforehand assuming that the doctor would stay overnight. He added that the arranged room was not always used.

In these *salarymen*'s minds, "sacrifice" during a drinking occasion works like an exchanged commodity, which plays an important role in their business-based reciprocal relationships. Japanese words such as *settai* and *nemawashi* carry this connotation, but it is also important to mention that these words also have negative connotations such as "filthy people's behavior." In any event, strategic drinking actually works very well in this *amae* oriented society so that some scholars, who write Japanese business manuals for non-Japanese, describe it as a "Japanese way of doing business" and emphasize that non-Japanese businessmen should follow this custom to succeed in business in Japan. The basic mindset of strategic drinking is to imply "I am this much good for you. Please understand my effort (sacrifice) and respond accordingly." This is similar to the commonly used Japanese greeting "*yoroshiku onegai shimasu*" (see endnote 20), which implies "if you understand my situation, you should know what you can do for me. So please be nice to me by responding to my needs." According to the Japanese perspective, sacrifice, which here means "an elaborate work for the *sake* of other people," in general, is an exchangeable commodity. The inferior's elaborate *kikubari* in *settai* or behavior of *nemawashi* is an extension of this perspective.

For instance, according to a drinking manual titled *Salaryman no sake nonnde shusse suru hon* [The way to get promoted by drinking for *salarymen*], Yamamoto indicates how to deal with problematic drinkers as follows:

If a troublesome drunken customer in a reception catches you, pay attention to the timing when you send off the customer...It is always better not to deal directly with the troublesome drunk. So, if possible, try to indirectly [or harmoniously] send him home such as by asking the bar hostess to tell the drunk for you, "The taxi has arrived for you to go home" ...Problematic drunks are often caused by the ups and downs of working situations... So if this kind of problem occurs when you are drinking with a colleague, try to console him with sympathy. What you are doing is like creating debt [that will be paid back to you in the long run. This is so because, in general, people who make problems when drunk often feel guilty for being abusive afterwards]... The importance is not to be involved in the drunken one's problems. (Yamamoto 1983: 37-38, my translation)

Real *communitas* will not emerge in a situation of strategic drinking, because, with respect to revealing one's *honne*, what participants are actually doing remains within the system of social structure. Compared to the naturally induced *communitas*, this pseudo-*communitas* is based on an intention to look better than one actually is and gain a benefit from it. This is *tatemae* behavior. As long as one is not true to one's emotions (*honne*) a real *communitas* will not emerge, thus the consequence for one's mind is different from experiencing real *communitas*. In the first place, *communitas* unites people on a spiritual level, where people are released from the chains of the social structure such as status, role, groups, networks, organizations, and institutions. Strategic drinking lacks this crucial aspect of *communitas*, therefore, it is pseudo-*communitas*. Although, it must be added that the superior one may be experiencing the world of *communitas* in contrast to the inferior experiencing pseudo-*communitas*.

Pseudo-communitas, where one does not confront one's emotion (*honne*) cannot revitalize one's world. Thus, one seeks to confront one's *honne*, which is necessary for all human beings, elsewhere. Among the busy *salarymen*, one of the convenient ways to do this is by consuming alcohol by oneself. Since society is busy and relationships besides those with people at the workplace are hard to establish and maintain, some drink alone occasionally and consequently come to show an alcohol dependency syndrome. As indicated before, I began my fieldwork with the premise that drinking at the workplace is enjoyable for men, until an informant corrected me in the following way:

No, no, Keiko-san, *settai* is not just an enjoyable thing. It is rather difficult and tiresome...In fact, the *sake* during *settai* does not taste good. Especially, if I have to drink with a complicated person, such as a person who likes philosophy, it is murderous...On the other hand, drinking with old friends, such as people of the same school, is enjoyable.

This informant told me that there is a way of drinking, which he called “*shimezake* (final drink/closure drink,” which is a drinking pattern where the *settai* host drinks by himself to release the tension induced by *settai*. It seems that the practice of *shimezake* is not limited to him. When I asked other informants, “have you ever drunk in a way to really relax after *settai*?” (see Appendix 3 in page 118), although most replied that they do not do *shimezake*, they said they could understand the feeling of people who do *shimezake*.

I will call this type of drinking pattern, where a person drinks by him/herself, “an individual-level-communitas,” even though it is not really a communitas. This is different from Turner's sense of communitas (society-level-communitas), which is induced by people's sharing of *honne*. In individual-level-communitas, a person can confront his/her emotions (*honne*) and feel ecstasy, but the world induced by sharing this sentiment with others (communitas) is not available. In other words, ecstasy is there, but “the

revitalization of social structure” or, in other words, “the more peaceful relationship” is not actualized. Unfortunately, there is no space for renewal on a society level, and possibly not on an individual level either.⁵⁵

In Japanese business, some drink strategically to gain the favor of their superior by showing their apparently sincere faithfulness. In Japan, there is a practice of *breiko* (see endnote 54) but these people rather take advantage of this custom by doing *toriiru* (see the endnote 19). Here, for those who pretend, the world of *honne* and the world of *communitas* do not emerge, because the person’s *honne*-looking *tatemae* behavior is mainly governed by the social structure, and not anti-structure. The person experiences pseudo-*communitas*, which is part of the social structure. However, human emotions have evolved in such a way that people can not live without confronting their emotions and experiencing *communitas*. In other words, since they cannot live without transferring their mind to the world of anti-structure, they must release their pent-up stress elsewhere. In this contemporary industrialized world, due to the economically based ideology and systems, the importance of society-level-*communitas* is neglected, which, as a result, increases the demand for individual-level-*communitas*. I suggest that society needs to be more aware of people’s emotions and what this neglect can bring to society in the long run.

Chapter 5: Workaholic *Salarymen*

Work as Top Priority in Life

In Japan, the boundary between private and official life is very vague. This is because human relationships in the Japanese workplace are based on emotional ties, which are of advantage to the group (company). This creates a circumstance where people are too strongly influenced by the company's purpose. It seems that the enterprise's side is taking advantage of this ambiguity between private and official life and interferes with the Japanese worker's private life. Expressions such as *kaisha iro ni somaru* (be dyed by the color of the company), *shafu ni nareru* (get used to the ways of the company), *moretsu shain* (keen workers), *kaisha ningen* (company person) are all examples of people who consider work as their top priority. Many of these people do not feel the pain of their hard work due to the deep involvement in their work place. They are workaholics who rather feel guilty or emptiness when they are not working.

In Japan, human relations within a well-formed group (*uchi* group) are based on emotional ties that gradually develop through sharing each other's *honne*. Within the group, people behave and communicate according to the group's own rules, which are created and followed by the members. These rules automatically create a closed-world to others where non-members are likely to feel excluded. This also shapes the members' personality and consequently strengthens the group as a whole in the long run. As Nakane indicates, these rules "in turn are emphasized in mottoes which bolster the sense

of unity and group solidarity, and strengthen the group even more” which gives the group “strong independence or isolation” (Nakane 1967: 46; 1970: 20).

The situation at the Japanese workplace strongly reflects this basic group-forming pattern. The lifetime employment system, which hires employees for a long time, naturally shapes the company into a world that non-members can not easily access; and created codes, which members follow, strengthen the group’s solidarity even more.

Here, the codes, the way things are done in a company, are called *shafu*. In general, *shafu*’s binding power can take precedence over many things such as laws, general social norms, or even one’s personal morality. Often, *shafu* tends to be more rigid in the most modern appearing large enterprises than in small local-level unknown companies (Nakane 1967: 42-43; 1970: 14).

Shafu is a very important factor in Japan. For instance, at the very beginning of the company entrance training (*shinnyu-shain-kenshu*), many companies educate newly hired employees about the company’s *shafu*. The main purpose, at this stage, is to integrate individuals into the company. On this occasion, new employees learn about the mottoes of the company and how to behave (e.g. how to greet) in addition to many other things about their workplace. There are institutions where newly hired employees undergo one-day experiences at the Japanese Self-Defense Forces or do *zazen* (Zen meditation) (Terada 1993: 79). Singing the company’s song or reading the company’s motto at every morning assembly are typical examples of workers getting used to the *shafu* (79).

From a non-Japanese perspective, there are many practices at the Japanese workplace which appear to shape the workers’ mind into the company’s way. Some non-

Japanese see this as a sort of mind-control or brainwashing, but it is not considered a problem in Japan. This is because, as explained in the previous chapter (see Chapter 3), Japanese are accustomed to this way of doing things since their youth. They are used to going through rigid rules that emphasize group harmony; as a reaction to the strict discipline on individuals, the whole rigid process provides an opportunity to share their feelings with group members, which further strengthens the group as a whole. Here, the mentality of oneness is crucial to achieving high goals. For Japanese, there is even a mind-set that combines “restricting one’s ego (cooperation)” and “success.” The example of *salarymen*’s integration into a work group is just an extension of the general Japanese group formation pattern, which people perceive as very natural.

The personal *uchi* relationships enable the group to accomplish high standard goals, which are very advantageous for the group. However, as Nakane points out, Japanese groups that practice the emotional approach “can often intrude on those human relations which belong to the completely private and personal sphere. Consequently, the power and influence of the group not only affects and enters into the individual’s actions; it alters even his ideas and ways of thinking” (Nakane 1968:37; 1970: 10). In other words, there is no clear boarder between the public and private sphere of life.

In fact, according to a non-Japanese perspective, official matters constantly intrude into Japanese workers’ private lives. For instance, the hierarchical order at the workplace is strictly maintained outside work. Subordinate workers must obey their boss or solicit their customers’ patronage during their private life as well. Since Japanese are very eager to create human relations based on emotional ties, they elaborately make an effort to do so by investing their private time: they do *settai-gorufu* (golf reception) with

their boss and customers on non-working days, *nomikai* (drinking gathering) with their colleagues and *settai* (drinking reception) with customers after five, etc. For them, these activities are *shigoto no encho* (extension of work). Additionally, overtime work is very common among these people. Most workers do not leave their office on time (they come early and leave several hours late). They also come to work on holidays. If there is no work-related occasion, then the weekend is *neteyoubi* (sleeping day) - the day to recover from the exhaustion of the week. They do not know the concept of leisure and they consider having a paid vacation as shameful or sinful. There are many Japanese workers who do not take advantage of paid vacation for five, ten or twenty years in a row.

On a superficial level, people do not seem to be forced but rather volunteer their time. Thus, according to a non-Japanese standard, the employer's side cannot be accused of forcing people to work long hours every day. However, if examined more deeply, which means according to the Japanese employees' minds, although it is not forced, it is equivalent to being forced. The norm underlying this custom is to do *kikubari* (careful consideration and react accordingly before others tell you to do it) (c.f. *omoiyari* (be thoughtful)). So, although it is, on a contract level, not necessary, people, in general, consider these activities as "necessary work." In fact, refusing these activities is a very unwise move.

Workers in general are accustomed to these working practices. They are so deeply involved in work that their life's center is only the work. As indicated before, for many Japanese workers, *shafu* precedes basic rules, such as laws, general social norms, or even personal morals. Thus, there are many Japanese workers who violate basic social rules due to the situation at their workplace. Every once in a while, in Japan, there are top

executives of famous companies who are arrested for corruption and confess that “it (the corruption) was for the company.” This is very convincing for Japanese, since people can sympathize with the victim who violated his morality for the sake of his company.

The ambiguity between official and private life does not ease the workers but rather interferes with their *amae* (*honne*) and greatly takes advantage of them. For instance, I encountered an informant who told me that the criterion for a capable worker is to be able to handle issues with a spirit of self-sacrifice especially when the matter is urgent. When I asked for a concrete example, this branch manager of a famous company in Japan explained as follows:

A capable worker is a person who can handle issues especially when the matter is urgent. For instance, let's say you must go to a certain place, let's say to the U.S., to make a contract immediately. Of course, you need a VISA, which would not be available in time. You cannot go according to the regulation, but there is a possibility. For instance, you go there as a tourist [Japanese tourists do not need a VISA to enter the U.S., if they stay less than three months]. If your stay happens to extend more than three months, go to Canada or Mexico and re-enter the U.S., so that you can stay another three months. A capable worker must know the rules and the attached practices and use the information to the maximum. The person should not give up and, in some way, find a solution to accomplish the goal. Of course, there is the danger of getting into trouble. However, this is the spirit. Good workers are brave enough to take the risk and accomplish the goal successfully (emphasis added).

This working spirit seems to apply to general workers as well. The working practice is advantageous for the company's side which expects workers to take risks for the company. My informant added that “the capable worker is a person who challenges the laws and regulations and takes advantage of them to the maximum.”

According to this Japanese logic, idealistically, if the company expects workers to work extra with the spirit of *kikubari* (careful consideration and react accordingly before others tell you to do it), the company should pay accordingly in the same manner of *kikubari*. However, in practice, the company expects the workers' *kikubari* but does not repay it. For workers, there is always something to do; there is no limit to their work. The concept of contract is lacking in Japanese society; the workers' private life is always interfered with for the company's sake (Nakane 1968: 158-166). I often heard workers complain when their sacrifices were not answered properly. The following is a typical story:

I was a nice guy who was asked to do extra work for the coming event. Of course, I accepted to do the task and worked overtime until midnight every day. I worked very hard. To say the truth, while working, I did expect some kind of reward after the whole project. So, I really worked hard. However, unexpectedly, there is nothing to compensate my hard work. The only thing was that the boss took me to a bar and treated me with food and drinks. My sacrifice of extra work was compensated by one night at the bar. Alas, I was used for cheap labor!

There are people who actually do feel that "something is wrong" about Japanese work ethics. However, they continue their self-sacrifice by convincing themselves, "If I just obediently do what is expected, it will be fine." It is very uncommon to object to the group or the upper division. Their motto is, as a Japanese proverb indicates, "*nagai mono ni makarero* (follow the strong force (do not go against it))." This idea also indicates that trying to change things will achieve nothing. In Japan, people who stick to their own ego are considered *wagamama* (selfish) and people who approach things logically are called *ronri-kurai/rikutsu-kusai* (stinks with logic) both of which have negative connotations. There is almost no impetus for reform from the bottom in this society.

In Japanese, the practice in a company is called *shafu*. *Shafu* frequently encroaches on workers' private lives. However, no one challenges this custom where workers are expected to work beyond their contract. This is because the practice of self-sacrifice is common and rather respected in this society. People are proud of self-sacrifice since this is related to success in life. This *salarymen*'s lifestyle where work has priority over everything else influences their family circumstances. The next section will focus on men's position in their families. It is the pitfall that Japanese workaholics are likely to fall into.

Pitfall of Workaholic *Salarymen* – Family Circumstance

The ambiguous border between private and business life produces workaholic *salarymen* in Japan. This influences the workers' family circumstances as well. Middle aged *salarymen*, who consider work as the first priority, do not spend much time with family. They leave most of the family concerns to their wives. Among the older generation in Japan, to concern oneself with family matters is not a respectable attitude for men but rather a shameful thing to do. When the father is always absent from home, it is natural for him to become distant from the family. In this society, there is a tendency for the mother to have strong ties with her children (mother-child capsule) while the father is rather excluded from the family. Here, the father's role is reduced to almost nothing except providing income for the family. This section introduces the process of forming this type of family and what family is like in Japanese society. It is the pitfall into which workaholic *salarymen* are likely to fall.

The problem begins with the communication problem between wife and husband (worker). In Japan, the women's work is to take care of the domestic issues. Often

women are faced with various problems, such as the children's education, discord with their mothers-in-law, imbalance between their part-time jobs and housework. Many of these are human related issues, whose solution depends on the actions of other family members as well. The husband's support is crucial. Often, she asks for her husband's help: "Your mother says... and I cannot do this. Could you please tell her that we cannot do it"; "Taro (child's name) is not listening to me. Could you tell him that he needs to..."

Regardless of their wives' requests, men are often reluctant to engage in these domestic troubles. A typical way men escape from these situations is by using the cliché, "I am so tired (let's talk about this later)," "That is your work (whatever you do is fine with me)," "I am busy." Men do not confront the problem seriously since they understand that their responsibility in the family is already fulfilled by their hard work at the workplace. In terms of child raising, a father's conversation is very superficial (*tatema*): "Did you do your homework?," "You have to...," "Life is tougher than you think. You must make an effort to..." etc.. Fathers are likely to impose their own standards rather than trying to understand the core problem (*amae*) of the child. This is substantially different from the way mothers perceive the issues. These small concerns, ignored by husbands, are often left unattended until a problem grows bigger and finally becomes a serious big problem, which burdens the family enormously (Saito 1989: 45-48).

The situation can become worse when it is accompanied by *tanshinfunin*. *Tanshinfunin* (single relocation) is a common practice in Japan, where a worker takes up a position far away from his family. The *tanshinfunin* period lasts between one year and a few years, but for some people, it never ends. There are people who spend most of their

career living alone away from their families; they visit their families during the weekends or on holidays. This situation makes the father's estrangement from the family worse since it adds the physical separation to the mental distance, which is already established.

Often, when a wife realizes that she cannot expect much from her husband as a husband and a father, her attention becomes more focused on her children, to make her life worth living. In this society, there are strong ties between mother and children ("mother-children capsule") as opposed to the distant relationship with the father (Saito 1989: 29). The more the father becomes distant from the house, the firmer the mother-children capsule becomes. For example, Japanese mothers elaborately take care of their children especially of children's educational issues, which may take precedence over their care for their husband (Saito 1989: 53). In Japan, the mother's involvement in the children's education, especially their preparation to enter school (including entrance to kindergarten) is tremendous. Often the mother's enthusiasm is greater than that of the children; children respond to their mother's will rather than their own.

For children, who witness their mother's deep involvement in their life in contrast to that of their father who disregards family issues, the father appears as a person who is "oppressive" but "does nothing at home," "sleeps and is lazy on Sunday," "forces all the domestic problems on mother" etc.. The family may consider the father's role as solely providing an income, such that they do not want him to do anything else, especially when he tends to come back home drunk every night and troubles the family. There is lack of communication between the father and his family, especially his children (Saito 1989: 46-48). There is a tendency in Japan to view the father as a negative image, such as "an obstinate person," "just a source of income," "*uzattai* (young people's slang: dowdy,

stuffy, makes you irritated when he/she is around (annoying), obstructive)” and in the worst case “*sodaigomi* (a big piece of refuse).”

When a father realizes his position in the family, it is often too late to rectify the situation. He is offended and surprised by how his family perceives him and asks with anger “Whom do you think I am sacrificing for!” but his message will not really reach their hearts. Often, men bear this situation with silence and rather become more involved in work. There is a sense of the workplace as being the place where men (fathers) escape from their family circumstance (Saito 1979: 16).

At the workplace, there are many men who have similar kinds of frustrations about their family situations. Because of this, men can associate themselves more with their colleagues than with their families who lack respect for the father. Men spend more time with these people than with their families and feel that “these people (work mates) are the only people who really understand me.” This creates the pseudo-family of working members while it detaches them from their real families. Among the workers, there are people who insist on a colleague drinking with them even though the colleague prefers to go home; they do this to keep him from succeeding in family matters and to help him become a member of the pseudo-family at the workplace. (Saito 1989: 46)

The term *kyujitsu-kyohi-sho* (refusal of holiday syndrome) indicates a worker who feels stressed being at home on a day off since he cannot interact with his family (Saito 1989: 141; Onokoi 1996: 1004). He makes unnecessary plans such as *settai*-golf (golf reception) or extra work on those days to keep himself away from home (Onokoi 1996: 1004). *Kyujitu-shinkei-sho* (neurosis for holiday) is a neurosis that is caused by this mentality (Saito 1989: 141; Onokoi 1996: 1004). The word *kitaku-kyohi-shokogun*

(refusal of returning home syndrome) indicates a worker who does not want to go home since it is not a place where he can feel comfortable and release stress. This word also satirizes the lives of contemporary Japanese businessmen's who work until 10 p.m., spend an additional two hours to get home (average time spent in round-trip commuting in Tokyo area is approximately four hours each day), arrive at home at midnight, and wake up early the next day. It is natural for them to think that they want to stay at a business hotel and rest there rather than go back home; this not only saves time, it also allows them to get away from "family service (entertain the family)" which brings additional stress (Onokoi 1996: 1004). In this society, there are shelters for men who cannot go home (or are afraid of going home) since their house is not a place for mental relief. Although these are extreme cases, they illustrate the general tendency of men being too involved in their work, which leads to disrupted family circumstances.

The desire "to have good relations with other workers" or "to feel that their work is the purpose of their life" has the danger of excessively involving men in work (Saito 1979: 14-15). Because of this, much of their time, which is meant to be spent with their family, is used for business matters and diminishes the father's role in the family in the long run. This is not a problem until men realize the seriousness of the situation, since men, in general, consider their role as a father/husband to be already fulfilled by their hard work outside of the house. This induces a strong tie between the mother and her children, as opposed to the neglected relationship with the father/husband. The firmer the mother-child capsule becomes, the more the father/husband devotes himself to work; and the more men devote themselves to work, the more they become comfortable at their

workplace and form a pseudo-family among the workers. The vicious circle is the problem.

Middle-aged *Salarymen* and Economic Growth

Japanese economic growth after WWII, especially from the late 50s to 70s, was accompanied by a hard working ethics on the part of Japanese workers, which resulted in a large number of middle-aged workaholic men. Three factors strongly promoted this phenomenon: the Japanese social structure, the creation of a system that gets the most out of people with this perspective (the life-time employment system), and the background of a poor economy in the past where people had a strong desire to attain a better standard of living. This section will especially focus on the third factor, which is about the society's transformation from an economically poor society to an affluent society. During the young days of the now middle-aged men, their environment was so poor, that there was a strong desire to accept (or take advantage of) the company offers, which required their strong commitment to the company. Alcohol was one of the benefits from the company, which was very much appreciated by those workers who considered alcohol as particularly precious. However, due to the various influences of modernization, the previously high price and value of alcohol declined drastically within a few decades, this along with other factors, led to the phenomenon of Japanese workaholic and alcoholic men. Among these workers, alcohol maintained its high value, which combined with the reduced price, lead to a strong demand for alcohol. This is one reason why the phenomenon of necktie-alcoholics mostly appears among the older generation in Japan.

Nakane attributes the Japanese vertical social structure to the Japanese traditional chief organizational unit *ie* (household). This hierarchical human relation is latent in all social groups in Japan, including the modern corporations and the underworld. She points out that this social structure provides the fundamental rules of Japanese society, which is almost unchangeable in spite of strong forces, such as modernization, urbanization, and westernization (Nakane 1970: 148). The social structure existed for a long time, frequently emphasized and strengthened on a governmental level throughout Japanese history.

Although Nakane does not discuss the custom of drinking, I think that the word “emotional unity,” which she points out as the characteristic of this vertical social structure, is brought about by the practice of drinking. In Japan, drinking has always been a means of creating an intimate relationship. To invite a person for a drink indicates the intention of the host to become close to the invited; it symbolizes respect to the invited (high status) thus denial means losing face for the host. People drink, get drunk, understand each other, trust each other, rely on each other (do business), and drink again for the accomplishment of their happiness; and this process repeats itself.

The Japanese vertical social structure with the practice of drinking was adopted by the Japanese business world after WWII.⁵⁶ The Japanese lifetime employment system is an effective system, which takes the Japanese character formed by the vertical social structure into account. The company is like a family. The company is a dependable community and a place where the members of the group share a common destiny. Along this line, the big company provides welfare benefits, company housing at a nominal rent, commissary-purchasing facilities, semi-annual bonuses, free medical care, and the like, to

which the workers respond with a strong commitment to the company.⁵⁷ The relationship of mutual trust created here has been the driving force of the rapid economic growth in Japan. Perhaps, without the emotional involvement in the company, the rapid economic success of Japan may not have occurred.

The emotional involvement in the company worked particularly well during the young days of now middle age *salarymen* when people appreciated alcohol because of its high cost. For instance, one informant (a non-alcoholic, branch manager of a famous company) described the middle-aged *salarymen*'s strong attachment to alcohol as a reflection of their historical environment. According to him, middle-aged men are fond of drinking because of alcohol's preciousness. This stimulates their greed, reflecting their materially poor background and motivating them to take advantage of company benefits.

While the Japanese social structure was brought into the business world, the cost of alcoholic beverages decreased drastically within a few decades. Due to the modernization process (development of preservation techniques and trade liberation for alcohol), this luxury delicacy changed to an affordable casual drink. This development led many middle-aged men to engage in drinking since many middle-aged men still consider drinking a luxury and an indication of masculinity. This caused a great demand for alcohol.

Unfortunately, people in Japan are not aware of the alcohol dependence problem. Especially among middle-aged *salarymen*, drinking has a somewhat positive rather than negative connotation. For example, I encountered an informant (a necktie-alcoholic; head of the sales division in a company) who was fond of drinking and never felt wrong about his drinking habit. He modestly said, "Well, unfortunately, I don't really have a hobby

that can be considered a hobby. When there is some empty time, I don't really have anything to do besides drinking. So, my hand naturally goes to *sake*. It is very hard to abstain from drinking.” The interview went well until I expressed my sympathy for him being an alcoholic (I thought he was aware that I was interviewing him because he has an alcohol dependence syndrome problem), but he interrupted the conversation and said “Excuse me, but I am not an alcoholic.” This is not an extreme case of a person who likes drinking but is not aware of his own alcohol problem. In Japan, it is often the case that person of alcohol dependence syndrome does not recognize himself as an alcoholic. The unawareness of alcohol dependence syndrome is a problem, which induces the number of necktie-alcoholics in this society.

In contrast to middle-aged men, the younger generation, born in an affluent environment, does not regard alcohol as costly nor finds the significance in the rules of Japanese vertical social structure. For young people, the company's events, such as *enkai* (banquet), *bonenkai* (year-end party), *shainryoko* (company trip), *kangeikai* (welcome party), *sogeikai* (farewell party), *hanami* (cherry blossom viewing), appear as burdens rather than enjoyment. Contemporary young people do not value the importance of vertical social structure. This generation is called *shinjinrui* (the new human species), which is severely criticized and considered the doom of Japan by people with more traditional values. An informant (a necktie-alcoholic) sarcastically described the behavior of young people drinking at the workplace, “Young people are very smart in drinking. When we invite, they simply reply ‘Today, I came by car’ and go home right after the *ichijikai*⁵⁸ (first stage drinking: Japanese change the drinking place a few times when they

drink.).” Because of their character, they do not seem to consider work as their first priority in life either, which contrasts with older workers.

Even though there is this new value among young Japanese, there is a tendency for these people, too, to find importance in drinking at the workplace and to join the drinking group as they stay longer in the company. However, as a whole, due to the drastic decline in the value of alcohol, the type of person “who considers alcohol as precious,” “who greedily takes advantage of drinking gatherings,” and “who regards drinking as an enjoyable hobby” are not as common among the young generation.

There is no clear evidence to prove a correlation between “the drinking custom at the workplace in Japanese society” and “the increase in number of workaholics.” However, in fact, the young generation, which does neither value alcohol nor the conventional Japanese vertical social structure, does not have an excessive attachment to alcohol nor does it have the strong involvement in the workplace, which is unlike the older generation. Because of this, it is not clear if the number of middle-aged necktie-alcoholic will increase, remain constant, or decline in the future. However, at this point, the custom of drinking at the workplace is very persistent in this society; and this custom is strongly related to the unchangeable Japanese social structure. There is a scholar who predicts that the demand for alcohol will increase due to another factor – the coming of a more stressful society in the future (Yamamoto 1983: 211-213). Thus, according to these situations and predictions, I think that the number of necktie-alcoholics will probably not decrease substantially and might even increase in the future unless significant effort to rectify this situation is made.

The workaholic aspect of middle-aged *salarymen* is induced by their values, which reflect their historical background – the period before the rapid economic growth in Japan. According to their customs, business is accompanied by drinking, and this induces people's attachment to the bottle. Especially in the past, drinking had more meaning due to the high cost of alcohol. However, contrary to the older generation, the younger generation does not value alcohol nor put importance in the Japanese traditional social structure. Perhaps, these characters make them less excessively involved in work than the older generation. Because of the new attitude towards alcohol or the traditional Japanese norms, it is not clear that the phenomenon of necktie-alcoholics will remain strong in this society. However, since the phenomenon is closely related to the unchangeable vertical social structure, I predict that it will persist.

Chapter 6: Analysis and Conclusion

Analysis

People self-sacrifice to satisfy their *amae*, but when their sacrifices are not rewarded properly, they experience stress. If society attempts to develop without considering this nature of human emotions, the development will not be durable. This section will 1) review the original purpose of *tatemaie* behavior that generates social structure; then 2) describe the reality of companies' rules, which govern people's behavior in detail; and 3) point out that these rules create tremendous pent-up frustration. This section will also discuss 4) the necessity of accurate education about the disease alcohol dependence syndrome.

The primary purpose of *tatemaie* behavior is to sacrifice some *amae* fulfillment as an investment in a relationship that promises a greater payoff in the future. As a short hand, I will call the gain due to *tatemaie* behavior "the function of *tatemaie* on a micro level." On the other hand, *tatemaie* behavior also contributes to the smooth functioning of the society where people live together in a group. People know that repressing a little bit of *amae* and adjusting their behavior to the group's rules can often bring a greater benefit than one could attain individually. It is due to this reason that people cooperate and help each other, which has enabled humankind to survive to the present day. In contrast to "the function of *tatemaie* on a micro level," I will call the aspect of *tatemaie* behavior that maintains the functionality of society "the function of *tatemaie* on a macro level." The significance of the human animal is that it possesses the ability to manage these two functions of *tatemaie* simultaneously.

The main difficulty is to keep the micro and the macro functions in a healthy balance. In Japan, the macro level is emphasized to the extent that the micro level (individual's will) is violated. In other words, strict *tatema*e rules are burdensome for many individuals while the society on a group level (e.g. the company) profits from the individuals' burden. For many individuals, strict *tatema*e rules appear as mere duties, which give them stress. The goal of *tatema*e, which is meant to acquire the sentiment of satisfaction, is not achieved and the person's emotions are overshadowed by frustration, anger, and stress; the consequence to people's minds is totally opposite to what was intended.

Perhaps more than anything, human emotion is sensitive to whether one's behavior is causing a loss or a gain for one's survivability. I suggest that human emotions are the most reliable barometer of whether one is living efficiently for one's survival or not. Stress especially signals that one's actions are not advantageous for one's life. As indicated earlier, people perform *tatema*e behavior to effectively satisfy their *amae*, which improves their life. I interpret "stress" as a mental state, which people feel when their self-sacrifice (work for the sake of other people) is not rewarded properly. Effort should be rewarded, and if it is not, people feel unpleasant feelings (e.g. frustration, anger, and stress). The common high stress in Japanese society, as can be found for instance in the media, literature and pop-culture, are evidence that many people believe their self-sacrifice (behavior in daily life) is not compensated for properly.

Contemporary people, especially in this busy industrialized age, need to confront their emotions and intently consider whether their life, all in all, is progressing towards improvement. Ignoring or simply repressing one's emotions because of a social norm to

do so means that one is manipulated by society, just as though one were a tool of society. Confronting oneself (emotions/*honne*), for instance by asking “Is being excluded from the family what I really want?,” “Am I not losing rather than gaining by sacrificing for this company. Do I work too hard, beyond the contract?,” or “Is this much money per day worth violating my morals (e.g. doing *kikubari* in *settai*)?” provides clues as to how to live more comfortably, and missing this process can lead one to “a life as a tool of society.”

However, modern society does not provide many people with the opportunity to confront themselves, because if this opportunity were given, the productive society could not survive. People cannot afford time to think why they are busy; they accomplish the imposed task, receive the established payment, pay the fixed tax, and have leisure by consuming their income. Many never consider whether their sacrifices were properly compensated. This trend is one of the great problems of humankind living in this busy age.

If society progresses economically (attains the goal of productivity) by recklessly repressing people’s *amae* (or ignoring people’s emotions), progress will not last. This is because, as I said earlier, people live with stress everyday but believe that their *tatemaie* behavior will be rewarded at some point in the future. However, just like person A, who realized that person B is not worth the effort of *tatemaie* and thus moves B to the outermost-zone, treats B without holding back or even violently; if it turns out not to be worthwhile to follow the society’s rules because it brings stress without sufficient benefit, then this leads to anarchy. This situation occurs frequently and is reflected in our history of continuous wars and revolutions.

I suggest that humans, especially people in this busy modern age, need to be consciously aware of the neglected emotions, which play an important role in their lives, as well as valuing the importance of *communitas*, which has a great potential for achieving balance in society. Material goods bring convenience but materially oriented progress can bring pain to people's minds. *Communitas* (shared *honne*) has a great potential to counteract the social structure that is strongly influenced by the economically oriented values in industrialized society. It holds the key to the problem of the "hard to live in society." "Communitas is the capability of mankind," as Turner suggests; I think, not using capability means to live without using a great talent to one's advantage.

Finally, I will discuss the disease alcohol dependence syndrome. Alcohol dependence syndrome is a disease caused by one's intention to maintain the ecstatic high phase, but leads to drinking more and becoming mentally and physically addicted. People drink because they want to be high. Why do people seek to get high? I think it is because people are actually egocentric animals that seek their own (this may include close kin) advantage even though they live in a society of cooperation with others.⁵⁹ Alcohol is a drug that effortlessly and with almost no error transfers people's minds from the *tatema* world (society-centered perspective) to the *honne* world (ego-centered perspective). People are designed to confront their emotions (*honne*) and that may be why people feel the ecstasy (positive feeling) when they drink and get high.

Is it wrong to indulge oneself in one's emotions? Although shared *honne* can generate *communitas*, on the societal level, people who insist on their emotions often appear as "selfish" rather than "beneficial" since it is an obstacle (inconvenient behavior) to society, and thus may be considered bad. However, on the individual level, to confront

one's emotions or to be true to one's emotions (actualizing one's will) is equivalent to the way animals live in the wild, surviving by following what their instinct directs; thus being oneself is not wrong but rather necessary, thus natural. Considering *amaenbo* (*amae*-baby: dependant person) shameful is a perspective of the society, since the person appears to be high maintenance for others. An individual regarding "high-maintenance behavior" as "shame" is the consequence of one's values shaped by society. People should be aware of this and learn to live for themselves to prevent themselves from being a mere tool of society.

Stress is an unpleasant feeling, which occurs when one's actions do not have the desired effect. The modern society of high stresses is an indication that the society of rigid rules is not convenient for many people; *tatema*e behavior which people perform is not rewarding for these people. Since, in Japan, the weight on "the function of *tatema*e on macro level" is much greater than "the function of *tatema*e on micro level," living in society restricts people's opportunity to realize their desires, which would contribute to the improvement of their lives. Societies develop beyond the control of most people and they are, in turn, controlled by another aspect of human nature that seeks for "more." This brings "prosperity" to society but also "repression" to the individual. The scariest defect in this industrialized busy society is that many people repress their egos and consider this way of living "the right way of life." A society that excessively oppresses people's *amae* and increases stress in their mind and does not provide an opportunity to create intimate ties between people because of business, will increase the demand for individual-level-communitas (e.g. drinking alone). If society does not respect this human nature, society will not produce healthy people and thus society itself will not be healthy.

Alcohol dependence syndrome is a disease of people who live in a society but do not manage their emotions properly, thus they drink to get high and become mentally and physically addicted to alcohol.

Conclusion

In Japan, there are unexpectedly many people who have alcohol dependence syndrome but are not recognized as alcoholics by society. This thesis called these people necktie-alcoholics. As opposed to the degraded connotation of the word *geko* (incapable drinker),⁶⁰ *jogo* (capable drinker) has a positive image, such as “masculinity,” “capable man,” and “a person who can effectively create a good relationship in business,” and these people are admired by society because of their ability to drink. Undoubtedly, there is a general perspective that regards drinking for men as an “extension of their work (*shigoto no encho*),” which blinds the people to the danger of alcohol that induces addiction.

This thesis examined why necktie-alcoholics are not labeled as alcoholics from the perspective of cultural anthropology. The Japanese drinking custom is strongly related to the society’s unbroken vertical social structure where people seek emotional unification as a base of human relationships compared to the contractual factor that has a lower priority. It is this function of drinking that relates to the productivity of the society, which prevents necktie-alcoholics’ alcohol dependence syndrome being recognized as a common phenomenon. I examined the function of drinking in terms of the society’s values, which influences Japanese people on top of their universal human character as reflected in the Japanese concept of *amae*. It is based on an idea that the human is an

emotional animal, which has the capability to cooperate, and this ability makes *communitas* possible. I also explained the tendency of contemporary way of drinking and pointed out that if society aims merely at profit, which is often realized through repressing others, real *communitas* will not emerge but will generate “pseudo-*communitas*” which creates a high demand for “individual level *communitas*,” which is a different drinking circumstance.

This thesis, however, does not explain what drinking circumstances actually cause the necktie-alcoholics’ alcohol dependence syndrome. In what way do people actually drink and acquire this disease? Japanese bars, especially those used for business matters (e.g. *settai*), are very expensive, and thus it is not realistic to believe that many people drink at bars and become alcoholics. According to the Prime Minister’s Office, approximately 56.8 percent of Japanese males drink every day, and 67.6 percent of males who answered that they drink, mainly drink at home, and surprisingly, as opposed to the idea of “men drink as extension of their work,” many drink alone (Sorifu 1989: 4-13). I think this suggests that many Japanese men actually acquire alcohol dependence syndrome through “individual level *communitas*” instead of business related drinking opportunities.

Their drinking patterns need to be investigated further. The Prime Minister’s Office’s statistic indicates that of 886 men who answered that they drink occasionally or frequently, 46.0 percent answered that their drinking patterns include situations of drinking alone. Among the same 886 men, 39.3 percent answered that they drink “with their family,” and 40.0 percent “with friends or *nakama* (fellow)” [see appendix 4 in page 120]. This statistic does not reveal which drinking situation occurs most frequently.

In the case of “drinking with their family,” it is not clear if the drinking situation is while communicating with the family or does it only mean that the drinker is physically in the same house as other family members. Does the answer category “with friends or *nakama* (fellow)” precisely exclude people who are related to their work? The statistics do not reveal which situation is more common, drinking occasions that induce “society level *communitas*” or “individual level *communitas*”?; and among the “society level *communitas*,” is that real “*communitas*” or “pseudo-*communitas*?”

By answering these questions, we might find that the idea of drinking as “*shakai no enkatsuzai* (lubricant of the society: tool that functions to smoothen the society)” is an illusion rather than a fact. We might discover that the positive image that drinking carries is an effect of commercialization. The answers to the questions would provide significant information for a deeper understanding of the problem, thus they require further studies.

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Appendix

Appendix 1

MAST (The Michigan Alcoholism Screening Test)

(SOURCE: Selzer 1971)

	Points
1. Do you feel you are a normal drinker?	1
2. Have you ever awakened the morning after some drinking the night before and found that you could not remember a part of the evening before?	2
3. Does your wife (or parents) ever worry or complain about your drinking	1
4. Can you stop drinking without a struggle after one or two drinks?	2
5. Do you ever feel bad about your drinking?	1
6. Do friends or relatives think you are a normal drinker?	2
7. Do you ever try to limit your drinking to certain times of the day or to certain places?	0
8. Are you always able to stop drinking when you want to?	2
9. Have you ever attended a meeting of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA)?	5
10. Have you gotten into fights when drinking?	1
11. Has drinking ever created problems with you and your wife?	2
12. Has your wife (or other family member) ever gone to anyone for help about your drinking?	2
13. Have you ever lost friends or girlfriends/boyfriends because of drinking?	2
14. Have you ever gotten into trouble at work because of drinking?	2
15. Have you ever lost a job because of drinking?	2
16. Have you ever neglected your obligations, your family, or your work for two or more days in a row because you were drinking?	2
17. Do you ever drink before noon?	1

- | | |
|--|---|
| 18. Have you ever been told you have liver trouble? Cirrhosis? | 2 |
| 19. Have you ever had delirium tremens(DTs), severe shaking, heard voices or seen things that weren't there after heavy drinking | 2 |
| 20. Have ever gone to anyone for help about your drinking? | 5 |
| 21. Have you ever been in a hospital because of drinking? | 5 |
| 22. Have you ever been a patient in a psychiatric hospital or on a psychiatric ward of a general hospital where drinking was part of the problem? | 2 |
| 23. Have you ever been seen at a psychiatric or mental health clinic, or gone to a doctor, social worker, or clergyman for help with an emotional problem in which drinking had played a part? | 2 |
| 24. Have you ever been arrested, even for a few hours, because of drunk behavior? | 2 |
| 25. Have you ever been arrested for drunk driving or driving after drinking? | 2 |

For question number (1), (4), (6), (8), negative responses are alcoholic responses.

Appendix 2

KAST (Kurihama Alcoholism Screening Test)

(SOURCE: Saito and Ikegami 1978)

	Answer	Score
1. Drinking impaired an important human relationship.	Yes	3.7
	No	-1.1
2. Impossible to keep the resolve of not drinking just for "this day."	Yes	3.2
	No	-1.1
3. Called as a drunkard.	Yes	2.3
	No	-0.8
4. Drunk oneself to insensibility.	Yes	2.2
	No	-0.7
5. Amnesia in the morning about the evening before.	Yes	2.1
	No	-0.7
6. Drinking from the morning on almost every day off.	Yes	1.7
	No	-0.4
7. To be absent or unable to keep important appointment due to a hangover.	Yes	1.5
	No	-0.5
8. To be diagnosed and treated for diabetes, liver or heart trouble.	Yes	1.2
	No	-0.2
9. When out of alcohol, experienced sweating, hand tremor, frustration of insomnia.	Yes	0.8
	No	-0.2
10. Drinking is necessary for the occupation.	Often	0.7
	Sometimes	0.0
	Seldom	-0.2
11. Unable to go to sleep without drinking.	Yes	0.7
	No	-0.1
12. Drinking over 3 <i>go</i> of <i>Sake</i> during evening dinner.	Yes	0.6
	No	-0.1
13. Arrested or protected [<i>sic</i>] for drinking by the police.	Yes	0.5
	No	-0.0

14. Getting angry when drunk.

Yes	0.1
No	0.0

Appendix 3

Questionnaire

[1] First, I would like to ask about your background.

- (1) What is your name?
- (2) How old are you?
- (3) Where do you work? What is your position at this working place?
- (4) I would like to ask you about your career. How long have you been working here as a lifetime employee? Have you ever changed your job?
- (5) I would like to ask about your family structure. Please tell me current and past (when your family was the biggest) family structure?

[2] Second, I would like to ask about the relation between your job and your drinking habit.

- (1) Does drinking have a crucial factor at the workplace? Please tell me what kind of role does drinking occasion play at your workplace?
- (2) Do you frequently do *settai* (reception)? If “yes,” how often do you conduct *settai* per week?
- (3) I would like to ask a basic question about *settai*. For you, what is the definition of *settai*? Could you answer in one simple sentence?
- (4) Is *settai* necessary for your work?
- (5) Do you enjoy following the Japanese drinking custom, which justifies this drinking behavior? In other words, is there a perspective within you, which justifies your drinking habit because there is a perspective in Japan that regards drinking with working mates as part of your work?
- (6) Do you get tired while you are doing *settai*? Is it hard to pay attention towards your customers while you are drinking?
- (7) Which one is more frequent for you, “tiresome *settai*” or “enjoyable *settai*?”

- (8) Did you ever drink in a way to really relax after *settai*? I am talking about the drinking way “*shime-zake* (the final drink).”
- (9) With whom do you drink?
(A) Have you conducted *settai* for public servants?
(B) If “yes,” is the atmosphere different from the *settai* with people of the same profession as yours?
- (10) Have your family members taken care of you because you were drunk?
- (11) (Question for people who have retired): Do you still participate at your workplace as an old boy these days?

[3] Third, I would like to ask about your drinking habit and your drinking history.

- (1) When did you start drinking? (not as a habit)
- (2) When do you recall, your drinking became habitual?
- (3) Did your drinking pattern change when you started to work?
- (4) Did your drinking pattern change when you got married?
- (5) When were you first warned (or pointed out) about your physical disorder?
- (6) How do you drink these days? How different is it, compared to the way when you were young?
- (7) Which one do you think is more necessary for you, *sesshu* (moderate drinking) or *danshu* (total abstinence from drinking)?
- (8) (If the person answers *sesshu*): Why is *sesshu* preferable? Are there any specific circumstances that prohibit you from doing *danshu*?
- (9) How do you think about the concept of *danshu*?
- (10) If I say “alcoholics” what image comes to your mind?
- (11) Have you ever felt the urge to drink alcohol when you saw a drinking commercial on TV?

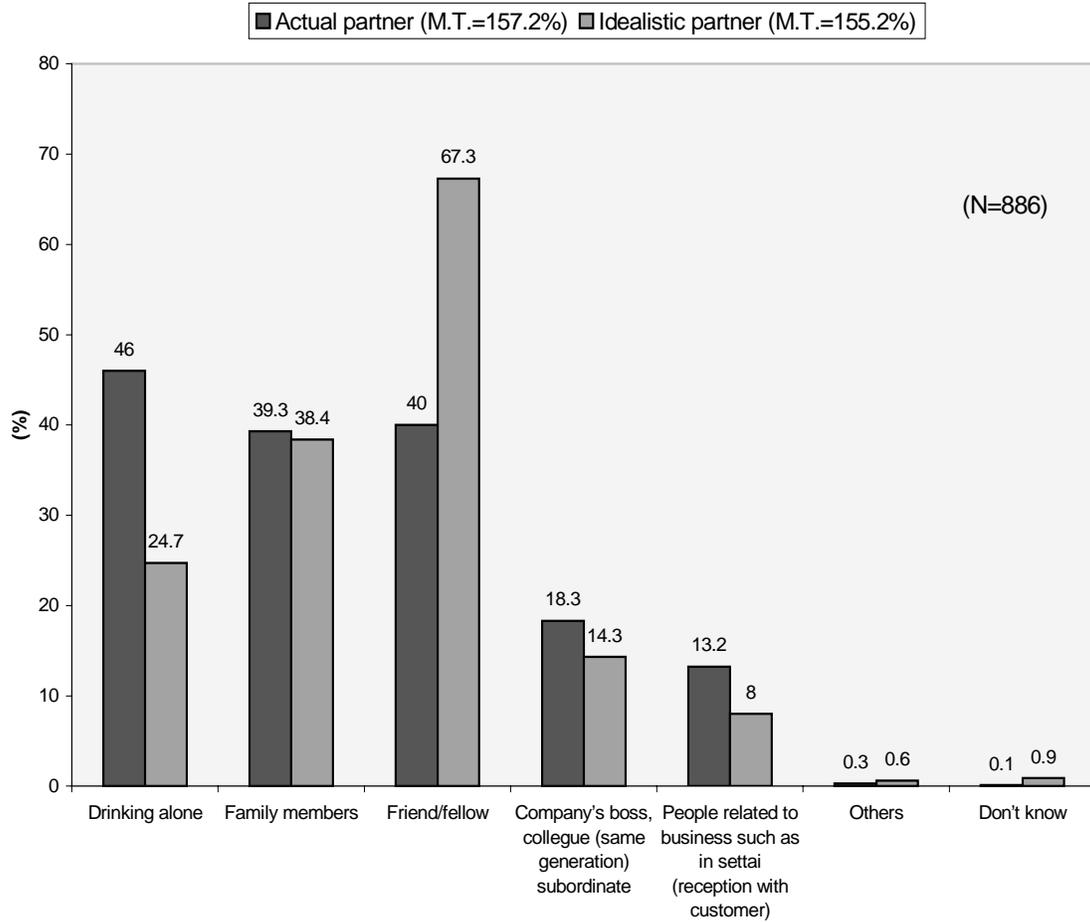
Thank you for your participation.

Appendix 4

Men's Drinking Partners

(People who answered that they drink, multiple answers are possible)

(SOURCE: Sourifukouhoushitsu [The Prime Minister's Office] 1989)



Glossary

Amae: (n) Feeling of seeking care, to be cared for by somebody.

Breiko: (n) A free and easy party.

-chan: (n) Form of address for equal status (e.g. Keiko-*chan*).

Enkai: (n) Banquet.

Enryo: (n) “Restraint.” An attitude of “holding back.”

Honne: (n) “Real intention” near to “true behavior”. Behavior which stems from real intention. Ego-centered behavior.

KAST: Kurihama Alcoholism Screening Test.

Kikubari: (n) a careful consideration and respond without even making the other person notice the need.

Nomikai: (n) Drinking gathering.

Salaryman: (n) White collar worker.

Senpai: (n) Senior.

-senpai: (n) Form of address for senior (e.g. Kato-*senpai*).

Settai: (n) Reception with customer.

Soto: (n) Outer. Public.

Tatemaie: (n) Superficial behavior (\cong fake behavior). Society-centered behavior.

Toriiru: (v) to address one’s flattering behavior which is intended to gain the superior’s care.

Tsute: (n) Good connection.

Uchi: (n) Inner. Private.

Endnotes

¹ “The increase of *kikokushijo* has become a recent focus of attention in Japanese society, and especially among educators. Moreover, the problems of these students are manifested mostly by cases of *ijime* (because they are different from their peers or because they are misunderstood by their peers due to their overseas experiences), which may then lead to school refusal (while in some cases the school refusal may stand its own)” (Omori 1993: 29).

² The information described in *Sunadokei* was useful since it provided background information on interviewees’ and observed people. I chose to examine *Sunadokei* since the editors were easy to access because they were familiar with my key informant physician. The editors of this journal, which includes the physician, gather every month at his clinic. They are also active members of Sendai City’s other self-help groups; and are the ones who recruit their acquaintances in those other groups to write about their experiences for the bulletin. In other words, understanding the contributors of *Sunadokei*’s meant understanding people surrounding the physician who are involved in alcohol related problems.

³ Contributors who are focused on issues such as “tense relation with his/her children,” “divorce,” “crazy days during his/her excessive drinking phase,” “journals of his/her travels” were excluded as informants. This is based on the reason that these people’s focus differs from the researcher’s interest [which was to investigate the relation between society’s value and alcoholism], so that it may be difficult to conduct efficient interviews.

⁴ The physician carefully advised me for determining whether or not the person is eligible to conduct an interview.

⁵ The agreed interview time was thirty minutes.

⁶ *Danshu-kai* (Group for total abstinence from drinking): Compared to AA, *Danshu-kai* encourages the participation of the alcoholics and their family members.

⁷ AKK meeting is open for everyone interested in addiction problems, which include alcohol addiction, drug addiction, bulimia/orexia, work addiction, refusing to go to school, domestic violence etc.

⁸ First, I did not know the proper behavior in a self-help group. Thus, in the beginning, I told people that I was a researcher who wants to observe self-help groups. Sometimes, I asked improper questions, such as “why do you drink to such an extent” which was derived from my honest feeling during that time. Eventually, I started to become anxious about how I was perceived by other members who had come for mental relief. I became worried whether people consider me as “an obstacle-like a person who takes advantage of them (alcoholics) by observing and analyzing them.” From that point on, I started not to reveal my status as a scholar. However, as the time went by, I became aware of my

personal problems, which were not different from other members, and I started talking about my anxieties during these meetings. Since then, I have not had much of a burden to participate in self-help groups. This occasion led me to realize the importance of self-help groups, which are groups where one can speak aloud about one's personal issues that are not appropriate to speak about in daily life.

⁹ Fortunately, reading *Sunadokei* also contributed to my understanding of some people's background in the self-help group I participated in. Since *Sunadokei* contains many essays from the members of Sendai's self-help groups, there are people whom I do not know, but who were familiar due to their essays in *Sunadokei*. Although the authors of *Sunadokei*'s essays were mostly anonymous, matching a person from *Sunadokei* with a person presenting his/her story in a self-help group was possible because the contents overlapped greatly. There were cases when a person whom I imagined as a brutal drunk by reading *Sunadokei* happened to be a middle-age salaryman who was quite different from my original perception.

¹⁰ I read the *Sunadokei* and asked the physician whether or not I could conduct an interview with the person I chose. It was the physician who determined whether I could actually do this or not. It seemed to me that the criteria for him determining this were based on the character of the patients and how much the patient is obligated to him.

¹¹ In Japanese, alcoholism is *arukoru-sho*, alcohol intoxication/poisoning is *arukoru-chudoku*, alcohol dependence syndrome is *arukoru-izon-sho*, and alcohol related disability is *arukoru-kanren-shougai*.

¹² The CAGE is a brief alcoholism screening test. The CAGE questions are: "Have you ever felt you should *cut* down on your drinking?" "Have people *annoyed* you by criticizing you drinking?" "Have you ever felt bad of *guilty* about your drinking?" "Have you ever had a drinking first thing in the morning to steady your nerves or get rid of a hang-over (*eye-opener*)?"

¹³ This statement is according to my personal experience in Japan.

¹⁴ Reflected in words such as *kikubari*, *omoiyari*, and *kigakiku*. These words represent an expected careful consideration for a person and respond to the person without even making the person notice the need to verbally express their *amae*.

¹⁵ *Nekonadegoe* is a noun that literally means cat's-voice/voice-of-the-cat-when-it-gets-touched, which represents an intonation of *amae* (Shinpan shin kokugojiten 1986: 820). For instance, when children beg their parents for toys, their voice tends to have this squeaky edge to it- "please, please, please..." In addition, when a woman is tempting a man with the obvious intention to acquire something from him, the way she speaks tends to be *nekonadegoe* as well. According to a Japanese-English dictionary, *nekonadegoe* is translated as "coaxing voice, ingratiating voice, and flattering voice" (Kenkyu sha shin waeichu jiten 1996). There are slight differences between the word *nekonadegoe* and these three expressions. Coaxing voice, ingratiating voice, and flattering voice probably

stem from the feeling of *amae*, which seeks for care, but are only aspects of *nekonadegoe* which actually is the intonation of *amae*.

¹⁶ *Higamu* is a verb, which represents “a behavior of a person justifying his/her position by complaining that he/she is not treated in the right way” (Shinpan shin kokugojiten 1986: 886). According to Doi, this word is usually not used with a first person subject, “*watashi wa higamu* (I am higami-ing),” but rather with a second or third person subject, “*anata/karera wa higandeiru* (you/they are higami-ing).” For instance, a person, who did not get promoted in their workplace, complaining by saying, “I was not hired because the boss is prejudiced against me,” “I was not promoted because another person, A, was flattering the boss,” or “A was promoted but she/he does not deserve it” tends to be addressed as “*kare/kanojyo wa higandeiru* (he/she is higami-ing).” These words appear to Japanese as *suneru* since the unemployed person is trying to justify his/her situation by not admitting his/her failure but accusing others, such as the people and the environment. The meaning of *higamu* focuses on a person’s *amae* being denied. In other words, *higamu* addresses one’s ill-behavior (complaining about one’s situation) due to the fact that one’s will (*amae* feeling) was not accepted. Thus, when someone is higami-ing, Japanese people perceive his/her behavior with the feeling “*kare/kanojyo wa amaeteiru* (he/she is *amae*-ing)” but externally show sympathy to him/her since that is what the person needs.

¹⁷ *Suneru* is a verb, which represents the behavior of a person who does not give up his/her opposition to somebody, due to his/her inability to behave honestly (Shinpan shin kokugo jiten 1986: 559). A Chinese character for this word *suneru* includes a word *osanai*, which means ‘childish’ in English. It is similar to the English word “to sulk,” but *suneru* implies the actor’s intention to put the actor in a victim-like situation and make the victimizer feel sorry for what he/she has done. *Suneru* behavior is often seen in children. For instance, it often follows these steps: (1) a child wants a toy, and asks his/her mother, (2) the mother refuses, (3) the child tries to get his/her mother to buy him/her the toy by throwing a tantrum in front of the toy, (4) the mother takes the child and leaves the place, (5) the child seems extremely disappointed, (6) the mother feels sorry for her child and says that the child could have the toy, (7) the child refuses; he/she is too angry so that he/she can not accept the mother’s offer. The attitude in step seven is the behavior of *suneru*. *Suneru* addresses a stubborn behavior. It describes one’s inability to give up one’s opposition even when it hinders one’s chances to achieve the original goal (to get the toy). It also includes a feeling of pleasure by denying other people’s kindness, which appears troublesome to the victimizer. Doi indicates that *suneru* occurs when “one is not allowed to be straightforwardly self-indulgent, yet the attitude comprises in itself a certain degree of that same self-indulgence” (Doi, 1996: 25; 1973: 29).

¹⁸ *Gureru* is also a word that relates to the various states of mind brought about by the inability to *amaeru*. *Higamu*, *suneru*, and *gureru* are all similar in the sense that they describe a behavior of a person who puts him/herself in a suffering position but is troublesome because his/her *amae* is ignored. *Gureru* is similar to *suneru*, but it is more serious and can amount to a long-term rebellion; the level of *gureru* is more troublesome than *suneru*. For instance, most of the delinquent youngsters are addressed as *gureteiru*

(*gureru*-ing). There is a way to describe Japanese delinquent youngsters as “*karera wa hankou shiteiru* (they are being rebellious),” but the other description “*karera wa gureteiru* (They are *gureru*-ing)” is much more focused on their mind that lacks care from others. Television shows of a delinquent young man/woman have common patterns; elders such as his/her parents slap the delinquent’s cheek with the cliché, “*amaeru na!* (stop *amae*-ing!).”

¹⁹ *Toriiru* is a verb that describes a flattering behavior to gain someone’s favor. This is a skillful technique to satisfy one’s *amae* behavior. On the surface, it seems one is flattering and amusing one’s superior by saying pleasant things. However, when examined deeply, one is flattering to gain the superior’s care. In other words, one seems to let the superior do *amae* towards one by flattering him/her, but actually, one is doing *amae* to gain the superior’s care. This technique is employed towards people of higher status to get promoted, to make contracts, to gain information, and other instances. (It is interesting to note that English speakers sometimes describe a person who appears to *toriiru* as “doing politics.”)

²⁰ *Yoroshiku onegaishimasu* is probably one of the most commonly and uniquely used phrases in Japanese. Japanese use this as a greeting: when they meet each other, when they separate from each other, when they ask for something when they start sport activities, and the like. Generally, the word is translated as “please” in English. However, this English word does not exactly capture the whole meaning. To prevent non-Japanese speakers from making mistakes in Japan, I translate this commonly used phrase as “I am going to depend on you,” but add that the word should not give the other person a burden. The phrase *yoroshiku onegaishimasu* is equal to the meaning, “please feel/understand my *amae* feeling.” It is not a phatic (empty words that does not have real meaning e.g. a greeting “How are you” in the U.S.); there is a nuance, “if you understand my situation, you should know what I am seeking.” This phrase also has a nuance of one’s modest attitude, which is an important factor in Japanese society. Thus, it is a very convenient phrase; it ambiguously asks for preferences in a modest way.

²¹ In addition to the cultural expectation to sense other people’s *amae*, Japanese language is constructed to be less direct compare to English language.

²² Idealistically, the process of creating a vertical relationship starts with a superior mentoring a subordinate to become a full member of the group²². However, in practice, the seniors’ expectation of the juniors’ respect may precede this ideal. Especially during adolescence, many elder youths oppress their younger counterparts. In fact, teachers in junior high and high schools often worry about seniors (older students) bullying a junior (younger students) in a group. Only serious incidences, such as ones causing a student’s death, appear in the media, however, less serious ones, such as seniors scolding and pushing a junior in a group are common everywhere and not publicized. Often, the seniors do not have a specific reason for bullying the junior; they arbitrarily reason it by stating that “he/she (the bullied junior) was *namaiki* (insolent).”

²³ As a junior high school student, every student must enter an after-school-club. This club is where most Japanese students spend a considerable amount of time in addition to their class work.

²⁴ In general, a junior calls a senior with the honorific title *-senpai* after the senior's name, such as Hanako (first name)-*senpai* or Toyota (last name)-*senpai*. A sign of endearment *-chan*, which elementary school children employ for calling girls, such as in Hanako-chan is no longer acceptable in a junior-senior relationship at junior high school. In addition, a junior is supposed to bow when he/she encounters a senior and employ polite words, if possible, in respect form.

²⁵ *Namaiki* (adjectival-noun) indicates a person and his/her behavior that appears as an obstacle to somebody else's eyes. Among Japanese, it is likely that a *namaiki* person is a wild person, in the Japanese sense, somebody sticking out from the group. Among the junior-senior relationships, criteria of *namaiki* are related to the junior's behavior that lacks the expected subordinate attitude: use of respect words; responsive attitude to seniors; humbleness; passiveness that waits for senior's directions, and the like. Usually, a *namaiki* person is hammered down as the proverb indicates, "*deru kui wa utareru* (a nail that sticks out is hammered down.)"

²⁶ Japanese people are very concerned about students' appearances. For instance, in addition to the requirement of a school uniform, dying hair, hairdressing, make-up, perm, deformed uniform, are generally prohibited. Often, aspects such as hairstyle, size of the uniform, shoes, socks, bags, athletic clothing, writing kits (no mechanical pencils), length of fingernails, maintenance of handkerchief and tissue, etc. are restricted. In general, when these rules are violated, it is likely that somebody, such as teachers or senior, will censure him/her for it. There are disciplinary committees called *fuuki-iin* and *hoken-iin* in each class who check these aspects. As a consequence these strict rules generate guilt in students' when they violate them; even though the students do not know why dying hair is bad, they automatically feel bad because there is a possibility of punishment. According to the Japanese point of view, violating these rules is one of the criteria of *namaiki* [see endnote 25].

²⁷ Rigid rules strengthen the member's discipline, which consequently leads to a good result, which indirectly leads to a good reputation. As opposed to the senior's bullying dominant behavior, which decreases the popularity of the club, this role of the subordinate that stems from the rigid vertical social structure does not necessarily decrease the popularity of the club.

²⁸ These events usually take place in late spring approximately one to one and a half month after the juniors joined the club (Japanese school starts in April).

²⁹ *Oendan* literally means "supporter league." However, what it differs significantly from American supporter groups, which is also called the cheerleader league. *Oendan* in Japan is sometimes the most conservative league that carries the Japanese tradition of

masculinity. Traditional *oendan* consist of only men. Their appearance may be *bankara* (an appearance that does not care about fashion since they focus more on inside personality), they might wear torn black school uniforms with *geta* (Japanese sandals), long hair, beard, etc. which may look very bizarre. Their goal is to support clubs during competitions by directing the audience who supports the team. The Japanese way of engaging with the game creates an atmosphere that is very different from American athletic events; the Japanese audience may appear to be working (singing, waving, using objects) rather than enjoying the game (e.g. World Cup Soccer 1998).

³⁰ *Honne* is the real intention as opposed to *tatemae* which is the surface intention. *Tatemae* is the public behavior of a person who must behave according to the norm. On the other hand, *honne* is the real feeling that is hidden beneath the *tatemae* behavior.

³¹ The prohibition law for underage drinking is not strictly enforced in Japanese society. Compared to the U.S., Japanese minors can enter bars and be served alcohol without much difficulty.

³² Several young people die every year because of binge drinking. Many perform *ikki* (drink in one gulp while the other participants sing the *ikki* song) game and lose their life. There is an organization to “stop the *ikki*” in Japan, which tries to inform about the danger of *ikki* and, if possible, abolish the custom. The group mostly consists of victims’ parents and friends. There are various versions of *ikki* songs, and many are rhythmical and easy to remember. Following is an example of *ikki* song for a person named Yuki,

Yuki-san no chotto itoko mitemitai
Ookiku mitsu (clap clap clap)
Chisaku mitsu (clap clap clap)
Sa ikki ikki ikki ikki ikki ikki ikki ikki....(when Yuki finishes her cup, the group praises)

We want to see Yuki’s cool performance
Three big clap (clap clap clap)
Three small clap (clap clap clap)
Ya..., *ikki* (at once) *ikki ikki ikki ikki ikki ikki ikki ikki...*

³³ *Soto* (outside) describes everybody who is not an intimate member of the group.

³⁴ The Japanese language has elaborate respect forms; one that places the other party higher than the speaker and the other that places the speaker lower than the other party. In general, the purpose of using respect forms, especially the one that puts oneself in lower, is explained as showing respect to the powerful ones. In addition to this purpose, it seems to me that the form of this language contains a purpose of lowing oneself to let the powerful one know that one should be taken care of. “Expressing how incapable he/she is” is to ask for consideration of one’s *amae* in the way babies are taken care of. When a Japanese enters a group, even though the person is an expert in the task he/she needs to do, he/she is likely to say, “I really don’t have any experience in...,” “I am totally ignorant about ...,” “I

am so uneducated that I can't do..." and the like. Praising the higher one and lowering oneself is a common behavior a person is likely to show when he/she enters a group. Expressing how well one can perform the task is rather taboo in society in such a situation.

³⁵ What Japanese students learn in club activities is not merely how to play basketball or tennis but rather how to understand the significance of *uchi* relationships, which naturally creates a strong bond between people.

³⁶ Doi's reserved attitude is one kind of *tatemae*. Furthermore, *tatemae* includes among others:

- (1) A polite behavior when a person meets another person for the first time: despite the person being nervous since he/she does not know what to say to avoid silence (*honne*), the person politely smiles, greets, and communicates in a manner called as "phatic communication" (empty communication such as "how are you?") (*tatemae*) (Bonvillain 1997:95).
- (2) A false show of power a person gives to avoid being ashamed. Despite a young man being nervous since he is experiencing a drug for the first time in a gang group, he pretends that the occasion is not his first experience because his inexperience is shameful - a reason to be laughed at by other members (Becker 1987 cited in McIntyre 1996: 208). In this case, his concern of the others not noticing that this occasion is his first experience is *honne*, whereas his untrue behavior which pretends to know everything is *tatemae*.
- (3) A fake behavior when a person talks with another person whom he/she does not like. Despite the fact that the person does not like or even hates the other person, he/she does not show these feelings (*honne*), but rather hides them and behaves in a way as if he/she is accepting or even enjoying the conversation with the other person (*tatemae*).
- (4) Public behavior of politicians, influential company executives, idols, etc.. Their words are too sweet to believe them to be their real intention (*honne*). Politicians are the most stereotypical people who distinguish *tatemae* from *honne* in Japan.

To sum up, *tatemae* is a behavior that keeps up appearances. *Tatemae* does not necessarily match with *honne*. In general, the difference between one's *tatemae* and *honne* is most noticeable when *tatemae* violates one's *honne*. Often, *tatemae* is altruistic while *honne* is egoistic. Comparing *tatemae* to the English word 'to lie', *tatemae* is not necessarily bad whereas the English word has a negative connotation.

³⁷ In Chinese characters, *tatemae* is *tate*(building)-*mae* (front). One imagines the "front of the house" like a 'façade' or 'outside the house' where people do not feel at ease. Additionally, the pronunciation *tate* also means shield in Japanese. Just as in the way a shield protects one's body, *tatemae* protects people's hidden *honne*.

³⁸ *Enryo* is one kind of *tatemae*.

³⁹ Evolutionary psychology is a theory based on an idea that "humans have a faculty of social cognition, consisting of rich collection of dedicated, functionally specialized,

interrelated modules (i.e., functionally isolable subunits, mechanisms, mental organs, etc.), organized to collectively guide thought and behavior with respect to the evolutionarily recurrent adaptive problems posed by the social world” (Cosmides and Tooby 1992: 163).

⁴⁰ In many societies, the word foreigner has a negative connotation because they are the people from whom one does not benefit at all. They are the outermost people where *enryo* is unnecessary. Often the word involves connotations of stranger, unfamiliar, inferior people as oppose to good people (one’s own society), people from outside of one’s village, etc.. (However, due to the process of globalization, the meaning of this word is changing from these unfamiliar people to the people of other countries.) A society fights with these foreigners since they are rather a risk than of benefit to them. It may be human nature to become insensitive, mean, or even violent to these people.

⁴¹ Strictly speaking, Japan is not a homogeneous country. However, in this case, it is safe to say that Japan is homogeneous compared to other countries, such as the U.S.

⁴² For rice cropping, cooperation is crucial. For instance, people used to engage in constructing work for irrigation, which they share the water. Until the mid 19th century, the government collected the rice tax from farmers in groups of 5 households, which made tax collection effective.

⁴³ Since this ideology was threatening for Japanese authority, the Japanese government strictly abandoned the Christian religion in the 17th century. By doing this, they imported goods and technology from the West but not much ideology.

⁴⁴ The government practiced rigid policies based on the ideology of State Shintoism, such as the Peace Preservation Ordinance in 1887, the Town and Village code in 1888, the Peace Police Law in 1900, Kokutai in 1890, and the Peace Preservation Law in 1925 (For more information, see Duus, Peter. 1998 *Modern Japan*. MA: Houghton Mifflin Company).

⁴⁵ Japanese men work seriously for their job hunting since lifetime employment is common in Japanese society. Lifetime employment is a system which takes care of the employee in terms of health insurance, accommodation, bonus, etc. According to this system, if a person is once hired, he remains in this employment until his first retirement.

⁴⁶ Obtaining admission to a school in an illegal manner is called *uraguchi-nyuugaku* (backdoor admission) in Japanese.

⁴⁷ Some big companies actually prohibit employing people who are recommended by using *tsute* (connection) in ‘principle’. This is the case since the demanding force is so strong that it is hard for the person asked to deny the desire, and consequently the company loses the chance to hire capable employees.

⁴⁸ Cf. “He married through *tsute*” or “I was hired through *tsute*.”

⁴⁹ Japanese arranged marriage is often done through *tsute*.

⁵⁰ I myself encountered many situations of powerful *tsute*. For instances, just limiting the time to my days in college, there were more occasions than I can remember. My friend Misako (fictional name), a two-year college student who majored in domestic economics, was hired by a company where many other employees were four-year college students. She told me that her employment was due to her uncle's *tsute*. Toshiki (fictional name) was hired at a good company as a student who graduated from X university. He also told me that the employment was due to his uncle's help who works at a related company. When I asked Hiroshi (fictional name) about what he wants to be in the future, he said "although I have many *tsute* that will hire me in my hometown (local area), I want to challenge myself in a big city (Tokyo)." He was regarding his relative's *tsute* as a safety measure against failure of his other dreams. Additionally, in university, there were rumors about the advantages/disadvantages of mandatory seminars that students must choose for their specific research. In addition to the interests and toughness of professors, those included the strength of the professor's *tsute* for finding a job after the student's graduation.

⁵¹ The Basic idea of taoism: "Things are not relative, they are identical, for opposite produce each other, imply each other, and are both finite series." (Chan 1963: 183)

⁵² In Japanese, '*tatema* world' indicates 'official life', 'daily life', or 'life on a superficial level'

⁵³ Thus people sometimes take advantage of drinking situation to express their dissatisfaction with superiors.

⁵⁴ The Japanese practice of *breiko* makes people regard things that happened in drinking occasions as 'not serious.' In this situation, the behavior, which offended others, is considered to be not the performer's fault, but rather the alcohol's fault.

⁵⁵ *Shimezake* is not necessarily an occasion that induces individual-level-communitas. If a person do *shimezake* in a favorite bare where communitas is established with other regulars, it is society-level-communitas.

⁵⁶ This idea agrees with Nakane's idea who points out that the companies, which emerged during the Japanese industrialization period (19-20th century), used the way the *ie* (household) functions as a model for their management system.

⁵⁷ The lifetime employment system was originally developed after WWII for companies to retain skilled workers. It was during the time when the whole nation was incited by the ideology of the nation as one big family, which peaked until the defeat in WWII. Japanese companies employed a similar ideology.

⁵⁸ In general, *ichijikai* is formal (*tatema*) and becomes wilder (*honne*) as the number of stages increases. This distinction between formal and informal in drinking reflects the general traditional rituals in Japanese society.

⁵⁹ Corporation is first meant to satisfy one's *amae* and not for the benefit of the group. This is because, otherwise, the reason why people feel affection to the people of the innermost zone, instantly employ *tatema* to the people of the middle zone, and are rude or without care towards the people of outermost zone, is unexplainable.

⁶⁰ 44 percent of Japanese people have a biologically reduced capability of digesting alcohol (Takagi 1992: 29)