

THE JAPANESE UNIVERSITY CLUB
AND THE HIERARCHICAL NOTION OF
GENDER ROLE REPRODUCTION

by

JAMES J. VINCENTI

B.A., University of Illinois at Chicago, 1978
M.Ed., University of Illinois at Chicago, 1987

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Department of Educational Studies

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

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ABSTRACT

Although traditional depictions of gender in ancient Japanese mythology continue to help define gender in Japanese culture, such recent legislation as the Equal Employment Opportunity Act and the Childcare Leave Act signal change in these roles. This study explores the relationship between the Japanese hierarchical social structure and the parameters of the gender territories of women and men in a university club.

Employing a single case (embedded) design, this study utilized the networks of former members (students who began their studies from 1953 to 1989) of *Ôendan* (the "Cheering Club") at a private university in central Japan. *Ôendan's* two sections, Leader-bu for men and Cheerleader-bu for women, have utterly different atmospheres. Leader-bu stresses daily rigorous and physically punishing practices in a highly disciplined atmosphere, whereas Cheerleader-bu more closely resembles its North American counterpart. To fully examine the differences between the two sections, I divided the case into three stages: (a) an historical analysis, (b) a survey, and (c) personal interviews.

The results reflect an attitude that a perceived difference in physical strength and a strong sense of "tradition" inhibit true equality between the genders.

Although most men may acquiesce in gender equality in an abstract sense, they also understand that, in reality, this is impossible because of the physical differences between the sexes. Leader-bu members continue to reinforce the importance of tradition year after year because they believe that they are benefiting, both personally and socially, from traditional beliefs and customs. Although victims of this belief system, they feel compelled to reproduce it. In reproducing it, however, they also must suffer from the lack of freedom that accompanies it.

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GLOSSARY OF JAPANESE TERMS

- aidagara** Social contexts, such as clubs, organizations, companies, etc.
- aisatsu** Courteous ways of greeting a superior.
- amae** Dependency, a need or desire to empathize or depend on others.
- amaeru** Yielding to temptation of ease or pleasure. To behave like a child in the sense of relying on a parent.
- bu-seikatsu** Club life.
- Dai Ichi Kôtô Gakkô** The First Upper School in Tokyo.
- dôkôkai** A university organization which is made up of common interest clubs.
- dôryô** Colleagues of the same rank in the hierarchical social system.
- gakuran** The black, Meiji Period style upper school uniforms that have become traditional uniforms for Ôendan.
- gasshuku** Training camp.
- gimu** A sense of duty associated with societal rules.
- giri** A sense of obligation.
- honne** A person's true intention in a given situation.
- kanjin** An actor who is defined by his social context (Hamaguchi, 1985).
- kata** In Ôendan, it refers to the correct form for each movement when cheering (literally "form").
- kentate** Performing push-ups on one's knuckles.
- kibishisa** Strictness.
- kiritsu** Disciplinary rules.
- kôha** The "hard" path to manhood.
- kôhai** A junior in the social hierarchy of an organization.
- kôyukai** Dai Ichi Kôtô Gakkô's athletic organization.

Jōnansen Annual sports competition between Owari University and its sister school from Tokyo.

mushinkei Possessing no nerve or sensitivity.

nanpa The "soft" path to manhood.

ningensei Human beingness or each person's sense of humanity.

onnarashisa Femininity or those feature that define being a woman.

otokorashisa Masculinity or those features that define being a man.

oyabun In most situations, it refers to one's master or teacher (literally "parental role").

senpai A senior in the social hierarchy of an organization.

shakai-jin A responsible member of society who has a job and an income (literally "society person"). Students are not *shakai-jin*.

shudan seikatsu Behaving as a group.

soto Outside of one's social context, e.g., family, etc. (literally "outside").

taiikukai A university organization which is made up of sports clubs.

tatemaie Any rule of conduct that the Japanese accept by unanimous agreement.

tate shakai Vertically-structured society.

uchi Inside one's social context (literally "home").

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Yukiko, and to my parents, James and Theresa Vincenti.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

I was completely lacking any sexual feeling for the opposite sex. This is well proved by the fact that I had never had the slightest wish to see a woman's naked body. For all that, I would begin to imagine seriously that I was in love with a girl, and the spiteful fatigue of which I have spoken would begin to clog my mind; and then next I would find delight in regarding myself as a person ruled by reason and would satisfy my vainglorious desire to appear an adult by likening my frigid and changeable emotions to those of a man who has grown weary from a surfeit of women. (Mishima, 1986, p. 131)

Attempting to resolve his internal struggles between society's conception of masculine behavior and his own desire for men, Japanese novelist Yukio Mishima devoted his creative energies to imagining himself in a "normal" relationship with a woman. As Mishima matured, he was able to reconcile this conflict and learned to accept, and even relish, his sexual preference; yet he chose to commit *seppuku* (the ritualistic form of suicide that reflected the traditional masculine Japanese values of honor, discipline, and self-sacrifice) in front of many witnesses. Even though suicide has traditionally been considered a socially acceptable act that crosses gender roles, this specific form of suicide is part of the masculine world in Japan. That an avowed homosexual could readily demonstrate such masculine

values and, furthermore, become deified by those who mirrored traditional masculine values, the Japanese right wing, highlights the ambiguity in cultural definitions of masculinity and gender roles in Japan.

Examining such demarcations of gender roles, this study uses the former members of a Japanese university club--Ôendan,¹ or the "Cheer Group," of a small, private university in central Japan--to help map the perceived boundaries in gender-related behavior in Japanese university clubs.² Founded in 1953, Ôendan has two sections: Leader-bu for men and Cheerleader-bu for women.³ The English translation of its name may conjure up images of North American cheerleaders, but the male version of Ôendan is very different from anything in North America. Japanese universities have two types of clubs: *taiikukai* (athletic clubs) and *dôkôkai* (common interest clubs). The two sections of Ôendan are representative of the *taiikukai*, the more formal of the two. As one university administrator recently admitted, "Ôendan is the top of the *taiikukai*."

Although few men desire to be a part of its strict environment, it commands a degree of respect that help make it an archetype for masculine behavior. Matching Donald Roden's

¹The term *Ôendan* is made up of three Japanese characters that together mean *cheering/aid association*.

²Due to the small sample size (n=82), this study can only imply a relationship between its results and the general society.

³The suffix *bu* means section, division, or department.

(1980) descriptions of similar clubs at Japan's First Upper School (Dai Ichi Kôtô Gakkô), Leader-bu stresses daily rigorous and physically punishing practices in a highly disciplined atmosphere. With its well-demarcated level of hierarchy in its social structure, it is the epitome of Chie Nakane's (1970) *vertically-structured society*. Leader-bu is not a democracy. For example, members do not democratically elect club captains. Instead, the present captain, who also has charge of the women's section, will appoint a captain for the following year. A captain must always be a senior.

Conversely, the female section of Ôendan more closely resembles its North American counterpart. Its members are under the ultimate jurisdiction of the male captain of Ôendan (the top of the social hierarchy), but they are a separate entity because they do not practice with the men (except for some special "mixed" cheers). Like the men of Ôendan, the women also have very rigorous practices, yet they are not bound by the same social conventions. By not wishing to expose themselves to the social extremes that are associated with the male environment, they show the reticence most Japanese women have toward assuming a level of (social) responsibility near or equal to that of men. Being a relatively recent extension of Ôendan, the "Cheerleading Section" has developed in its own direction. In recent years, they have become the more well-known of the

two sections because they have performed well in many All-Japan Cheerleading Contests. The women also have a much larger membership than the men because the social atmosphere of the female section is less restrictive. Relationships in the female section border on horizontal (*dôryô*), and much of the time, the members actually seem to be enjoying themselves. The women are committed to their club, but not excessive in their commitment.

The dichotomous atmospheres that are an integral part of *Ôendan* are not limited to the setting of this study--most universities in Japan possess *Ôendan* branches--or this club. *Ôendan*-like behaviors can be found in many social contexts in Japanese society, from business and government to social organizations, because hierarchies remain an integral facet of the Japanese social framework. Many of the prewar Japanese values that the Occupation Forces attempted to Westernize continue to be a part of their social structure.

As the title of this thesis maintains, Japanese culture defines its gender-role classifications along a hierarchically-structured social continuum. Using a combination of historical and case study methodologies, this thesis contends that despite the postwar reforms that were to have democratized the education process by making it more egalitarian, the seemingly informal environments in Japanese university clubs concretely define the fork in the tracks

for students' sexual identities, and that the environments created by these clubs act as a final method of reproducing and legitimating the prescribed gender roles for students before they must enter adult Japanese society. Although many studies have described generally the lack of choice and the social inequities for men in Japanese society as compared with women, this study analyzes in detail the alternate fork in the tracks.⁴ It implies that the Japanese university is more than what many critics have described as a four-year *leisure land* where students place a higher priority on the pursuit of happiness than on academics (e.g., Reischauer, 1977; Vogel, 1980). The critical nature of the entrance exams, and the amount of importance that students place on the club system, transform the university into an institution that provides the final preparation for the adult realities of Japanese culture and its business environment, and subsequently the gender role expectations of the hierarchically-structured social system (Frost, 1991; Kitamura, 1991; Nagai, 1971; Narita, 1978; Passin, 1965). Because of a change in attitude that took form with the "reverse course" in Japanese policy during the Korean War,

⁴A number of Japanese scholars have examined the issue of gender inequality. These range from analyses of opportunities in the business community such as James McLendon (1983, pp. 156-182), to the historical and ethnographic examinations of the feminine condition by Takie Sugiyama Lebra (1984) and Chizuko Ueno (1987, pp. 130-142).

the post-World War II reforms did not change university club culture, and instead, reinforced traditional cultural values in the clubs.

The primary goal of this study is to document attitudes associated with gender roles, their effects on social relationships, and the ensuing importance of a social hierarchy in a Japanese university club. Japanese education plays a major role in limiting the choices and shaping the social norms for Japanese adolescents. By the time most students reach university, the restricted choices that society provides them have determined their paths in life. Predominantly, by the time that these men and women finish university, they understand and accept these limitations. They are ready to enter into adult Japanese society and assume their roles as workers and housewives.

I use the remembrances of former club members who have graduated and assumed adult responsibilities to measure and assess the role of *Ôendan* in their university and adult lives. In theoretical descriptions of Japanese group behavior, I contextualize these recollections to help clarify the Japanese social structure and its interpretation of gender roles. The three principle theoretical concepts that I employ: Ruth Benedict's idea of taking one's "proper station" in Japan's hierarchically-structured society, Chie Nakane's (1970) *vertically-structured society (tate shakai)*,

and Sumiko Iwao's (1993) *reversal of freedoms* in the realm of gender, help define the essence and purpose of club culture. Using these three concepts, at times in combination with various theoretical models, this study shows that Japanese university clubs are examples of traditional Japanese group structures that have undergone little change since their inception, despite the postwar Occupation Force's reforms. These structures continue to reinforce and reproduce predefined gender roles in the Japanese social hierarchy.

Gender and Hierarchy in Japan

Attitudes and cultural norms for gender roles have their origin in the need for adaptation to group in a given society. In a work that compares culturally-defined concepts of masculinity, David Gilmore proposes that, "regardless of all normative distinctions made, all societies distinguish between male and female; all societies also provide institutionalized sex-appropriate roles for adult men and women" (1990, p. 9). Gender roles are not purely biologically defined sets of behaviors; they are life choices that each individual has to make and abide by. Gilmore goes so far as to say that cultural norms for gender roles and social systems are dependently intertwined.

Gender roles play an integral part in preserving order in most societies:

Manhood ideals make an indispensable contribution both to the continuity of social systems and to the psychological integration of men into their community. I regard these phenomena not as givens, but as part of the existential "problem of order" that all societies must solve by encouraging people to act in certain ways, ways that facilitate both individual development and group adaptation. Gender roles represent one of these problem-solving behaviors. (p. 3)

According to Gilmore's hypothesis, an individual's gender identity is not simply a reflection of individual psychology, but part of what he calls "public culture, a collective representation." Masculinity and femininity are more than a combination of biological and psychological concepts; sociocultural dynamics also help define them. As Mishima's case reflects, an individual's gender-related behavior is a compromise between his own psychic conflicts and the need for cultural conformity and acceptance (pp. 4-5).

As exemplified by Mishima, conformity and acceptance are important elements in shaping an individual's gender-related behaviors and place in Japanese society. These elements are culturally specific and differ from those of Western societies. According to anthropologist Ruth Benedict, the three most important sociological determinants for assessing an individual's or group's position in Western society (race, class, and gender) have little, or only a

secondary, significance when these concepts are extrapolated to Japanese society. She believed that the role of hierarchy in Japanese culture outweighs all other sociological determinants:

Any attempt to understand the Japanese must begin with their version of what it means to "take one's proper station." Their reliance on order and hierarchy and our faith in freedom and equality are poles apart and it is hard for us to give hierarchy its just due as a possible social mechanism. Japan's confidence in hierarchy is basic in her whole notion of man's relation to his fellow man and of man's relation to the State. (Benedict, 1944, p. 43)

In a later development of Benedict's hypothesis concerning the need to know "one's proper station," Nakane (1970) provided a structural framework for the need for group identity by characterizing Japan as possessing a *vertically-structured society (tate shakai)* in which the Confucian concept of status supersedes other sociological determinants, such as age and sex. In most situations, Japanese society ranks women inferior to men because they rarely hold positions of higher social status. Unlike most Western countries, Nakane believes that this is not a case of male sexual superiority because the "difference of sex will never be so pronounced in Japanese thinking as in America, where classification (though not for purposes of establishing rank) is primarily by sex" (1970, p. 32fn).

For a woman, "taking one's place" in the social hierarchy entails accepting certain limitations that

separate her from the opportunities that are part of the male world. In Nakane's thinking, however, these limitations have no primary causal relationship with cultural perceptions of gender. Instead, the traditional social hierarchy, that has its beginnings in Confucianism and Japanese mythology, allows men, and women, to keep a woman's social role from invading on a man's territory.

An established ranking order (based on length of service and age, in lieu of ability) is very important in "fixing the social order and measuring values" (Nakane, 1970, p. 26). A Japanese person's world is divided into three categories: (a) seniors (*senpai*), (b) juniors (*kôhai*), and (c) colleagues of the same rank (*dôryô*). Although this system possesses a high degree of rigidity (there is only one ranking order for people in a given group, regardless of the situation), it also creates a very stable social structure (*ibid.*). Essentially, it is stability at the cost of social freedom.

Such social definitions, however, are limited in scope to provide a proper definition of Japanese behavior patterns, especially concerning gender roles. As Japanese society changes, so must the *vertically-structured society*. Although Nakane and Benedict described the importance of "status" and "place" in Japanese society, neither questioned the basis for such values. Although questions of that kind

are difficult to answer in a male-dominated, hegemonic environment, the answers are necessary to gain a clearer picture of gender roles in Japan. Gender roles have deeper foundations than "status" and "place."

Into the Mythic

The depiction of traditional gender roles in ancient Japanese myths has helped to define modern elements of gender roles in Japanese society (Buruma, 1984). Such images continue to help characterize what society regards as acceptable behavior, notwithstanding the shroud of modern fads and fashions. "Despite all the changes Japan is a profoundly traditional country...in many ways the Japanese continue to be a nation of farmers not quite sure what to make of their new affluence" (pp. 16-17).

Out of the original chaos, two deities led to the creation of the Japanese islands and, vicariously, the Japanese people: Izanagi (The Deity the Male-Who-Invites) and his sister Izanami (The Deity the Female-Who-Invites) (Chamberlain, 1981, p. 17). Although their union gave birth to the Japanese islands and many major deities, the couple's first attempt to create offspring met with disaster because the woman (Izanami) acted assertively--she spoke first. During the second attempt, however, the process of creating new life went successfully because the man, Izanagi, took

the role of the aggressor. In traditional form, "the Japanese woman walks behind her husband and has a lower status" (Benedict, 1946, p. 53).

Izanami's sudden death introduced the Underworld or the Land of the Dead and helped to elucidate the mythic and cultural polarities between men and women. Partly because of the impertinence of her brother, Izanami was compelled to remain in the Underworld forever. Izanami is the incarnation of death, while her brother represents the power of life and regeneration. The primal power for women lies in the acts of creation and death. They alone are imbued with the power to create and destroy. Ian Buruma believes that women also represent the emotion of jealousy, an emotion most Japanese men fear (1984, p. 4). Izanami's jealousy over losing her social status led to her vow to strangle 1,000 people each day (the creation of human mortality). Because of this culturally regulated but potentially dangerous jealousy, men continue to treat women with restraint. They fear the dark side of women's archetypal stereotype (p. 5).

Signals of Change

Recent litigation, such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Act and the Childcare Leave Act, signal that gender roles are changing (Ômori, 1993). According to Sumiko Iwao

(1993), Japanese gender roles have undergone a *reversal of freedoms*:

Men have become increasingly chained to the institutions that they have set up, as epitomized by the corporate security blanket, namely, long-term employment and the promotional ladder determined by seniority. Their wives, on the other hand, once chained to home and hearth, have been set free by the development of home and other consumer conveniences, and now their energies are being absorbed by a waiting labor market and a broad range of culturally enriching activities....In this *reversal of freedoms*, the female side of society has become extremely diversified while the male side, trapped by inertia and peer pressure, has become more homogeneous. (p. 6)

Although Japanese society continues to reinforce the role expectations that it associates with each gender to maintain their different rankings in the social hierarchy, the opportunities for women to work and pursue careers have increased recently, providing them with a whole new range of freedoms. The economic miracle has, in effect, chained men to the institutions that they have created. The postwar Japanese system of long-term employment and the seniority-based promotional ladder have placed men in a prison of responsibility that they can only escape through retirement. Women, on the other hand, have turned the recent trends in household technology to their advantage. The modern conveniences surrounding home maintenance have provided them with free time to pursue employment or personal, cultural interests. Once prisoners in a three-generation household,

modern women have a much greater degree of freedom than men (Iwao, 1993, p. 6).

Modern conveniences have set women free from household servitude, while men have become increasingly chained to the institutions they have created. In this reality, certain social freedoms exist that most women do not wish to relinquish. Existing outside the frameworks of public and private organizations has allowed women the "margin of freedom to explore their individuality in ways not permitted to men" (Iwao, 1993, p. 7). By exploring the limits of the gender territories that many women and men choose to inhabit, one can better define the changing gender boundaries in Japan.

To understand these changing gender boundaries, it is necessary to examine the postwar development of the Japanese education system and its effects on adolescents and their subsequent gender choices. Such an overview also provides some contextual information concerning university clubs and their place in the university social system.

Postwar Japanese Education

The thorniest problem MacArthur and his staff had to deal with was deciding the fate of the Emperor. In most of the Allied countries there was strong sentiment in favor of destroying the imperial institution and trying Hirohito as a war criminal. Months went by after surrender without any firm decision by the American government. MacArthur himself was impressed with the Emperor at their first meeting, and the photograph of the two men taken at the time records one of the most poignant moments in Japanese history: the Supreme

Commander, casual in his fatigues, hands on hips, towering over the nervous Son of Heaven, standing in formal attire. (Pyle, 1978, p. 156)

The cryptic image of General MacArthur "towering" over the dethroned emperor of Japan personified the Americans' intent and power to alter the foundations of Japanese culture. During the seven years that the Allied armed forces occupied Japan, many recommendations and mandates helped manifest the desires of the Allied powers to democratize, and eventually, Americanize Japan. To achieve this end, the Allied powers soon realized that it would be necessary to utilize and radically modify the Japanese educational system (Fearey, 1950; Wray, 1991).

Beginning at the Potsdam Conference, the Allied powers recognized that education would be a primary "means of establishing and strengthening democratic tendencies among the Japanese people" (U.S. Department of State [USDS], 1969). After issuing the necessary directives, MacArthur took control by suspending all courses and textbooks that were considered to have served for the indoctrination of authoritarian and ultra-nationalistic ideas, by disqualifying teachers who were members of ultra-nationalistic organizations or expressed such ideas, and most importantly, by abolishing military training and presumed martial sports like fencing and wrestling (Kawai, 1960; USDS, 1969). Education, according to the Far Eastern

Commission's Policy for the Revision of the Japanese Educational System of March 1947, "was to be looked on as the pursuit of truth and as preparation for life in a democratic nation" (Fearey, 1950, p. 34).

Of the many goals of the American postwar occupation of Japan, the modification or democratization (remaking Japan's structure and philosophy in the image of the American model) of the country's educational system has had the most lasting effect on Japanese society. The modified framework has liberalized a system that at its highest level was once restricted to very few (Roden, 1980; Rubinger, 1989). Beginning in 1947, however, Occupation policy began to shift. Although the Allied powers' modifications have had a great effect on altering the framework of the education system, they did not have a lasting effect on its ideology or pedagogy. The "reverse course," during which the United States became more preoccupied with the emerging Cold War and the reconstruction of the Japanese economy than with maintaining the democratization process in Japan, allowed the Japanese to revert many aspects of the democratically reformed system to their prewar configurations (Kawai, 1960; Norbeck, 1968; Wray, 1991).

One result of the "reverse course" is that the strong, Confucian-based hierarchical social relationships that permeated prewar Japanese society continue to have a great

effect on its modern counterpart (Nakane, 1970). These relationships take on highly formalized structures when they show up in Japan's educational system. Despite the reforms of the Allied Occupation, Japan has continued to develop into a country where the road to success is based on educational competition. It has become a society made up of employers and employees in which educational credentials (especially university attended) and skills are extremely important to employment, promotion, and social status. One of the primary motivations for educational success in the Japanese educational system is the desire of students to succeed on the university entrance examinations. These exams have become important determinants for status in Japanese society. As anthropologist Thomas Rohlen succinctly described the process, "schooling is geared to it, jobs are based on it, and families are preoccupied with it" (1988, p. 25).

The hierarchical ranking of educational establishments begins to have a great impact on the lives of Japanese students when entrance to the "proper" high school becomes a focal point. Rohlen believes that this point in time represents a "crucial juncture in the total process of educational stratification" (1983, p. 121). At a local level, the high school that a person attends can have a life-long significance on an individual's future career and

personal life--it can become inseparable from an individual's social identity. Despite the intended reforms of the Allied Force's policy (coeducation and equal opportunity), a powerful thrust towards the separation of the sexes takes place during the in-class experiences and private time of most students, especially male students. This time is devoted entirely to preparing for the university entrance examinations. Attending the "proper" high school and *juku* (cram school) facilitates the process of entering a desired university.⁵

In terms of human capital theory, the Japanese educational system and the labor market are important in the gender stratification process because of their role in determining whether the "timing of human capital investment decisions is *diffused* or *condensed* across the individual's life cycle" (Brinton, 1988, p. 305). Japanese society is characterized by condensed timing because there are a few key points in an individual's life when human capital decisions are extremely critical. The highly competitive and tracked educational system with its strong age barriers

⁵The importance of the examinations to each student's future is best illustrated by the popularity of *juku* (cram schools). *Juku* are privately run after-school institutions designed to augment public education, which lacks any type of special program because it forbids individually paced learning. Private enterprise and parental anxiety have combined with entrance examination pressures to create an environment in which childhood is a tightly scheduled existence requiring children to be transported from home to school to *juku* to home, with little time for friends or play (Rohlen, 1978).

are major elements of the limitations imposed by the reality of condensed decision making. The possibility for economic success lessens for those who do not succeed in the series of structured "contests" that occur on various rungs of the educational ladder. Further investment attempts later in life cannot redeem such failures (p. 307). There is strong social pressure for students to complete their education according to a societal schedule that turns the possibility of a wrong choice into an irrevocable decision, especially for women.⁶ The fear of making a wrong decision keeps many from straying from the socially accepted career paths for men (company employee) and women (housewife, mother, office lady, etc.)--paths that find definition in the hierarchical social structure. Although the postwar education reforms insured that everyone would have access to higher education, they did not ensure a classless social structure or equality in the workplace. Hence, a wrong decision could eventually threaten a student's (male or female) chances of attaining a socially accepted role in Japanese culture.

⁶The sacrifice that most students make to enter the best universities is based on the *common* knowledge that companies offer jobs on the basis of university name, not university grades. For all students, the decision for rigorous study to enter a good university must be made before they have the life experience to understand the wisdom of such a decision. This places a great responsibility on parents to shape their children's thinking. Given the requirements of Japanese society for early unchangeable decisions, encouraging individualism and independent thinking in high school could lead students to make "wrong" choices (Cordelia, 1987).

When students finally reach the pinnacle of the educational hierarchy, the university, the years of academic competition have finally come to an end. After years of tireless preparation and sacrifice, most students exhibit a strong degree of detachment from the academic environment. Once admitted to a university, the probability of graduation is very high. Because the amount of authoritative coercion (fear of failing courses) is low, students have little motivation to study or take their education seriously (Passin, 1965; Vogel, 1977). Instead, during their four years as part of the university-created culture, most students devote their efforts to outside activities, such as part-time jobs and, more importantly, sports and hobbies that express themselves in the form of university clubs⁷ (Rohlen, 1983).

Japanese students often use the metaphor of a railroad train to illustrate the highly structured nature of their lives. For many, they are forced onto the train in kindergarten and cannot alight until they retire, usually at the age of 60. In this metaphor, a university education provides the means for students to remain on the railroad and conform to an acceptable life-schedule, thus allowing

⁷Most Japanese universities have no "formally" sponsored athletic teams or clubs. Schools allow their students to utilize campus facilities, but students must provide partial funding and organize many activities on their own.

them to retain the identity that is endemic to participating in society as a university student (free from most adult responsibilities); yet it also represents a break from the usual rigors of the railroad. During a student's university years, a time of social exploration and discovery, the train slows down. Free from the stresses associated with academics, the focus of a student's existence becomes extracurricular activities. Because it is the Japanese custom for the parents to fund their children's university life (tuition and room and board), most students find it easy to attain "the carefree life." In essence, the university years in Japan represent a hiatus from the rigors of exam preparation that precede it, and the responsibilities associated with employment that soon follow (Vogel, 1980).

The Japanese education system gradually becomes more selective the further one travels. The social conceptions of hierarchy that are an integral part of Japanese society also permeate its educational system (Amano, 1989; Cummings, 1980). In essence, Japanese education represents a meritocratic system that places students under much hardship until they enter a university.⁸ At this point, the

⁸For a discussion concerning the myths and realities of the meritocratic nature of the Japanese educational system see Fujita (1985) and Passin (1965).

atmosphere drastically changes as the expectations of society and its institutions become much less rigid. For most students, academic courses are no longer a focal point for their lives--university clubs now replace them. In addition, since the meritocratic character of the Japanese educational system effectively screens out most students who have not achieved the minimum levels of status from the best universities, a good percentage of those students who enter university clubs represent the upper levels of the *vertically-structured society* (Fujita, 1985). The environment in university clubs, therefore, helps to define and reproduce the existing conception of status in Japanese society.

Besides reproducing social conceptions of status in the cultural hierarchy, university clubs also have an important role on Japanese campuses because of the overwhelming effect they have on most students' lives. Usually students belong to only one club during their university years, much like an employee's devotion to a company (Rohlen, 1974). This club will normally require a great deal of time and energy as meetings can take place several times each week, including school vacations. The return on such an investment usually results in close friendships that can be used as investments in a student's future and as lessons on how to function in

the hierarchical relationships that are so important in Japanese society.

Japanese university clubs represent the junction on the railroad where students are free to explore interests and social relationships, before they must take on the responsibilities of adult life. Whatever the ranking of the university and the percentage of women who attend, clubs act as a precursor to the social realities of the gender-segregated Japanese industrial world. The educational system slowly sketches a gradual fork in the track between the sexes, a fork that becomes well defined before most students finish their university education. For example, in most college settings many female students' grand fantasies about their post-university lives (TV announcer, airline stewardess, or simply maintaining a family and career) must face the tales of reality from *senpai* (older students and graduates) who have recently married or made the necessary compromises in their career dreams. These *senpai* will tell *kôhai* (younger students) that it is unrealistic to think that they will successfully combine a career with motherhood. Idealistic career ambitions are considered childish, while choosing motherhood and compromising career goals are seen as marks of maturity (Cordelia, 1990, p. 14). Throughout their university experience, female students become increasingly convinced of the rewards of motherhood,

the danger of nullifying their chances for marriage and motherhood because of career choice, and of the possible loneliness and decreased social acceptance of the single, childless, career woman. By the time most female university students enter the job market, motherhood has become their central goal and the job they choose must adhere to its demands (p. 15).

Limitations of the Study

During the data collection phase, the two greatest obstacles to this research were my being (a) a foreigner in Japan with less than proficient language skills, and (b) a university instructor attempting to study a student reality. My mediocre language skills meant that I needed an interpreter to accompany me to the interviews and sometimes research assistants to translate the actual interviews. The presence of an interpreter, sometimes a woman, changed the dynamic of the interview environment and sometimes created the larger problem of meaning discrepancy. Also, because of the definite hierarchical line between teachers and students in Japan, I sometimes found it difficult to cross the social barrier to enter the student environment. At the same time, even though I appeared quite strange at first to my subjects, being a foreigner allowed me to act outside normal social rules. Therefore, while being a foreigner lessened

the sense of communality, it also allowed the subjects to feel more at ease because my presence placed the topic outside their social context.

Another limitation, in the second phase of the research, was obtaining permission to interview the club members who made up my case study. Although the OB ("old boy" or former members) network keeps a current members list, some members had moved or died. Out of economic considerations, I chose to limit my interview sample to members who living near Nagoya. Although very few members lived outside the chosen perimeter, taken in combination with the population's *mortality* this may have had an effect on the representativeness of the sample.

My beliefs concerning gender equity might also have affected the outcome of my research. Going into this research I found it difficult to remain an objective observer when my belief concerning the necessary modification of gender roles is so strong. Hence, I believe that there is a possibility that my research could be biased. The direction of the questions on the survey and interview schedule may have unconsciously led subjects to answer in a way that may have inhibited honest opinions. Although I did my best to insure against this by allowing my assistants to handle most of the interviews, the nature and

direction of the questions may have led subjects to feel obligated to alter their responses.

Themes of the Present Study

The two major arguments of the present study are (a) a variance in the degree of status is not a sufficient reason to explain the contrariety in hierarchy of gender roles in Japan, and (b) gender roles have undergone a *reversal of freedoms* as described in Iwao's research. Both men and women continue to "take their place" along the hierarchy, yet the appearances and locations have changed. The hypotheses for this study are (a) the reasons for the gender differences with Ōendan extend beyond Nakane's theoretical limits and sexual discrimination is more than a difference in status, and (b) the two gender-segregated sections of the Ōendan, each possessing a place in the social hierarchy, provide concrete examples of Iwao's *reversal of freedoms*.

Organization

Chapter 2 provides the context for the gender realities in Ōendan by examining the foundations for university clubs, the social atmosphere that has enabled their continued existence, and theoretical contexts and explanations for such phenomena in Japanese society. Chapter 3 describes the methodologies used in this study with a narration of the research process. It speaks of barriers and bridges that I

encountered during the process. Chapter 4 is the first of two chapters that presents the results of the study. It contains contextual information concerning cultural mythology, tradition, and club history and development. Chapter 5 relates attitudes in Ôendan with an emphasis on gender roles and expectations and behavioral parameters. Chapter 6 discusses the findings in relation to the study's premises and hypotheses.

CHAPTER 2

RELATIONSHIP TO EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP

Ôendan taught me to respect my *senpai* [seniors]. In society, the authority of one's *senpai* is absolute. I would recommend joining Ôendan because I thought it was good. When one learns about the hierarchical social organization in society, one learns how to behave well in such an environment.

-Male, 1960s Group

This chapter presents the material that lays the foundation for this research. I begin by analyzing the club system in Japan. Clubs are an important part of Japanese culture because of their all-pervasive role in society. The following section examines social theories that attempt to explain Japanese culture. To understand the club system in Japan, it is necessary to explore the social reasons for this phenomenon. The third section examines the relationship between status and gender. From its mythic and Confucian beginnings, the Japanese social hierarchy has defined the importance of each gender's role in society. Section four probes the slowly changing perceptions of gender through the eyes of Sumiko Iwao. The changes in gender roles have had a great effect on many Japanese social institutions. Section five scrutinizes Japanese masculinity in a quasi-comparative mode by establishing what it is and

what it is not. The final section discloses the new directions that this study will explore.

Clubs In Japan

Clubs exist in many Japanese social and business organizations. In large corporations, common interest and sports clubs provide employees with opportunities to cultivate friendships and share interests (Rohlen, 1983). The behaviors that many club members display resemble those that are appropriate for seniors and juniors in the world of business (Hendry, 1987). Often, clubs are powerful organizations that supply members with the type of power that comes with collectivity and selection, such as Japan's Press Clubs--described by Japanese press associations as "social organizations," these clubs have developed into exclusive organizations that monopolize news sources for their members (Yamamoto, 1989). In essence, clubs are an integral part of Japan's social sphere because they meet a variety of needs for their members.

Many of the modern university club rituals have their formal origin in the Meiji Period upper schools. Providing data that supports many of Rohlen's claims, Donald Roden details the development of the "upper school" (after the occupation, this became known as the "high school") with an

emphasis on student culture.⁹ School clubs, along with their highly authoritative structure, originated during the Meiji Period (1867-1912) when Japan reopened its doors to the outside world.¹⁰ During these years, a university education was open only to the privileged few who chose professional fields (e.g., doctor, lawyer, etc.). Those who chose alternative careers attended upper schools. During the Meiji Period, most women could not attend "higher education," except for the few of the former samurai class whose families could afford private schools. If a student was a male and came from a family that could afford the nominal costs of tuition and board, then he was allowed to enter. Upper schools were purely domains of male character development. As with modern universities, scholastic grades had low hierarchical status; upper school students, therefore, possessed a considerable amount of free after-class time that they devoted to group activities, such as clubs. The rites of masculinity involved in these clubs materialized as initiation ceremonies, which took the form of hazing, and the observance of daily group rituals. Upperclassmen made the rigid hierarchical social criteria of age and status (*senpai-kôhai*--senior-junior) apparent to new

⁹Much of my discussion concerning the origin of clubs in Meiji Japan originates from the research of Donald Roden (1980).

¹⁰For a discussion of the political and social changes during the Meiji Period see R. H. P. Mason and J. G. Caiger (1972) and Pyle (1978).

freshmen from the beginning of the school year (Roden, 1980).

Even with a good amount of free time on their hands, idleness was considered to be something of a "sin" in this environment. Sports dominated the extracurricular activities of upper school students. The rituals of athletics-related "club life" (*bu-seikatsu*) represented the highest standard of culture for students. The popularity of sports clubs was related to the belief that hard physical training perfected human character. This pervasive militaristic attitude echoed much of the early upper school pedagogy. The Spartan-like behaviors that predominated club activity were seen as a powerful tool for uniting students by creating dependence on the team, the school, and ultimately the nation. Any athletic activity was perceived as a group effort or struggle. The sublimation of the self for the group, many times to the extent that an individual would tolerate great amounts of pain to persevere in an activity, was an unquestioned fact of life (Roden, 1980).

The limited amount of research on the Japanese club system has traced its modern origins, particularly in universities, to the Allied Occupation of Japan. Determined to democratize Japan, Occupation policy makers instituted a number of major educational reforms that included a structure that would insure equal access to higher education

(OERI Japan Study Team, 1987). In keeping with this goal of equality, the policy makers believed that student clubs, which had already existed before the war, would act as "valuable training grounds for independence and democracy" (Rohlen, 1983, p. 187).

Many Japanese clubs, however, especially sport clubs, continue to be characterized by the strict authoritarian structure that existed in their prewar prototypes (Rohlen, 1983). Although sports clubs are the largest and most active of all Japanese student clubs, they do not align themselves with the American values that define a democratic education: equality and fairness. Unlike common interest (*dôkôkai*) clubs, sports clubs meet on a daily basis and have a highly developed sense of hierarchical relationships. For example, younger students (*kôhai*) always address older students by the respectful term *senpai*. Deferential behaviors can take a variety of forms, from taking off one's hat to greet *senpai* to tolerating their physical and verbal abuse (p. 190).

The societal importance of clubs and their associated behaviors is not limited to certain areas in Japan or specific segments of its society. As an integral part of the Japanese education system, most children learn the great importance of clubs as extracurricular activities. In addition, in some prefectures, club attendance is mandatory.

LeTendre (1994) states that most Japanese middle school teachers view student clubs as a "significant part of a student's education"--*such beliefs are a nationwide phenomenon* (p. 47). Second only to the homeroom teacher, clubs are the most important source of "contact and guidance for middle school children" (p. 46). The hierarchical social relationships in these clubs act as a foundation for this guidance. These relationships, combined with the club activities, teach students how to "behave in a group (*shudan seikatsu*)" (p. 47). In this way, clubs play a vital role in the character development of each student and, eventually, Japanese society.

Commitment, group identity, and the development of strong emotional bonds legitimate the hierarchical and highly disciplined behaviors and excesses that the more formal or traditional clubs exhibit. Consistent attendance at meetings and practices is necessary to insure one's continuity of membership and to avoid the punishment that can take the form of poor treatment and expulsion. Good membership in certain clubs can also pay off later in a student's life as many clubs retain OB ("old boy") networks. The possible rewards from such loyalties help legitimate a club's *raison d'être* and the type of discipline that it imposes on its members (Rohlen, 1983).

In a recent work concerning school-to-work transition, Okano (1993) describes involvement in Japanese high school clubs as a positive *symbolic resource*. Employers use such involvement as recruitment criteria. Clubs symbolize "the sort of personal qualities which are highly valued by employers: persistence and the capability to develop congenial interpersonal relationships in an organization" (p.234). Involvement in sports clubs can compensate for such detrimental behaviors as performing poorly in the academic sphere and attending a school with a low reputation. Sports clubs provide students with a resource to accumulate *symbolic capital* or status (p. 29).¹¹ In the eyes of employers and society, club involvement enhances students' reputations.

Social Theories and Japanese Culture

Although the level of discipline in modern clubs does not usually reach the levels that were found in the early upper schools, the sublimation of the self for the group continues to be an important facet of Japanese culture. A variety of socio/psychological models have been created to explain this cultural phenomenon. One of the most popular is that of psychiatrist Takeo Doi, the Japanese concept of

¹¹*Symbolic capital* is a concept developed by Pierre Bourdieu. It is one type of capital: "attributes, possessions, or qualities of a person or position exchangeable for goods, services, or esteem" (DiMaggio, 1979).

amae. Doi believes that the Japanese word *amae*, which he believes has no cultural equivalent in other languages, represents a need or desire to empathize and to depend on others. The basic idea behind *amae* (dependency) is that an individual in Japan does not have a sense of identity or self unless he or she is part of a group where it is possible to *amaeru* (depend on other group members). A child learns this type of behavior during the initial relationship with his or her mother, and group activity reinforces it throughout his or her lifetime (1981).

Adachi (1986) concurs with Doi's hypothesis and believes that, because of most students' lack of peer socialization due to the rigors of the examination process, the child-like, dependent behaviors that are taught and reinforced by their mothers continue in the university environment (pp. 53-4). Students depend on teachers to pass them, even though they study little; and they depend on fellow club members to guide and support them, even though they begin as perfect strangers (p. 55).

Despite the credibility of the previous theories, Hamaguchi (1985) considers that his contextual model of Japanese group behavior more closely approximates the Japanese psyche. According to Hamaguchi, the aforementioned theories rest on the belief that the highest goal of cultural development rests with the autonomous individual,

whereas interactions between contextuials occur in the inherent cultural belief that all contextuials are connected even if they have had no previous interaction. The contextual actor (*kanjin*) can only perceive the existence of the self in interpersonal relations or social contexts (*aidagara*).¹² Relationships are intrinsically invaluable and necessary for self-definition, and therefore goals to be pursued.

The social preoccupation that dominates the lives of Japanese people is further defined by the concept of *ningensei* ("humanity" or "human-beingness") which takes precedence over everything--be it law, word or reason (Lebra 1976, p. 6). *Ningensei* is the foundation for the Japanese social reality that appears in the form of words, reason, and laws. Unlike Western cultures that take these manifestations of *ningensei* very literally, the Japanese normative orientation is characterized by what Hamaguchi calls *particularism-situationalism* (1985). The concept of human-beingness permeates decision making concerning proper behavior in specific situations. Until social bonds and obligations are established and internalized, Japanese behavior patterns can be characterized by a good amount of "changeability." Mori (1977) compares Japanese culture to a

¹²See also Shumpei Kumon's definition of the "contextual" (1982).

shell-less egg, a malleable phenomenon without a hard outer shell that is able to change its shape depending on external conditions and social contexts. Clubs provide the context for the formation of the bonds and obligations that give form to the *shell-less egg*-like quality of the Japanese identity.

The Contextual Society

The well-known concept of "shame culture" came into being through anthropologist Ruth Benedict. In June 1944, the U.S. Office of War Information assigned Benedict to study the Japanese character to help predict possible behavior during close combat and the eventual American occupation of Japan. Benedict labeled Japan as having a "shame culture" as opposed to the Western "guilt culture." The distinction between the two was based on the source of behavioral restraint, either external (ridicule, exclusion) or internal (conscience). In the case of the Japanese, the desire or need to belong to a group and the fear of ostracism formed the foundation for cultural behavior patterns (1946, p. 223).

As would Nakane (1970) years later, Benedict chose to ignore the power of a patriarchal society and, hence hypothesized that the three most important sociological determinants for assessing an individual's or group's position in Western culture--race, class, and gender--have

little, or what can be called a secondary, significance when these concepts are extrapolated to Japanese culture.

Benedict believed that the role of hierarchy in Japanese culture outweighs all other sociological determinants (pp. 43-75).

Nakane (1970) asserts that Japanese society organizes groups on the foundation of a "frame" (field) rather than an "attribute" (qualification). For example, when a Japanese person joins a group, such as a company, he considers this generalized field to be of greater importance than his particular position or title in the company. Because the loyalty to one's frame is very strong, due to the fear of group ostracism, a "single society" emerges among members of varying qualifications, thus creating the "vertical principle in Japanese society" (p. x). The hierarchical notions of a *vertically-structured society* can be extrapolated to a variety of group formations, from clubs and companies to educational systems and social structures.

The concepts of *shame and guilt*, the *vertically-structured society*, and *amae* are all important in helping define Japanese group consciousness, but the underlying reasons for such behavior lie in the existence of the contextual society. In relation to Japanese clubs, students choose to join clubs because it is part of their cultural behavior to belong to a group, to find definition in a

context. Although the university does provide a frame for students, the unchallenging environment and the need for closer interpersonal relations necessitate the existence of clubs--they provide a distinct definition of the self in the poorly defined context of the university.

In the context of the club, students rarely attempt to create new structures or foster new ideas. According to Kurihara (1989), students prefer to help maintain the existing structures in the club environment. They do not like to argue, are afraid to take chances, and find it extremely troublesome to attempt something new (pp. 7-12). The reasons that students join clubs include: to make friends, to connect with *senpai/kôhai*, and to procure information about classes and exams. Because most students have no intention of breaking new ground in their respective clubs, the club environments give these "shell-less eggs" form, and in turn help reproduce the existing cultural values of society.

Status and Gender

In Japanese society, a strong tendency exists to emphasize a particular social nexus, e.g., the importance of human relations, its hierarchical relation of status, an absolute obedience to one particular person, and the closed character of its sects and cliques (Nakamura, 1967, p. 143).

All of these features rely on certain precepts associated with the philosophy of Confucianism to help define formal social relationships in clubs. The influence of Confucianism runs through all levels of Japanese society. Seeking harmony as a social ideal, Confucianism has helped to instill a sense of order and a structure of respect for one's elders and seniors both in the family and the social group (Reader, 1991, p. 30).

Important aspects of the Confucian belief system continue to permeate Japanese society. In the family, the chain of power and status begins with the man. "The wife bows to her husband, the child bows to his father, younger brothers bow to their elder brothers, the sister bows to all her brothers of whatever age" (Benedict, 1946, p. 49). *The person who bows forfeits the right of power, while the person who receives the bow acknowledges the responsibilities associated with his ranking.*

During the Tokugawa Era (the time of feudalism in Japan), the head of the family was treated with greatest respect, and "obedience to his word was considered absolutely binding on all family members" (Bellah, 1957, p. 47). This Confucian-based family structure sustains the belief that it is natural for most groups in Japan to be patriarchal phenomena. In this way, men continue to possess a greater degree of power and responsibility. Their place

in the social hierarchy is usually higher than that of women.

The concept of status in Japanese society is an important element in knowing "one's proper place" in the social hierarchy. For men and women, each party's place in the social hierarchy is dependent on the amount of status that each possesses. According to Nakane (1970), sexual differences, in connection with role expectations, are not a product of discrimination, but rather a difference in status. "It is well known that Japanese women are nearly always ranked as inferiors; this is not because their sex is considered inferior, but because women seldom hold higher social status" (p. 32fn).

Nakane defines status as power, specifically positions of power in a given society or social context. Status is the dominant factor in fixing the social order, more influential than age, sex, etc. Although in most social contexts seniority is the basic criterion for determining rank, it is not applied to every situation--those in power have higher status, regardless of age or sex. "For example, the head of a household, regardless of age, occupies the highest seat; his father retreats to a lower seat" (1970, p. 32fn).

According to Bourdieu (1973), the process that helps perpetuate such hierarchies is called *cultural reproduction*.

Here the dominant class uses the central concept of *habitus* to promote or maintain its social position. The type of *habitus* that the dominant groups in society use to maintain gender roles qualifies as *cultural capital*, or "high status cultural signals used in cultural and social selection" (Lamont & Lareau, 1988, p. 153). Because the dominant culture possesses great amounts of cultural capital, it has the power to determine what is "proper" or legitimate in the culture. Power of that kind is called *symbolic violence* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). The way Japanese culture determines the concept of status is a form of *symbolic violence*. The power of a class or group to make its particular preferences and practices appear natural is the means to its sovereignty. Such preferences and practices become standard in society under the guise of rationality and neutrality (Bourdieu, 1974).

In Japan, "hierarchy based on sex and generation and primogeniture are part and parcel of family life" (Benedict, 1946, p. 49). Although the previous quotation of nearly 50 years ago may appear to be too strict a description of modern Japanese society, the basic premise for this belief still exists. Many levels of society continue to look on such a belief as legitimate. The *symbolic violence* associated with this belief continues to shape the hierarchical status in Japanese social groups. Both men and

women share the belief that men have a greater capacity for strength and status. Women seldom hold positions of higher status because it is the natural order of society. Men alone must share the benefits and burdens that higher status and responsibility entail.

Society continues to reproduce this vision of itself because the dominant group (men) believes that they accrue status by maintaining this dominant ideology. In the context of a Japanese university club, similar beliefs continue to dominate the environment, especially in sports clubs. The strong hierarchical social structures that most sports clubs possess are endemic to the belief that the dominant group is benefiting in some way through such structures. It is the intent of this study to show that these hierarchical structures, especially when they pertain to gender roles, are not a "natural way" for society. Instead, each group's belief in the "way" insures its reproduction. The definition of status is the product of this belief.

Changing Ideas on Gender

Although Japanese society continues to reinforce the role expectations that it associates with each gender to maintain their different rankings in the hierarchy, the opportunities for women to work and pursue careers have

increased recently, providing them with a whole new range of freedoms. The economic miracle has, in effect, chained men to the institutions that they have created. The postwar Japanese system of long-term employment and the seniority-based promotional ladder have placed men in a prison of responsibility that they can only escape through retirement. Women, on the other hand, have turned the recent trends in household technology to their advantage. The modern conveniences surrounding home maintenance have provided them with a good amount of free time to pursue employment or personal, cultural interests. Once prisoners in a three-generation household, modern women have a much greater degree of freedom than their male counterparts. The crux of Iwao's (1993) theory is what she calls a "reversal of freedoms" between the genders (p. 6).

Iwao believes that the Confucian ethic of the *three obediences* for women can now be rewritten as the "three obediences for men: obedience to mothers when young, companies when adult, and wives when retired" (Iwao, 1993, p. 7). Men, however, do not seem to believe that their present state in Japanese society has become less powerful in the gender arena. They continue to hold on to the belief that they are the "respected superiors of society and belittle women's voices as nothing but emotional, unrealistic *female logic*" (p. 8).

The major reason that women do not challenge the male belief in superiority has to do with the nature of *equality*. Although American women seek equality with men on many fronts, Japanese women are much more interested in creating a "*humane life* which transcends both men and women" (Iwao, 1993, p. 12). It appears very reasonable for most Japanese women to be satisfied with their lives. They have little desire to emulate the lifestyle of the average Japanese man. While a home-related existence has certain life-style constraints, in those limits, there is a higher level of diversification and freedom than is available to most Japanese men. According to Iwao, "Japanese women tend to be extremely pragmatic; they are not necessarily concerned with achieving equality with men in terms of disposal of time and energy or even in terms of income or status rewards for performance" (Iwao, 1993, p. 15). It is more important for a woman to be able to pursue her own individual goals. Equality with men is more a matter of individual taste.

Examples of this free time can be easily seen during a weekday afternoon in any metropolitan area. The more luxurious restaurants, department stores, and shops will be mostly filled with women. On observation, Japanese women appear to be taking part in a social class competition where fashion, proper behavior, and spending are the predominant themes. Few men take part in these activities because they

do not have the time, freedom, or social capital to do so. This segment of Japanese life is open, primarily to women, and it is one that few women are prepared to concede to a Western ideal of *equality*. Equality is a good ideal, "but if it means having to work so hard that individual pleasures and private fulfillment are not permitted, they [women] are content to do without it" (Iwao, 1993, p. 15). Sharing in the responsibilities, the choices, and the power of the world of men is too high a price to pay for equality because it entails, for most women, a sacrifice of private fulfillment. In other words, it does not best serve their interests.

Japanese men and women inhabit different, mutually exclusive worlds where each side cultivates distinct social networks because communication among members of the same sex is quite dense, but minimal between the sexes. In these predominantly mutually exclusive worlds, the sexes are changing at very different paces. In Japan, women have undergone greater changes in attitudes and behavior than men. Iwao believes that "not only have women's lives become more diverse than those of men but they have also shown at times a propensity to change ahead of men" (Iwao, 1993, pp. 17-18). Japanese men do not see this female inclination for social change as a threat to their power or position in society. They continue to view women as adolescent,

dependent creatures. Because men do not consider women a threat, "they do not intervene in the affairs of women and do not know much about what women are doing, enabling them to become quite independent" (p. 18).

Marriage and the Family

The change in gender roles has had a great effect on the traditional Japanese family and the social institution of marriage. Unlike times past, few women choose to marry before the traditional age marker of 25. In interviews that Iwao conducted in 1991, she found that women in their early 20s (20-24) "have been largely freed from the traditional confines of female destiny and have grown up with the same individualistic and hedonistic values as the men of their generation" (Iwao, 1993, p. 61).

The current generation of young adults is the product of the postwar consumer culture. They tend to value their own feelings over future goals, strongly felt commitments, or social causes. This attitude has a great effect on a young woman's personal outlook on life, and in turn affects a man's outlook. Today's young women are able to make a decent living, unlike their predecessors. With this new sense of economic independence, "women now feel less eager or compelled to marry than men or than exhibited in earlier periods, a tendency that is strongest among highly educated

women in their twenties with professional skills" (Iwao, 1993, p. 63).

Men, on the other hand, have a more arduous time with the issue of marriage. Specifically, men in their 30s have a difficult time finding a wife. "Men still feel the urgent need for a helpmate and permanent companion, and they often need, at the very least, a partner to help shoulder the responsibilities of inherited land or property or a family business, which impose a considerable burden on younger generations in Japanese society even today" (Iwao, 1993, p. 66). The reasons for this difficulty are many, but the primary burden lies in the slowly changing attitudes of Japanese men. They continue to behave in a manner that patronizes women and do not make the necessary effort to understand changing female attitudes. In addition, with the shifts in demography since World War II (there are approximately 2.5 million more men than women between the ages of 25-39 years), the competition for a willing woman to marry has become quite fierce (pp. 67-8).

Several of the behaviors that are allied with gender have their foundation in the family. The family is associated with the term "home" (*uchi*), and this represents warmth and comfort, a place to find solace from the harsh, outside world (*soto*). In this world of warmth and comfort, women are the sole managers. Men have little free time to

make a substantial claim to this responsibility. Women, therefore, are left to control this important area of Japanese life. Essentially, the Japanese home is the territory where women can exercise full control. According to Iwao, a woman "knows that as long as the basic housework is done and the children are taken care of, her husband will not be much concerned about how she spends her free time" (1993, p. 82). A wife's level of freedom and economic stability, therefore, are guaranteed by taking care of certain household responsibilities.

The level of freedom that each gender possesses also has a great effect on the differences between a man and a woman's social environments. Japanese men are restricted by the unidimensional life that totally revolves around the workplace. Problems associated with the work environment can place a great deal of stress on a man. With no time for outside friends, men have few places to seek solace. "When faced with difficulty or disappointment, men in the corporate employee rut may feel that there is nowhere to turn, and they have no alternative form of fulfillment from which to seek consolation or relief" (Iwao, 1993, p. 83). Conversely, the diversity and greater amount of home-associated freedom in women's lives have created moral-support outlets that most men do not possess. This is "one

reason women do not necessarily aspire to be like men and do not envy men's lives" (p. 83).

The corporate differences in job descriptions and expectations typify the cultural beliefs concerning male and female roles in society. University club culture directly reflects these beliefs by helping to define gender roles and prepare students for the realities of greater society. In terms of this research, defining what constituted maleness in the context of the university club meant determining the differing perceptions of maleness in the contexts of the chosen club's two sections (based on the differing levels of internal discipline in each section) and if these perceptions had changed over time.

Conceptions of Gender Roles

The many differing opinions concerning the precise nature of gender roles within a given society lie on a continuum with the Conservative Perspective (biological) at one extreme and the Liberal Perspective (socio/psychological) at the other (Clatterbaugh, 1990). The Conservative Perspective of masculinity defines gender roles by biological or "natural" prerogatives. Men and women act the way they do because of a biological imperative--physical limitations dictate behavior (ibid.).

At the other extreme, the Liberal Perspective maintains that social environment and conditioning shape acceptable gender-related behavior. "Gender differences are shaped by learning and socialization (Clatterbaugh, 1990, p. 43). Depending on the proximity of a perspective to this extreme, masculinity either defines heterosexual relations or is "a set of limitations akin to the limitations of femininity" (p. 43).

Masculinity in Japan

I believe that the most popular image of Japanese men fits best in the parameters of Sociobiological Conservatism, which lies near the extreme of the Conservative Perspective. The Sociobiological Conservatives believe that men behave in ways that promote the copying of their genes for successive generations (Clatterbaugh, 1990). The central principle behind the sociobiological point of view is that the human male is "no different from males of other species in that he is subject to the evolutionary process of natural selection" (p. 19). In keeping with this process, individuals tend to behave in a manner that maximizes the perpetuation of the species by projecting copies of their genes into successive generations. Masculine nature is shaped by strategies that support this process. For the sociobiologists, feminism is a futile attempt to eradicate congenitally established masculine behavior. Because universal sex roles provide

stability in human society, any attempt to change them is irrational.

In the Japanese social hierarchy, men have a higher place than women (Benedict, 1946; Nakane, 1970). For men, "taking one's place" in society is a product of natural selection. They are able to attain positions of higher status because of their strength. Because of this fact, the responsibilities and ordained behaviors that are associated with the male role are distinctly different from those associated with the female role. Each sex has its accepted role, whether congenital or socially created, for the good of society. As one company president stressed to his employees (mostly female), "it was the strength of traditional Japanese women that was behind Japan's economic recovery" (Roberts, 1994, p. 19). Any attempt to undermine traditional roles will lead to the breakdown of the family system, and eventually, society.

Accepting one's gender role in the face of an individual desire for change is an important element in Japanese society (Buruma, 1984). Despite the associated restrictions and limitations, members of each sex have a role that they must perform for the good of the social system:

In this moral system, with its single-minded pursuit of collective goals, selfishness is the greatest vice, and the self-serving man, as well as appearing insincere (the

greatest sin in Japanese eyes, with a much stronger negative connotation than in English), is also regarded as corrupt and decadent. (Gilmore, 1990, p. 189)

Buruma (1984) holds that to be a man in Japan, unlike in Western societies, is to follow the path of duty (*giri*) despite any hardships that are incurred or sacrifices that must be made (p. 181). There are two paths to achieve manhood in Japan: the "hard" (*kôha*) and the "soft" (*nanpa*) paths. The first requires heroic or aggressive action, often similar to the warlike code of the samurai and is reflected in the atmosphere in many athletic clubs. The latter manifests in the form of selfless industriousness and conformity to established moral codes. In the modern world of Japanese industry, the soft path predominates. The acceptance of one's social fate in this environment "is what separates the men from the boys" (p. 184).

To understand the responsibilities of masculinity in Japanese culture one has to begin with the male mythic archetype that is molded by samurai code, or *bushido*, the warrior's way (Gilmore, 1990). Blind loyalty to one's lord and family and meritorious deeds while in service to the lord are the major traits that define such a code. Although the samurai class was eventually dismantled during the Meiji Period, "its central value system of unquestioned loyalty to constituted authority did not disappear entirely but lived on in a modern bureaucratic form" (p. 188). Instead of

expressing their manhood militarily, this expression now takes shape by sublimating individual desires/needs for the good of the group. The ideals associated with group economic success have replaced those associated with war. In essence, Japanese men have been able to reconcile the emphasis on individual achievement with collective goals by creating a cultural atmosphere where accomplishments are meaningless unless they can be expressed in a socially productive fashion (p. 197).

Surplus Aggressiveness

Kaufman (1987) contends that the "construction of masculinity involves the construction of "surplus aggressiveness. " The social context of this triad of violence is the institutionalization of violence in the operation of most aspects of social, economic, and political life" (p. 2). Masculinity is not limited to a socialization into a pre-formed gender role, as if the idea of masculinity were an inherent quality. Instead, through a man's psychological development, he embraces and assimilates a culturally defined set of gender-based social relations; through the maturation process, a man becomes "the personal embodiment of those relations" (p. 8).

In Japan, the "personal embodiment" of such relations is well defined in its corporate system. 'Surplus aggressiveness' in the Japanese corporate environment means

that men must endure the hardships associated with harsh training practices. According to Rohlen, "stability, security, and opportunity for advancement are the obvious reasons that induce employees of large firms to endure such harsh training practices as long meditation sessions, grueling marathon walks, and even bathing in icy waters" (1988b, p. 130). Such corporate training practices mirror those that are integral elements of Japanese clubs. The military drill-like elements of clubs are also considered necessary to instill a sense of order and discipline in employees. As the director of the Kamikaze Museum explained, "Nobody wishes to experience unpleasant things, but unpleasant things are part of life, and nothing of significance can be achieved without suffering" (*ibid.*).

Men of a Different Context

Marginal groups, such as gay men, possess standards for masculinity that lie outside dominant male stereotypes (Clatterbaugh, 1990, p. 127). In this sense, masculinity is not an all-encompassing phenomenon that crosses all contextual boundaries. Instead, it changes in each social context.

This leads to two important questions concerning gender role research: (a) What constitutes a *masculinity*? and (b) Is there an underlying cause that produces masculinity? The elasticity of masculine descriptors in Japanese society

allowed Yukio Mishima to express his masculinity in a traditional fashion, and yet maintain a homosexual lifestyle. "Restricted homosexual" extravagances are a "part of traditional *human feelings*" (Benedict, 1946, p. 187). Prior to the Westernizing effects of the Meiji Restoration, homosexuality was part of the sanctioned territory of men of high status--samurai and priests. Such "dalliances," however, had to be kept in their proper place and were not allowed to conflict with the obligations of daily life, such as the family. According to Benedict, "the Japanese draw their own lines as to what a man can do and retain his self-respect" (p. 188).

Sex-Difference Research

The development of gender role research has amplified the differences between the sexes. Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1987) trace the development of research concerning the sociology of gender and sex role framework from the early 20th century to the present. From the time of "sex difference research," a reaction to the women's emancipation movement, sex role definition research was motivated by the desire to reinforce the generally accepted belief that women were inferior to men. The feminist movement of the late 1960s provided men with an impetus to explore their own behavior and the power that is associated with it. The feminist critique of male oppression of women and male

competition forced many men to reevaluate their gender roles and to rationalize the motives for these roles.

The reevaluation of gender roles has led the many forms of the feminist and men's movements to redefine those qualities that make up masculinity. The very existence of a "role" entails a socially accepted standard, and such a standard implies that "society is organized around a pervasive differentiation between male and female roles, and these roles are internalized by all individuals" (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1987, p. 165). However, the above premise does not take into account the realities of the world, i.e., variations from the prescribed norm are often seen as deviations. In reality, "there is a variation in masculinity, arising from individual experiences, that produces a range of personalities--ranging in one conception along a dimension from *hard* to *soft*, in another from higher to lower levels of androgyny" (p. 166).

Extrapolating Japan's gender role belief system to this theory uncovers a reality where role framework creates an abstract view of the differences between the sexes and masks the fact that the "liberation of women must mean a loss of power for most men; and given the structuring of personality by power, also a great deal of personal pain" (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1987, p. 167). As Iwao stated previously, men do not seem to believe that their present state has

become less powerful because they continue to hold positions of responsibility and power in society. The rise of feminist movements and feminist epistemological thinking in Japan, however, has created a challenge to this monopoly on power. This variable of power is what many women seek, and what many men fear losing. According to Carrigan, Connell & Lee, it is this imbalance of power, therefore, that creates the gender gap, not the differences in sex roles.

Sports and Masculinity

Sport is one environment in modern society for men to exhibit their stereotypical manliness and to tip the balance of power further in their direction. Although written from a Western point of view, Kidd (1987) believes that sports-related behavior is one of the most visible manifestations of masculinity in modern societies. Sports are an effective way to "perpetuate patriarchy by reinforcing the sexual division of labor" (p. 255). They provide males with "exciting opportunities" that society does not provide for women. The qualities that most people associate with sports, therefore, become associated with masculinity.

The prevailing belief during the forming of the modern Olympics was that sports were consciously understood to be "masculinizing." Sports prepared "boys and young men" for careers in business, government, and the military by infusing physical and mental strength, submission to

authority, and team spirit (Kidd, 1987, p. 252). The bourgeois values that sports instilled reflected those values of the dominant class. For example, the organizers for the modern Olympics used the "amateur code" as a distinct organizing concept for the games. This code was meant to regulate class by imbuing the games with middle-class values. According to some sociologists, sports continue to enlist middle-class influences to this day by employing similar value systems.

The qualities of sports that make them masculine also make them resemble the realities of war. Kidd contends that many of the behaviors associated with sports are similar to those of war because "competitions are viewed as zero-sum contests, and athletes are encouraged to treat each other as enemies" (p. 262). The military vocabulary of sports is not a coincidental phenomenon. The competitive physical activity of many societies has been closely associated with military training. Kidd warns that this "tradition" needs to be changed before sports can become more humane and less repressive (pp. 262-3).

Elastic Parameters of Masculinity

The Japanese believe that certain weaknesses are acceptable in the previous descriptions of power and status. Being a "sickly" person does not weaken a man's masculine image or social standing. According to Ônuki-Tierney, "the

stiff upper lip is not required in this regard" (1984, p. 52). In fact, Japanese people are often extremely proud of possessing a body that is predisposed to various maladies. At the other extreme, the Japanese term *mushinkei* (no nerve or sensitivity) is used to describe a person whose body and mind are insensitive. This term has the connotation of being stupid or nonintellectual. Those who are not sensitive, or are not predisposed to illness, have little potential for upward social mobility (*ibid.*).

Ônuki-Tierney believes that this side of the Japanese character is not well known to foreigners because it is overshadowed by the image of the Japanese "workaholic." Although the Japanese work environment does not sanction vacation time, and that workers take relatively few vacations, these same workers think nothing of taking advantage of their sick leave. In fact, Japan has the longest hospitalization period in the world, and most companies find this situation reasonable (1984). Being sick or dependent in Japan is not a sign of weakness or effeminacy for a man.

Unlike Western societies, the emancipation from maternal dominance is not a compulsory facet of Japanese masculinity. The Japanese regard what Lebra (1976) calls a "traumatic pass-fail test" as unnecessary or undesirable (pp. 58-9). Being a "mother's boy" in Japan is not

considered a stigma or a threat to one's masculinity. Rather, the Japanese regard a lack of courage, indecisiveness and cowardice as feminine traits. Women help men define their masculinity because it is "asserted more against the opposite sex than against one's mother or other males" (pp. 58-9).

Because there is little masculine competition between Japanese men, they prefer the company of men to women in most social situations. Doi (1989) refers to this preference as "homosexual," but uses it in the broader sense "where emotional links between members of the same sex take preference over those with the opposite sex" (p. 113). A rough English translation of this term can be "friendship," but the emphasis is on the fact that this type of friendship takes precedence over heterosexual love. Doi does not limit this phenomenon exclusively to friends. He states that it may also occur between "teacher and pupil, between senior and junior members of some organization, or even between parent and child of the same sex" (p. 113). In essence, these feelings of homosexuality pervade all areas of Japanese society.

Doi considers Japan to be the "ideal place" for enjoying relations with members of the same sex in an open and unashamed manner, contrary to America (p. 114). America lays a special emphasis on the ties between the sexes both

before and after marriage. Because the Japanese often travel in sexually segregated groups from school to adult life, it is very natural to develop close friendships with members of the same sex. These homosexual feelings rarely, however, according to Doi, develop into the "restricted type of homosexuality; if anything, the possibility in practice is slight" (p. 113). It is acceptable for men to develop an emotional dependency on the same sex, but crossing the line to "restricted homosexuality" is highly frowned on.

Summary

Clubs serve Japanese society by providing a context for the individual to define himself or herself. As contextual beings, Japanese use the club environments for social cohesion and personal advancement. The atmosphere in these clubs, however, helps shape and reinforce gender roles in society. As a common element in Japanese society, gender segregation promotes a separation and demarcation of the sexes. The degree of status associated with each gender role is directly related to society's belief in the Confucian-based *vertically-structured society*. Japanese men occupy a higher place in the social hierarchy because they naturally possess a greater potential to acquire status and social capital. Men are the stronger sex, the aggressors in society. Although the limits are elastic in some senses

(e.g., Mishima's case), being a man is to accept the role that society dictates, along with its related responsibilities. A man's lot is not easy, women have a greater sense of social freedom, but enduring such hardship has tipped the balance of power in the males' direction.

A New Direction

Using the research presented in this chapter as a foundation, this study takes a different road. It focuses on gender construction and reinforcement during the university years in Japan. Although much of the previous research has accurately defined the periphery of Japanese university clubs and masculinity, it has not delved specifically into these phenomena. Through the perceptions and memories of former members, this study analyzes these phenomena and their importance to the individual and club society. It will create a picture of Ōendan, its separate sections, and meaningful concepts that I associate with the club and its social hierarchy to document the behaviors that demarcate gender roles, and their effect on relationships and the social hierarchy, in a university club.

CHAPTER 3

APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

I disagree with such Western concepts as "equality under God." I believe that hierarchies exist in many societies (even in a family), but I still think that this has both advantages and disadvantages.

-Male, 1980s group

To restate the problem, what influence has the Japanese social hierarchy on relationships in a university club and consequently on gender role reproduction. Although the social environment in most clubs has changed at a rate similar to societal change, the hierarchy of more formal clubs continues. Therefore, I began by examining what influence, if any, the original clubs had on present precepts and behavioral norms. I was also interested in how the original club models affected the development of the OB ("old boy") system.

Because the goal of this research was to understand one phenomenon, I employed case study methodology, specifically a single case (embedded) design. According to Yin (1989), the single case study is justifiable under certain conditions: where the case represents a critical testing of an existing theory, where the case is a rare or unique event, or where the case serves a revelatory purpose. This particular case met all these conditions. It was primarily

revelatory in nature because it was the first time, to my knowledge, that a researcher had made the effort to analyze and observe such a phenomenon; second, this case was a rare or unique event when analyzed in the "leisure-like" environment of the Japanese university; and third, the case acted as a critical test for Nakane's theory of gender status as an element of social hierarchy in Japanese society. An embedded case study design allowed for the incorporation of sub-units of analysis. By including multiple sources of information and groups in the design, it was possible to study the case/phenomenon from a variety of angles.

Subjects

Because the Japanese school runs from April to March, all eligible subjects had graduated by March 1993, before data collection commenced in June 1993. The potential population consisted of 163 (119 males and 44 females) former members of *Ôendan*, a student club at Owari University, the setting of this study, a private institution that represents postwar university and club development (see Chapter 1).¹³ This institution is located in Nagoya, in the Tokai region of central Japan (along the Pacific Coast,

¹³To maintain the anonymity of this institution, I have given it a pseudonym, Owari University. Owari is the old name for the area surrounding Nagoya.

between Tokyo and Osaka). With the assistance of the OB ("old boy") network president and the 1993 Ôendan captain, I was able to gain access to my subjects.¹⁴ The actual population diminished to 122 members due to various factors, such as death, relocation, or lack of communication between former members and the OB network.

Procedure

This study analyzed the development of two distinct sections (male and female) of a club that has its traditions in Meiji and Tokugawa Japan--Ôendan, the Cheering Club. The primary focus of this study was to determine how and why the two sexually segregated sections of this club--*Leader-bu* for men and *Cheerleader-bu* for women--differ in relation to the legitimization of gender role expectations and in their expression of group behavior models. In the social hierarchy of this organization, which acts as a precursor to the Japanese business reality, it was possible to clarify the ranking of specific values concerning gender roles. I began with a historical analysis during the initial phase of this study to document the development of Ôendan in its university setting under the postwar constitution. My purpose was to determine how the original guidelines for

¹⁴The OB and OG network acts as a type of alumni or booster association. It provides support in the form of guidance and money, and also supplies the club with a sense of continuity.

Table 1 Survey Respondents (by decade of university entrance)

Decade	Females	Males
1950s	0 ^a	15
	0%	27.8%
1960s	4	18
	14.3%	33.3%
1970s	7	4
	25.0%	7.4%
1980s	17	17
	60.7%	31.5%
Total	28	54
	100%	100%

^aThe female section of Ōendan was not formed until the mid-1960s.

club activity and interpersonal relationships affected the internal and external frameworks of its modern counterpart. Apart from supplying information concerning the relationship between the past and the present, this analysis laid a historical foundation for a comparison of gender role expectations and some explanations of change.

The next two stages of this study consisted of a survey and then personal interviews. I designed the survey to elicit personal, club related, and attitudinal data. Of the 122 members, 82 (67.2%) returned the survey. This sample consisted of 54 males and 28 females (see Table 1).

I completed the survey before conducting the interviews because I used the survey results to construct the interview questions. Using the survey data, I was able to determine the validity of the responses and delve more deeply into important issues. I limited the interviews to former club members who chose to participate in the survey because I

believed that, to count on the greater degree of participation that the interviews required, subjects had to be willing to take the first step. Twenty-seven members participated in the interviews.

Historical Analysis

I began the historical analysis by locating and examining documents from the Monbusho (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture), specifically those of the Higher Education Bureau and Social Education Bureau, from 1949 (the year the Owari University opened its doors) to 1989 (the year the last of my subjects reached university age). Monbusho is the government agency that is responsible for the planning, operation, and recording of data for educational institutions. The year 1949 was an advantageous time to begin a historical study because many of the postwar occupation reform measures (the postwar Constitution and the United States Education Mission in 1946, and the new Civil Code in 1948) had time to have an effect on Japanese society. The year 1989 marked the death of Emperor Hirohito whose 63 year reign saw Japan through World War II and the economic miracle. Although this 40-year span may appear to be a large amount of time to analyze historically, there proved to be a scarcity of information.

For general information concerning club development, I utilized the National Diet Library in Tokyo. This library is similar to the Library of Congress in the United States; a copy of everything published with copyright in Japan, including university journals, is located there. During my earlier literature accumulation phase, I had discovered that the number of Japanese publications concerning society and clubs is extremely limited. I had, therefore, to rely mostly on Western scholars, whose research on Japanese clubs has only approached the subject peripherally. This fact made the perusal of research and records located in the National Diet Library a necessary phase in data accumulation.

Other important sources of evidence were documentation and archival records located in the university. Quantitative sources included survey data previously collected about students and information concerning the numbers of students in different kinds of clubs and their associated educational and family histories. In the qualitative realm, I sought the individual records of the two sections of Ōendan. Unfortunately, the meeting minutes and records, correspondences between members, clubs, or institutions, OB lists and correspondences that I wanted to peruse did not exist. The club and OB network kept few records, and these consisted mostly of members' addresses

and phone numbers. However, the club published a small yearbook that included articles, profile, and photographs.

My other source of information for the historical analysis was the interviews with former club members. As part of each interview, I attempted to elicit descriptions of past club atmosphere and what the subjects considered to be the personal and career benefits to joining their particular club. My purpose was to create an oral history of the club and document the change in attitudes and perceptions concerning "proper" gender-related behaviors for each decade's group.

The Survey

Because most Japanese governmental and private organizations use surveys to elicit public opinion, I felt that a survey would be a useful tool to gather the primary section of research data. To facilitate its administration, I designed the survey (Appendix 3) to closely approximate the Japanese *ankêto* (survey). The style of language and the question format reflected those of the average Japanese survey. I designed the sequence of questions to uncover gradually layers about each subject's university club experience. The survey began with general questions about each subject's background, years at university, and general observations concerning Ôendan. Next, I searched for

attitudes concerning club membership, possible second thoughts and alternatives to joining Ōendan, and the relationship between clubs and post-university employment. The remainder of the questions delved deeply into the focus of this study--attitudes and their sources concerning gender roles in Ōendan and, more generally, Japanese society.

The second step was to translate the survey into Japanese (Appendix 3B). To accomplish this, I used two separate interpreters to obtain two translations for comparison. The degree of difficulty with these interpretations was something that I had not predicted. Some of the terms and ideas that I had used frequently in the survey are not readily discussed in Japanese society. For example, the Japanese do not readily discuss the concept of *masculinity* (*otokorashisa*) or the related gender-identity implications. Asking questions about subjects that most Japanese people accept without question requires a great deal of question-phrasing tact. Instead of posing one question that would directly confront a difficult issue, it became necessary to compose a set of questions that would circle the issue to paint a picture. Such questioning is a common feature of Japanese culture. Directly confronting an issue will rarely elicit true feelings (*honne*).

During the question-writing phase, I made many efforts to contact the present captain of Ōendan and the president

of its OB network through a liaison. Luckily, one of the administrators in my faculty had the reputation of being a strong supporter of most sports clubs. Being an avid supporter, he had a close relationship with the captains of these clubs and was able to introduce me to the captain of Ôendan (a formal introduction is a necessary feature in Japanese culture). Through this introduction, I was able to acquire the phone number of Ôendan's OB network president. With the help of my assistants, who are Japanese, we contacted the president to make an appointment for an interview. After agreeing to the interview, we met in his office. As a company executive, he was able to provide the necessary time and environment for the interview.

This interview served as the inaugural interview for my research and provided me with two necessary elements for the survey: a letter of introduction and the list of Ôendan OBs. I sent the letter of introduction with the survey to help ensure a high percentage of participation. I believed that the endorsement of the OB president would compel most subjects, through the social hierarchy that permeates Japanese society, to return the survey. With the OB list, it was possible to acquire the addresses and phone numbers of most former Leader-bu and Cheerleading-bu members. The total number of members who had participated in Leader-bu and Cheerleading-bu from 1953-1989 was 163. Because it was

possible to make contact only with 122 (the remaining 41 had moved, died, or severed contact with the club) of these members, a smaller amount than I had anticipated, I decided to send the survey to all available members.

On May 27, 1993, I sent the survey to the 122 former members of the club. Included with this survey was the aforementioned letter of introduction from the OB president, my own letter of introduction (Appendix 1), and a self-addressed stamped envelope. In my letter of introduction, I asked all subjects to return the survey by June 12. According to Moser and Kalton (1972), two weeks was a fair time to ask for a response. To avoid subject procrastination, I set the time limit to provide an impetus to return the survey.

In two days, I received four responses. This instilled the hope that I would have a high percentage of quick responses, and bolstered my confidence in my original belief that the survey would have an 80% response rate. The responses, however, flowed-in at an inconsistent rate. Whereas some days I was lucky to receive over seven surveys, most days the responses ranged from three to five. Near the end of the two week time limit, the responses dwindled to one or two, and then to none. I became a bit concerned that the response rate would fail to reach the 50% level.

To my dismay, only 40% (n=48) of the subjects had responded to the survey after two weeks. I found this low response rate to be surprising because I had thought that members would exhibit a greater sense of club loyalty. The club system, at least this club, was not as strong as I had believed. The next step consisted of telephoning each subject who had not responded. With the follow-up telephone calls, I was able to achieve a final response rate of 67.2% (n=82), over 50% of the population (n=163).

After telephoning, many subjects' reticence to respond became clear. Initially, some subjects refused to take part in the survey for a variety of reasons: misunderstanding, lack of interest, preoccupation with job, disagreement with the study's purpose, and so on. Also, some of the subjects had moved from their original home and failed to inform the OB network. Due to a shortage of volunteers, the Ôendan OB network did not always make the necessary effort to contact old members. It is possible that the list I received from the present club captain was not an extremely accurate picture of current OB participation.

As I received each response, I entered the results into a Microsoft Excel 4.0 spreadsheet, coding each question as a separate variable and numbering each subject chronologically, according to each respondent's entrance year. I coded the responses for each question that

required, or had as an option, open responses according to their frequencies. I then transferred this finished spreadsheet to an SPSS data sheet for quantitative analysis.

Using SPSS data-analysis tools, I was able to construct cross-tabulations of two variables and utilize another variable as a control variable. I used the control variable "sex" most often because gender issues were the crux of this research. Of course, entrance year was also an important variable, but due to the lack of subjects from certain decades, I was not able to utilize this variable to the extent that I had hoped.¹⁵

Several of the respondents did not fully understand the intent of the survey. "Your questions are not good. More attention should be paid to the personality and inner quality of the Ōendan members. There is too much emphasis on the 'stereotypical concept' of Ōendan" (Male, 1970s group). Many respondents thought that this study should have focused more on the club, rather than using the club to help explain another phenomenon; and some thought that a survey was too simplistic a method to understand the Japanese ideological framework.

¹⁵For various reasons, I chose not to use the data from every question in this study. Many of the questions elicited background data from each subject and were useful only as variables for other analyses. Some questions sought more general information and attitudes about club life. With open-ended questions that asked the subject to supply all examples, I sometimes did not insert tables in the text to illustrate hypotheses because I felt that the data did not transfer well into a table.

The questions that touched on gender issues were difficult for many men, and some women, to contemplate. Why did I ask such questions about Ôendan? For most, the answers seemed very obvious. Many men felt that the questions from Question 29 on, which dealt with gender issues in the club, were inappropriate. Probing issues as "Are females unsuitable for Ôendan?" or "Are women adaptable to the seniority system?" were not worth considering because they considered such matters unimportant. Rather than interpreting the questions from a more general social perspective, many members believed that the questions were far removed from what they considered to be the purpose of Ôendan. "It is difficult to get the whole picture of Ôendan only from this survey. Only after experiencing such an environment for four years did I realize this" (Male, 1980s group). Because I had never been a member of Ôendan, I could never understand its purpose.

Some subjects, however, seemed to understand the purpose of my research and expressed a desire to help:

You reminded me of my good old days after a long period. I understand that the purpose of the survey is to examine the vertical relationships in Japanese society. Such relationships seem to dominate Ôendan, but I don't think that it is so different from other clubs. People tend to think so because of our activities, but it seems to me that the conversations and the relationships between *senpai* and *kôhai* were almost the same as other clubs. (Female, 1980s Group)

The Interviews

As mentioned previously, the survey also acted as a screening device for potential interview subjects. Of the 82 respondents to the survey, my target number to interview was 30 (the final number was 28). I chose the subjects, a proportional sample of the total respondents, according to two variables: the decade they began university and their sex. I then contacted each subject by telephone to gain their permission and to arrange a suitable time and meeting place for the interview.

As already explained, the first interview, which took place before I completed the survey with the founder of Ôendan and the president of its OB organization, was a multipurpose interview (to garner a letter of introduction and an OB list and to meet and speak with the founder). During this interview, the founder related the history of Ôendan, its founding values, and some thoughts about the present club. Because he has maintained his ties with the club as OB president, it is obvious that the club is an important element in his life. His concern about the strict nature of the modern version of Ôendan and its lack of an informal sense of social cohesion helped me to focus on this issue during the interpretation of the survey and the formulation of the interview questions.

I did not conduct the second interview until five months later, after I had analyzed most of the survey data. It was necessary to do this because much of the interview schedule included open-ended questions that I derived from the survey results. The 21 questions (see Appendix 4) elicited information about the following topics: job, practice, club atmosphere, and gender roles.

The first four interviews were the most difficult because these were also "on-the-job" training for my two assistants, my wife and a male fifth year student, and testing grounds for my interview strategy. My assistants had two responsibilities: (a) to conduct each interview in Japanese under my guidance, and (b) to assist with the translation of each transcript into English. Although we discussed the goals of my research and the type of information I needed at great length, performing interviews made them more adept at the process.

I conducted a majority of the interviews in my office at the university; sometimes, however, it was necessary to meet at another location. The locations varied from the subject's home or office to a neutral location, such as a coffee shop or hotel restaurant. The most important factor was the subject's ease.

My assistants made the initial contact with each subject by telephone because this was the quickest, most

effective method of insuring most subject's participation. We also promised all subjects that we would make every effort to limit the interview to one hour if they had any concerns about time. Although I found that most people were interested in talking about their experiences, the thought of donating time out of a busy schedule was difficult for some.

The order of the interviews was largely dependent on each subject's schedule. I decided to interview the older members first to lay the foundation for subsequent interviews by creating a picture of the club's development. This, however, was not always possible. Many of the older OBs had higher positions of responsibility in companies and found it difficult to either spare the time or to agree on a mutually convenient schedule. Therefore, I found it necessary to begin with those who could meet with me first.

During each interview, I used a micro cassette recorder to tape each session. One of my assistants and I would also take notes. The assistant would take down each subject's responses and I would make notes about the interview environment. An assistant would then transcribe each tape in Japanese. Following this, an assistant and I would translate the transcript. By discussing the possible English interpretations, I believe that we were able to construct some very accurate and reliable translations.

I then entered the English transcripts into Microsoft Word for Windows 2.0c word processing software. After creating separate document files for each interview, I transferred these files to The Ethnograph (interview analysis software). Using The Ethnograph, I coded each file according to concepts that I deemed important to the research. This software allowed me to retrieve concept-organized interview segments as I needed them during the writing process.

Each interview had its own flavor, surprises, and difficulties. The variety of locations and personalities helped to create a picture of a social fabric that both defied and supported gender stereotypes, depending on the social context. Several of the interviews with the male subjects followed a common pattern. The interviews would progress smoothly through the questions pertaining to club history and personal background; beginning with Question 8 (see Appendix 4), the first of the questions based on the survey results that dealt with gender roles and club atmosphere, the response times began to slow as the subjects found it more difficult to answer these questions.

Many of the questions touched on subjects that most men have rarely considered in their lives. For example, in Question 16 (If you could be born again, which sex would you choose? Why?), most men chose the obvious answer of

returning as a man--they had no problem at all in answering this question. Although this particular question is a normal facet of Japanese surveys, this form of the question, however, forced the male subjects to think about the reasons that returning as a man was the best possible choice for them. The reason for such an easy choice helped form the crux of this study.

I chose to interview the men individually because I wanted them to answer each question with the least amount of inhibition possible. From the results of the survey, it became clear that men felt a greater sense of the social hierarchy than the women. To create an atmosphere of trust and comfort, I believed that it was necessary to keep social distractions to a minimum.

For most of the men's interviews, I chose to use my wife as the interpreter-facilitator (this was not always possible due to scheduling problems). Although this decision had financial and logistical bases, the primary reason was my past observations of my wife in her professional relationships with men. From my point of view, she was always able to establish a high degree of rapport, comfort, and trust with her superiors and co-workers. To my benefit, she was able to use these skills well during the interviews. Initially, I was worried that a female facilitator might inhibit the men's responses regarding

gender issues, but during the first interview with Ôendan's founder, I felt that this was an unfounded concern. I hypothesized that men felt more at ease with a married women, especially when accompanied by her husband. In this context, women become genderless, non threatening entities. Combined with my wife's skills, I believe that these two elements helped make the men's interviews a successful enterprise. Although my wife's involvement may have affected the subject's responses on the survey and during the interview, I believe that the advantages outweighed this possibility.

For the women, I decided to interview most subjects in a group environment. Following the first two interviews with women, I decided to change the interviewing format because I observed a hesitancy to answer questions and body language that expressed a sense of discomfort. Because of the nature of the relationships in the female section of the club, I conjectured that having their peers present during the interview would enhance, not hinder, the process. The rapport that the women exhibited during the interviews was warm and supportive. They seemed to encourage and play-off each other's responses.

It is possible that the difference in the interview formats between genders created discrepancies in the results. The group-interview environment that I used with

the women may have hindered their responses to questions. It is also conceivable that peer pressure may have skewed subjects' responses to conform to group opinion. I believe, however, that the intimacy level of the female subjects warranted such an environment and enhanced the level of openness. From my observations during the interviews, the majority that I was able to interview in groups seemed much more at ease than the few that I interviewed individually.

In general, women reacted to the questions with enthusiasm and humor. The questions seemed to provide them with an avenue to express their opinions about the club and the perceived gender differences in Japanese society. The camaraderie that existed during their "club days" survives today. For them, this camaraderie was a very important element in the club and continues to be an important element in their lives.

I used my second assistant (again, this was not always possible due to scheduling problems), a male fifth year student and former Shorinji Kenpo (Japanese martial art) Club captain, to facilitate the interviews because most of the women we interviewed were close to his age. Because the section's most popular development (Cheerleader-bu) was a recently established entity, most of the women that we interviewed were from this era. Therefore, my male assistant had a great deal in common with the subjects. The

use of a male interviewer for most of the female interviews may have affected the responses of the subjects by making the atmosphere too formal due to the nature of the hierarchical social system. Because the interviewer was a former club captain, it is possible that the subjects shaped their responses to conform to his expectations. I believe this individual, however, was able to summon forth a high degree of openness from the subjects. The reasons for this lay in his relationships with the subjects and being a former member of a club that is more egalitarian than most athletic clubs (Shorinji Kenpo has both male and female members and captains in a single section). His relationships with women, therefore, may have been more equal than hierarchical.

Although each subject's level of openness varied depending on the individual, I believe that most subjects, both male and female, were very candid about their perceptions concerning club atmosphere and gender roles. I had originally speculated that it would be difficult to elicit honest opinions because of the Japanese penchant for group harmony. Nevertheless, I believe that providing the subjects with a comfortable atmosphere to express their opinions and because each subject was no longer an active member in the club, the social constraints that may have affected an individual's sense of honesty had little effect

on the interview process. The personal way in which most subjects responded to questions supported this belief. Despite their positive or negative experiences, Ōendan was an important element in their university life. I found that most subjects desired to share their experiences with an interested party.

To summarize, I believe that the case study method was the best means to focus on the character of relationships, and its effect on gender roles, in a Japanese university club. Specifically, I used a historical analysis, a survey, and interviews. Although there were some problems, such as document availability, survey design and interpretation and social differences, I was able to receive a high response rate to the survey (67.2%) and valuable information from the 28 interviews.

CHAPTER 4

THE DYNAMICS OF ÔENDAN

- 1) Do not lean to the right or to the left in your beliefs.
- 2) Love your university.
- 3) One must possess a high degree of self-discipline, like a priest, and always fight for self-control.
-Ôendan's original set of rules
(Ôendan's First Founder: Male, 1950s group)

My first encounter with Ôendan took place during my first week in Japan in 1987. During morning runs around the Ikebukuro area in Tokyo, I observed a scene that took place in the courtyard of a high school.¹⁶ Each time that I circled the school, the scene became more apparent. This was my first experience of seeing *kentate* (push-ups done on one's knuckles) as punishment. At the time, I had little idea of what was actually taking place. That image of the senior (*senpai*) standing over the two juniors (*kôhai*) as they attempted to stoically perform the prescribed punishment, however, will remain with me forever. It was one of my first perceptions of Japan, and it continues to color my outlook.

In keeping with the major goal of this study, to document the character of social relationships that take

¹⁶Most high schools in Japan have Ôendan chapters.

place in a university club concerning the behaviors that help define gender roles, this chapter creates a picture of Ôendan, its separate sections, and important concepts that I associate with the club and its social hierarchy. I begin with a history of Ôendan in Japan and, more specifically, the Owari University's Ôendan chapter. I then describe various concepts that I believe help to define each section of the club. This is followed by a description of a fundamental part of Ôendan's mystique, its practices, and a short comparison of each section's practice patterns. Next, I discuss the reasons that most members decided to join Ôendan instead of other sports clubs. This includes the possible relationships between membership and employment. The final section contextualizes gender specific Japanese mythic archetypes in Ôendan's conceptions of proper behavior.

In the Beginning

The formalized version of Ôendan began during the Meiji Era in Japan (1868-1912).¹⁷ Ôendan's membership was limited to men because most educational institutions of esteem in Japan, especially universities, were all-male institutions. Each Ôendan branch's primary purpose was to cheer for other sports clubs at its institution.

¹⁷Other versions of Ôendan had existed previous to the Meiji Period, but these were informal groups that cheered for teams at sporting events.

One of the first Ōendan chapters to exist in Japan was at *Dai Ichi Kôtô Gakkô* (First Upper School, also known as *Ichikô*) in Tokyo. Before and after the establishment of Tokyo University, which served as a training ground for those who wished to enter into a career in politics, Upper Schools, until they were disbanded by the postwar occupation forces, served as the highest level of education for the elite (Roden, 1980). *Ichikô's* Ōendan helped create the modern day image of Ōendan, from its cheering style to its uniforms (*Ichikô's* uniforms were styled after Prussian army uniforms).

After the Meiji Government established *Ichikô*, Upper Schools became more prevalent in Japanese society. This environment created the opportunity for school athletic teams to compete against one another. Ōendan began as an informal effort by students to cheer for the rowing team during a competition. The director of *Ichikô's* dormitory wrote a song (considered the first Ōendan song) and recruited students to sing and cheer the next day. This was the first instance of semi-organized cheering in the Japanese education system (Nishigaki & Okuda, 1984).

In subsequent years, *Ichikô's* sports teams decided to create the *kôyukai* (student athletic organization) to place

a higher degree of control over such groups.¹⁸ This organization was the precursor to the *taiikukai* (athletic club organization) now found in most universities in Japan. The clubs that were part of this organization received yearly allowances from the *kôyukai* to fund their activities. The establishment of the *kôyukai* soon paved the way for the formal organization of a cheering club and the modern style of cheering (Nishigaki & Okuda, 1984). The modern form of *Ôendan* owes much to the original *Ôendan*--its uniforms, style of cheering, songs, atmosphere, and vision all originated at *Ichikô*. In essence, each *Ôendan* is a small piece of *Ichikô*.

Owari University's *Ôendan*

In 1953, Owari University, with an enrollment of only 800 students, was one of the few universities in the Tokai region of Japan without an *Ôendan* chapter. As a postwar university (those universities established according to the postwar reforms of the Allied Occupation) and a coeducational liberal arts university, which specialized in foreign languages (a predominantly female endeavor), it was still fairly new to the Japanese university scene. During that year, a sophomore student founded the *Ôendan* chapter at Owari University with the help of his friends. He had been

¹⁸The *kôyukai* was a student organization, but it had strong links, both economic and administrative, to each school.

a pitcher for his high school baseball team but was injured and could no longer play. During his sophomore year at university, the baseball club was having an exceptionally strong year, but because of its playing field's inconvenient location, it had few fans to support it. Being unable to participate in sports, and with a great deal of help and influence from former classmates who were now *danchyo* (captains) of the *Ôendan* chapters at nearby universities, he decided to form an *Ôendan* chapter at Owari University (Male, 1950s group).

When the founder first formed the club, about 30 students joined (at that time it was possible to be a member of more than one university club). They chose to join the National *Oendan* Association and were able to learn a variety of cheers from other chapters that were also members of the association.¹⁹ The founder decided to alter certain "traditional" elements to help create his image of *Ôendan*:

Every *Ôendan* has a special song, "Tako Odori [Octopus Dance]." I changed some parts of our university's song to reflect an image of sophistication and gentility, instead of the usual *yakuza*-like [mobster-like] image.²⁰ (Male, 1950s group)

¹⁹Owari University's *Ôendan* chapter is no longer a member of the association because they do not wish to communicate with many of the member universities' *Ôendan* chapters. They believe that those chapters' members are too "unkempt" (*bankara*-like), like *Ichikô* (Tokyo's first Upper School) students (Male, 1950s group).

²⁰Many people compare *Ôendan*'s image to that of gangsters (*yakuza*). *Yakuza* are famous for their harsh image which is associated with the samurai-like behavior of self-sacrifice and devotion to their leader (*oyabun*). They also

As with all universities, the student population changes on a yearly basis. After the founding members graduated, the atmosphere in the club began to change. Although the founder had always stressed a more chivalrous image for Ôendan, many of the newer members sought a different image. This new image had very little to do with chivalry:

A *senpai* [senior], who had been a member of Ôendan since high school, drank very much. He told a story of an older *senpai* who joined in a Narita Airport protest wearing *haramaki* [stomach band or sash] and knives, like a *yakuza*.²¹ (Male, 1970s group)

Due to such behavior, this image of the club became permanent (two similar incidents occurred in 1959 and 1960) and the university administrators decided to disband the club. "At that time, Ôendan did not exist because of some past trouble....The university did not want to start Ôendan again because of some past members' actions" (Male, 1980s group). The following matter-of-fact description of the second incident provides a glimpse of the attitude that permeated the club at that time:

A freshman member punched another club's senior member. While I don't believe that this caused a serious injury,

have an reputation for violence and self-punishment as evidenced by their body tattoos and finger amputations.

²¹During the construction of Narita Airport, which is located outside of Tokyo, many of the farmers whose land was usurped to build the airport staged sometimes violent protests. Many citizens from all over Japan supported the farmers' cause.

the senior was in the middle of his job hunt, and his quack doctor diagnosed it as serious. We promised that we would control ourselves in the future but the university ordered us to dissolve the club. It took 10 minutes for them to make the decision. The university and most athletic clubs seemed to fear us. (Male, 1960s group)

The following year, 1961, a freshman student decided to reestablish the club because he saw a need for a club whose sole purpose was to cheer for other clubs:

I asked the university leaders and promised never to do such things again. The university president, however, did not agree and stated that students should devote more time to studying. With some others, I went to visit the chancellor to explain that women would also be able to become members. With this concession, the chancellor allowed us to reestablish the club. (Male, 1960s group)

As a compromise to restore Ôendan, the new leaders decided to create the female section of the club, Baton-bu. The Leaders hoped that the new section would soften Ôendan's harsh image. "Baton-bu was founded as a camouflage for Ôendan" (Male, 1960s group). Essentially, the new female section would act as a moralizing influence in the club. Without the women's presence, the administration had little faith in Ôendan's men to remain in the ethical boundaries that the administration and adult society had set for them.

Baton-bu was not meant to be an extension of Ôendan. Its atmosphere was entirely different from the male section, now called Leader-bu. Although the women practiced near the men, they practiced separately and the practices were dissimilar. Put simply, Baton-bu practiced baton twirling

and the routines that they performed with Leader-bu. Most men did not consider this to be an integral part of Ōendan; however, it was necessary for the club's continued existence:

That is why there is Baton-bu. The chancellor said that we should dissolve the ties with the old senpai. So, even though I wanted to ask the old senpai about the *kata* [movements or routines], I had to make new ones. Those that exist now are mine. (Male, 1960s group)

Besides its moralizing influence, the female section also gave Ōendan a special quality that most *taiikukai* (athletic) clubs do not possess. *Taiikukai* clubs are usually sexually segregated entities (except some martial art clubs as Shorinji Kenpo and karate)--most do not possess a separate female section. In most competitive clubs, such as baseball, soccer, American football, etc., men are the only "active" members. The female participants, if one could call them that, in such clubs are there to serve the men as trainers and managers. Yet to the surprise of most 1960s Leader-bu members, the female section became an important part of the club.

From the late 1960s, Leader-bu's membership has been sparse, reaching a low point in the 1970s because of internal struggles (see Table 2). During some years, the *senpai* were only able to recruit one new member. According to the original founder, Ōendan had a fairly high membership rate because there were few diversions 40 years ago and many

Table 2 Yearly Average Membership (by decade)

Decade	Female	Males
1950s ^a	X	9
1960s	2	17
1970s	6	8
1980s	8	8
1990s ^b	25	8

^a1953-1959.

^b1990-1993.

students needed an outlet for their excess energy. Recently, with the increase of diversions in modern society, few male students have desired to enter Leader-bu (the average membership for the last 20 years has been 8 members) (Male, 1950s group).

In 1989, the Baton-bu members changed the name and focus of their section. In order to expand the purpose of their section from a subservient extension of Leader-bu to a semi-independent athletic group, the members chose to give up baton twirling to become Cheerleader-bu. Their desire was to focus exclusively on competitive cheering. The section quickly gained popularity as women's roles changed and as cheerleading grew in popularity in Japan. Cheerleader-bu members also found a niche for themselves by cheering for sports teams that were not in Ōendan's traditional sphere, such as American football and soccer. As Cheerleader-bu began to take part in the All-Japan

Cheerleading Competitions, the focus of the section began to change, from cheering in Ôendan to cheering in competition (Women's Interviews).

Formed as a compromise to reestablish Ôendan following its dismantling by the administration, the female section has proven that it was not a temporary phenomenon. Its popularity has grown tremendously in the five years since the members changed the name and focus of the group. With this change, it became a more independent force that chose to take part both in the world of Ôendan and the world of competition.

In 1993, most Cheerleader-bu members decided to separate from Ôendan to form their own club. The renegade members may have been the product of a growing sense of formality in the section's atmosphere and its relationships as it became more popular. The popularity of Cheerleader-bu had a great effect on the section's social relationships:

We were very frank with potential recruits about the section's strictness before they entered, but our membership climbed to over 10 (too many). We used to have less than 10 members and the atmosphere and communication in the section felt much closer.²² As our

²²The women's section was plagued with low membership during the 1960s and 1970s. As indicated in Table 2, it averaged two members during the 1960s and almost six members during the 1970s, reaching a high of nine in 1978. During the 1980s, however, the average membership in the section grew to eight members. From a low of 2 at the beginning of the decade, the membership grew to 15 by 1989, the first year of Cheerleader-bu. During the 1990s, its average membership had increased to 25 members.

membership grew, the relationship between *senpai* and *kôhai* became more formal. (Female, 1980s group)

The once small and informal section that existed in the shadow of Leader-bu had grown larger than the male section; and with this growth came a greater sense of structure and formality. The original social hierarchy bordered on horizontal (*dôryô*) due to the small membership. This new sense of formality began to stifle the level of communication that the club had always enjoyed. The seniors became very reticent to point out the juniors' differences or bad points. Essentially, both parties did not trust each other enough to "have an argument" (Female, 1980s group).

Since the 1980s, both sections have continued to change and adjust to change. In reaction to the separation, Leader-bu, with the assistance of last year's seniors in Cheerleader-bu, has started a new female section for *Ôendan* called the *Koalas*. These changes have had, and will continue to have, a great effect on *Ôendan*'s form and its future development. This study primarily considers Cheerleader-bu in its historical role as a section of *Ôendan*, not in its new state as a separate club. The following section describes one of the best indicators of change in and without the club, its practices.

Club Practices

Unlike most sports clubs that can receive the benefits of victory and fan support, Ôendan exists without such positive elements. The male section of Ôendan does not take part in competitions, nor does it receive support from the student body. Because it does not possess a tangible goal (such as winning games), the members have placed great significance on their practices.

Ôendan's practices have been one of the most concrete testaments to its strict social system, and specifically, its section-specific gender ideologies. The differences in the goals and limits of each section's practice sessions have reflected the desires and beliefs concerning the defining factors of gender roles in the club. Put simply, each section's practice sessions differed to the degree that members believed that men and women should be challenged physically and mentally in different ways.

In its infancy, it was acceptable for students to be part of more than one club. A unilateral commitment was not necessary. Owari University's Ôendan chapter only practiced before specific sporting events, such as Jônansen (the annual competition between Owari University and its sister school in Tokyo). As the original members began to leave, the practices took on a more rigorous flavor and increased in frequency. This trend continued after the re-

establishment of Ōendan in the early 1960s in which the atmosphere in the club became more rigorous.

Depending on the day, practices may consist of hard physical and mental drills in the forms of strengthening exercises, cheer rehearsal, and voice training, all combined with the constant correction of junior members. During a typical practice, all junior members practice the different roles they must perform for each cheer. From drummer to "cheer leader," each junior member must perform the cheers over and over, always under the watchful gaze of senior members, who will stand erect, sometimes conversing or smoking cigarettes, yet always ready to quickly correct or discipline a junior member.

The weekly practice routine for Leader-bu was as follows:

Mon., Tues., Thurs., and Fri.--Lunch time

Voice Training and Body Movement Drills: cheering-voice training, courtesy (*aisatsu*) and form training (*kata*).

Wed. and Sat.--1:00-4:00/5:00 P.M.

Physical Training: running, squats, push-ups (*kentate*), sit-ups, voice and form training.

During spring and summer vacations, there were one week training camps. (Interviews, Men and Women).

The practice time has always been short, but hard. The daily routine consists of 40 minutes of practice, lunch, and then classes. During spring and summer, the club travels to Kyushu (Western Japan) and practices for 7-10 days (*Gasshuku*--training camp). As one 1980s member admitted, "At first, I thought that they [practices] were difficult, but I became used to them. It all depends on the individual. A friend, who did not train much in senior high school, vomited just from running" (Male, 1980s group).

Social protocol requires different behaviors from each section. The male club members must wear their black, Prussian-style Upper School uniforms (*gakuran*) to class and during most practices, even during extreme temperatures. In contrast, the female members of *Ôendan* (Cheerleader-bu or the Cheerleading Club), which more closely resembles its North American counterpart, will don the traditional cheerleading garb but only when they are performing. Like the men of *Ôendan*, their practices are also very rigorous, but not in the extreme. Cheerleader-bu has an almost identical practice schedule, but the content and intensity of their practices are entirely different. Their practice time is spent almost entirely in preparing their cheering routines for competitions as well as sporting events. The women also have a much larger membership than the men

because fewer male students wish to take part in all social rituals that are an important part of the male section.

The practices for the female section of the club have changed in proportion to its internal changes. Baton-bu practiced in very close proximity to Leader-bu. Both sections met at the beginning and end of each practice session to maintain a sense of unity and to hear the captain's remarks, but practiced separately. The practices primarily consisted of baton twirling and were not very difficult. Cheerleader-bu had an almost identical practice schedule, but the content and intensity of their practices are entirely different. Their practice time was spent almost entirely on preparing their cheering routines for competition and sporting events. Unlike Leader-bu, the Cheerleader's practices have two aims:

The Cheerleaders have to do both Ōendan and American Cheerleader routines. There are three championships, in Spring, Summer, and Winter. In Spring, we have to practice for the championships, but we also have to practice for *Jōnansen* [annual sports competition between Owari University and its sister school in Tokyo]. After we finish the championships, we have to take part in the *Jounan Gasshuku* [training camp for *Jōnansen*]. So, every weekend we have to practice for the *Gasshuku* [training camp]. We don't have time for leisure and study. We are very busy. (Female, 1980s group)

Improving skills is not the purpose of Leader-bu's practices. The practices are strict because their aim is to push members *beyond the limits of human power*. To be worthy to cheer for sports club competitions, Leader-bu members

believe that their practices must exceed those of other sports clubs in both endurance and hardship. Leader-bu senior members (*senpai*) always stressed physical and spiritual training with the junior members (*kôhai*). It was a test of each member's limits (physical, mental, and emotional). According to the *senpai*, "Physical strength is limited, but spiritual strength is not. So, no matter how difficult the training, you will have the mental strength to endure it" (Male, 1980s group).

One facet of training that most members remember is an exercise called *kentate*. It is a major symbol of Leader-bu's practices. *Kentate* is form of push-ups that members perform on their fists, specifically the knuckles. They do it repeatedly. It is a very painful exercise that members would sometimes continue for over an hour, especially during the practices before major events. In another 1980s member's words:

Before *Jônansen*, the training became much more intense, especially the push-ups. I remember that as a first year student, I found it difficult to write during the afternoon dictations [classroom writing exercises] because of all the push-ups (on my knuckles) I had been doing. It was very difficult as a freshman because I was not used to such training. (Male, 1980s group)

Leader-bu's practices are in essence a fight for and against the self. To perform the same exercise repeatedly is the essence of *Ôendan*. Leader-bu does not have a clear goal for the practices it perpetuates. The main purpose of

the section, according to most members, is not to cheer; it is self-training. Leader-bu members believe that their club life (*bu-seikatsu*) is more difficult than other clubs because they do not possess a visible goal, such as winning. This point will be developed further in later sections.

The differences in practices go well beyond the will of the second founder to limit the activities of the women. Baton-bu's lack of direction and physically undemanding practices reflected the fact that it was a concession during the negotiations with university administrators to reestablish the club. Leader-bu's scant interest and Baton-bu's low membership help to limit the commitment from its members. The level of commitment between the two sections differed greatly because it was never the second founder's intention for Baton-bu to resemble Leader-bu. In his mind, the two were like Kipling's concepts of East and West, they would never meet.

The Advantages of Joining Ôendan

To understand Ôendan's practices and their appeal, one needs to examine Ôendan's larger function for its members. Much of the survey data helped to create a picture of each member's perception of Ôendan's relationship to other clubs and the outside world. Although the results were enlightening in many areas, they were predictable in others.

Table 3 Question 19 Males
(What did you do after attending university?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Large company	2 Small company	3 Ministry position	4 Public service	5 Own business	6 Other	Total
1950	5	7	0	0	1	2	15 28.8
1960	5	7	0	1	1	2	16 30.8%
1970	0	2	0	1	1	0	4 7.7%
1980	11	4	0	0	0	2	17 32.7%
Total	21 40.4%	20 38.5%	0 0%	2 3.8%	3 5.8%	6 11.5%	52 100%

($\chi^2=16.338$; $df=12$; $p>0.2$)²³

One obvious area of predictability lay in the relationship between subsequent employment and company size. The size of companies where members have found employment has changed over the years. In Question 19 of the survey (What did you do after attending university? [see Table 3]), most of the male respondents who began university in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s (n=16) found employment in small companies after graduation. This, however, shifted to large companies for the 1980s members (n=11). The postwar expansion in the Japanese economy and Owari University's growing reputation can explain much of this phenomenon. Both are postwar entities that reached their peaks during the 1980s.

²³I chose to include chi square (χ^2) statistics with the women's tables (even though the sample was too small to statistically substantiate this) and p values with all tables that were greater than 0.05 to make the material available to the reader. Although many tables do not provide crucial statistical information, I believe they cast an interesting light on the subject.

Table 4 Question 19 Females
(What did you do after attending university?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Large company	2 Small company	3 Ministry position	4 Public service	5 Own business	6 Other	Total
1960	0	0	0	0	0	4	4 14.3%
1970	1	2	0	1	0	3	7 25.0%
1980	11	2	0	3	0	1	17 60.7%
Total	12 42.9%	4 14.3%	0 0%	4 14.3%	0 0%	8 28.6%	28 100%

($\chi^2=18.000$; $df=6$; $p>0.007$)

The figures for the women have also changed over time, but additional variables had a major part to play (see Table 4). One hundred percent of the 1960s subjects answered "Other" for this question. Getting married and becoming housewives after graduation was a major social bias during the time. This, however, decreased in the 1970s as women found positions outside the home and began to postpone marriage. The figures for the 1980s women reflect the rising average age of marriage and the change in roles for women. Fully 94.1% (n=16) of this group secured jobs in companies or public service positions after graduation--only 5.9% (n=1) put "Other."

The perceived advantages of membership in Öendan to subsequent employment also increased with time. In Question 20 (Did your employer find your membership in Öendan to be a major criterion for acquiring this position? [see Tables 5 and 6]), the 1980s members of both sections (92.3% [n=12]

Table 5 Question 20 Males
(Did your employer find your membership in Òendan to be a major criterion for acquiring this position?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very important	2 Important	3 Not so important	4 Not at all important	Total
1950	2	1	5	5	13
					31.0
1960	1	3	4	4	12
					28.6%
1970	0	1	2	1	4
					9.5%
1980	7	5	1	0	13
					31.0%
Total	10	10	12	10	42
	23.8%	23.8%	28.6%	23.8%	100%

($\chi^2=17.967$; $df=9$; $p>0.04$)

Table 6 Question 20 Females
(Did your employer find your membership in Òendan to be a major criterion for acquiring this position?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very important	2 Important	3 Not so important	4 Not at all important	Total
1960	0	0	0	1	1
					4.8%
1970	0	0	1	4	5
					23.8%
1980	1	10	3	1	15
					74.4%
Total	1	10	4	6	21
	4.8%	47.6%	19.0%	28.6%	100%

($\chi^2=13.533$; $df=6$; $p>0.04$)

for the men and 73.4% [n=11] for the women) responded that their membership in Òendan was an important factor for (n=3) of the male 1950s members and 0% of the female 1960s members. The differences in the responses between genders also decreased over time--more women from the 1980s group

Table 7 Question 21-1 Males
(Was a former member helpful in acquiring this position?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very helpful	2 Helpful	3 Not so helpful	4 Not at all helpful	Total
1950	0	0	1	12	13
1960	0	0	0	10	10
1970	0	0	0	4	4
1980	2	4	2	8	16
Total	2	4	3	34	43
	4.7%	9.3%	7.0%	79.1%	100%

($\chi^2=14.584$; $df=9$; $p>0.11$)

Table 8 Question 21-1 Females
(Was a former member helpful in acquiring this position?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very helpful	2 Helpful	3 Not so helpful	4 Not at all helpful	Total
1960	0	0	0	1	1
1970	0	0	0	6	6
1980	1	4	2	8	15
Total	1	4	2	15	22
	4.5%	18.2%	9.1%	68.2%	100%

($\chi^2=4.791$; $df=6$; $p>0.6$)

($n=11$) secured employment in large companies than those of the 1960s group ($n=0$).

The strong positive relationship between Ôendan membership and employment defied my preconceived notions. According to Rohlen (1980), Roden (1982), and Okano (1993), former members of clubs, or "old boys" (OBs), help recently graduated members to secure employment in their companies. I had speculated that men would rely on the OB network for

post-university employment much more than women. Few members of either section, however, secured their first or present position specifically through the assistance of the Ôendan OB network (Question 21-1: Was a former member helpful in acquiring this position? [see Tables 7 and 8]). 86.1% (n=37) of the men and 77.3% (n=17) of the women claimed little or no relationship between employment and the OB network.

Despite the perceived importance of the relationship between membership and employment, the probability was low that Ôendan members would secure employment through the aid of the OBs. Finding a job after graduation was apparently not a major consequence of joining the club. Rather, as stated in Chapter 2, it is common knowledge that being a member of a sports club (*taikukai*) is the most important element in the hiring equation. Because Ôendan has not been specifically helpful in this area, it was not necessary to join this particular club to find a job after attending university. Ôendan members, therefore, could have chosen to be part of less demanding sports clubs and have secured similar post university employment positions.

Entering Ôendan

Because securing a good position did not relate to Ôendan membership, there may have been alternative reasons

Table 9 Question 6 Males
(Why did you choose to join Õendan?)

Scale/ Decade	NR	1	2	3	4	Total
1950	0	6	0	3	6	15
						27.8%
1960	10	2	5	1	0	18
						33.3%
1970	4	0	0	0	0	4
						7.4%
1980	8	4	5	0	0	17
						31.5%
Total	22	12	10	4	6	54
	40.7	22.2%	18.6%	7.4%	11.1%	100%

($\chi^2=57.521$; $df=36$; $p>0.02$)

NR=No response

1=A friend was a member

2=The sense of discipline

3=The challenge of being part of such a club

4=Other

Note: Respondents could choose more than one response.

for joining such a highly disciplined club that offers little in the way of external rewards. The reasons for joining Õendan were different for men and women.

In Question 6 (Why did you choose to join Õendan? [see Table 9]), the men's reasons were split among three responses: (a) had a friend as a member, (b) Õendan's sense of discipline, and (c) the challenge of being part of such a club. Subjects were allowed to choose more than one response and the question had fixed choices. Although the first response was the most popular primary reason for joining, the other two were dominant secondary reasons.

For the men (the women will be discussed later), being a member of Õendan carried with it the ideas of self-discipline and challenge. It is possible that many male

respondents (40.7%, n=22) chose not to answer Question 6 because they considered this question to be unimportant or the answer too obvious. The differences in reasons for joining Ôendan across the decades reflect the changing atmosphere of the club. Most of the 1950s members joined because they were either founding members or had a friend as a member. The reasons, however, had changed by the 1980s. "The Sense Of Discipline" was the most popular answer for those that responded.

In Question 12 (Why did you choose Ôendan over the more sport oriented clubs such as baseball and kendo?), many men considered Ôendan to be associated with strength and power. The responses of the male subjects, however, were very similar to the responses in Question 6. For the 1950s members, the club's appeal varied from the desire to found the club to a lack of sporting ability. As the club approached the 1980s, discipline became the dominant appeal.

Some male members revealed that other clubs did not have "power" or seemed "weak" in comparison. The strength that most men associated with Ôendan was something they sought to integrate into their lives through the club experience. They wished to "improve both physically and mentally." Such an environment represents a romantic notion of Japanese culture--it is the essence of Budo or Bushido

Table 10 Question 6 Females
(Why did you choose to join Ôendan?)

Scale/ Decade	NR	1	2	3	4	Total
1960	3	0	0	0	1	4 14.3%
1970	2	0	1	0	4	7 25.0%
1980	9	0	1	0	7	17 60.7%
Total	14 50.0%	0 0%	2 7.2%	0 0%	12 42.8%	28 100%

($\chi^2=4.358$; $df=6$; $p>0.7$)

NR=No response

1=A friend was a member

2=The sense of discipline

3=The challenge of being part of such a club

4=Other

Note: Respondents could choose more than one response.

(the warrior's way)--and "no other club like this exists"

(Survey Comments, Males).

Ôendan is the type of club that possesses rigorous practice sessions, but does not require a great deal of physical talent. Willingness, determination, and perseverance, coupled with a deference to authority, are the primary qualities needed for membership. As one club member admitted, "I joined Ôendan because it...was different from other clubs and something that I could do. Furthermore, the members energetically recruited me" (Male, 1960s group).

The women had different reasons for joining Ôendan. Of the 50% ($n=14$) that answered Question 6 (see Table 10), most chose to join Baton-bu or Cheerleader-bu because they enjoyed the activity and appreciated the kindness of the older members. Many found cheering to be an interesting

activity and wanted to become part of a *taiikukai* club, but none stated that they joined the club to practice self-discipline or develop inner strength. The appeal for the female subjects did not vary greatly over time. Their most popular reasons for joining were an interest in the club's activity (44%) and the perceived easy practices (25%). As one 1980s group member elaborated:

As I answered in the survey, I just wanted to practice baton. It was after I entered the club that I was informed that Baton-bu was part of Ôendan. I had no intention of joining Ôendan, and, at first, I regretted my decision to join. However, all the members were so nice that I could not quit. (Female, 1980s group)

For most women, participating in Ôendan was more a matter of interest, enjoyment, and ease than self-development. Ôendan's reputation for rigorous training was not something that appealed to them.

Although the above reasons predominated for most women, for some the reasons for joining were more complex. Like the men, friendship was an important factor, as well as the challenge of being a member of an athletic club. As one 1980s member expressed, "I was looking for a challenge other than my studies" (Female, 1980s group). As the years progressed, women also began to see the benefits of being part of a *taiikukai* club because "being a member of an athletic club is looked on very highly in Japanese society" (Female, 1980s group).

Table 11 Question 14-1 Males
(At any time did you consider quitting Ôendan?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Strongly considered it	2 Considered it	3 Mildly considered it	4 Never considered it	Total
1950	1	1	6	7	15 28.3
1960	3	5	1	8	17 32.1%
1970	0	2	2	0	4 7.5%
1980	4	4	5	4	17 37.1%
Total	8 15.1%	12 22.6%	14 26.4%	19 35.8%	53 100%

($M=2.77$; $\chi^2=13.447$; $df=9$; $p>0.2$)

Entering Ôendan was just the beginning of an experience that was difficult for most members to anticipate. During their first year in the club, many subjects considered terminating their association with Ôendan.²⁴ In Question 14-1 (At any time did you consider quitting Ôendan?), over 1/3 (37.7%, $n=20$) of the men considered leaving (see Table 11). This is somewhat surprising given the strong positive response (84.9%, $n=45$) to Ôendan in Question 8 (Do you think that your experience in Ôendan was meaningful? [see Table 12]). The men did not differ greatly in their desire to leave Ôendan during the 1960s (47%, $n=8$), 1970s (50%, $n=2$), and 1980s (47%, $n=8$). Very few members, however, considered

²⁴It is unfortunate that this study could not include those members who did quit. Moreover, this study only includes persons who have maintained contact as an OB or OG, so it is doubly skewed in this respect.

Table 12 **Question 8** **Males**
(Do you think that your experience in Õendan was meaningful?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very meaningful	2 Meaningful	3 Not so meaningful	4 Not at all meaningful	Total
1950	4	5	6	0	15
1960	10	6	1	0	17
1970	2	1	0	1	4
1980	13	4	0	0	17
Total	29	16	7	1	53
	54.7%	30.2%	13.2%	1.9%	100%

(M=1.83; $\chi^2=28.044$; df=9; $p>0.001$)

quitting during the 1950s (13.4%, n=2) when the founding members were still in control of the club.

More surprisingly, almost 2/3 (65%, n=21) of the women considered leaving (see Table 13). This fact is extremely surprising because most women (92.9%, n=26) stated that their experience in Õendan was meaningful (Question 8: Do you think that your experience in Õendan was meaningful? [see Table 14]). Given that the atmosphere in the female section was much less strict and physically demanding, it is unusual that, in comparison to the men, almost double the percentage of women considered leaving an organization that they clearly enjoyed. This desire remained constant through the years. Over time, the women did not vary greatly in their desire to quit or in their satisfaction with the club, although the desire to quit declined slightly during the 1980s.

Table 13 Question 14-1 Females
(At any time did you consider quitting Ôendan?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Strongly considered it	2 Considered it	3 Mildly considered it	4 Never considered it	Total
1960	0	3	1	0	4 14.3%
1970	2	4	0	1	7 25.0%
1980	4	8	4	1	17 60.7%
Total	6 21.4%	15 53.6%	5 17.9%	2 7.1%	28 100%

($M=2.11$; $\chi^2=4.047$; $df=6$; $p>0.7$)

Table 14 Question 8 Females
(Do you think that your experience in Ôendan was meaningful?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very meaningful	2 Meaningful	3 Not so meaningful	4 Not at all meaningful	Total
1960	3	1	0	0	4 14.3%
1970	2	3	2	0	7 25.0%
1980	13	4	0	0	17 60.7%
Total	18 64.3%	8 28.6%	2 7.1%	0 0%	28 100%

($M=1.43$; $\chi^2=8.522$; $df=4$; $p>0.08$)

I believe that two variables had a great effect on the respondents' contradictory answers concerning their desire to quit and the club's level of meaning in their lives. First, most subjects looked on their general experiences to be meaningful, despite specific instances that forced them to ponder quitting. Second, the luxury of time has possibly colored their recollections and provided them with the retrospect to judge the meaning of their experiences.

Table 15 Question 18-1 Males
(Do you feel that your experience in Ôendan has been helpful since you graduated from university?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very helpful	2 Helpful	3 Not so helpful	4 Not at all helpful	Total
1950	3	7	3	2	15
1960	8	5	4	0	28.3
1970	2	1	0	1	17
1980	10	6	1	0	32.1%
Total	23	19	8	3	53
	43.4%	35.8%	15.1%	5.7%	100%

(M=1.91; $\chi^2=12.463$; $df=9$; $p>0.2$)

Table 16 Question 18-1 Females
(Do you feel that your experience in Ôendan has been helpful since you graduated from university?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very helpful	2 Helpful	3 Not so helpful	4 Not at all helpful	Total
1960	1	3	0	0	4
1970	1	4	1	1	14.8%
1980	5	9	2	0	7
Total	7	16	3	1	25.9%
	25.9	59.3	11.1	3.7	100%

(M=1.92; $\chi^2=4.132$; $df=6$; $p>0.7$)

From the results of the survey, however, most subjects' perception of the overall usefulness of their experience was very positive. In Question 18-1 (Do you feel that your experience in Ôendan has been helpful since you graduated from university? [see Tables 15 and 16]), 79.2% (n=42) of the men and 85.2% (n=23) of the women felt their experience was helpful after graduating. Although it may not have been specifically useful for finding employment, most respondents

believed that their Ōendan experiences had personal value in their lives.

During the last 30 years, the male version of the club has developed into an entity that has primarily focused on its hierarchical social structure. Unlike the older members of the club from the 1950s group, the modern counterparts do not meet socially after practice. This perceived *traditional* aspect of the club is an important part of its social hierarchy, but "this system brings with it a high degree of rigidity" (Nakane, 1970, p. 29).²⁵ The rigidity and stability that are a product of this ranking system act as the "principal controlling factors for social relations in Japan" (*ibid.*). Once the club establishes its ranking order, it is almost impossible to change, even for those in the highest ranks. In Ōendan's case, the founder believes that these rigid hierarchical relationships make it difficult for most members to establish friendships. The quest for greater future status in the club may compromise relationships in that juniors will show great devotion to seniors in expectation of eventual reward (Lebra, 1976).

According to Ōendan's founder, however, the strong social hierarchy also has its advantages. Most companies prefer to recruit *taikukai* members, especially captains,

²⁵The *rigid system* is a relatively recent development that appeared in the later stages of Japan's industrialization (Nakane, 1970, p. 37).

because of their leadership skills and acceptance of the hierarchical social structure. As stated previously (Chapter 2), athletic club membership is an important criterion for most employers in Japan.

Ôendan continues to be a double-edged sword that appeals to very few students. Because it is not necessary to join Ôendan to secure a position with a good company, its rigorous atmosphere makes it unappealing to many male students. Compared with other *taiikukai* clubs, it offers no special external rewards. With many other sports clubs to choose from, most male students opt for a less physically and mentally demanding and more interesting alternative.

Unlike Leader-bu, the female section of Ôendan has grown in popularity since its inception, especially after it changed from Baton-bu to Cheerleader-bu. Women, however, receive little in social capital for their membership. The reasons for the contradictions between the popularity of the women's section and their lack of status, or social capital, lie in Iwao's concept of a *reversal of freedoms*. In this sense, women are free to explore their interests with no penalty to their role in society. Due to their low status in society, they need not worry about the social responsibilities that men must bear.

A Traditional Club

The concept of *tradition* strikes to the core of the Japanese psyche. It is important for groups to maintain traditions to reinforce the practice of those cultural elements that they deem to be important. The origin and the accuracy of traditions, however, may differ between and in groups. For example, in Question 23 (What kind of club do you think that Ôendan continues to be? [see Tables 17 and 18]) most men (86.0%, n=43) and women (92.4%, n=24) answered that they considered Ôendan to be a "traditional club." The respondents' perception of Ôendan as a traditional club has also changed over time. Again, with the exception of the male 1970s group, both sections' perception of Ôendan as a traditional club increased with time--fully 100% of both 1980s groups supported this belief. The societal changes since the 1960s (civil rights, women's liberation movement, etc.) could have made the club appear more "traditional."

Those that answered affirmatively in Question 23 went on to define a traditional club in Question 24 (If you answered 1 or 2 for the above question, what do you think are those elements that make it a traditional club?). Traditional clubs may still evoke an image of a harsh, highly disciplined atmosphere. The most popular descriptor for both sections (41.4% for the men and 47.8% for the women) was the social hierarchy that took the form of the

Table 17 Question 23 Males
(What kind of club do you think that Ōendan continues to be?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very traditional	2 Traditional	3 Not so traditional	4 Not at all traditional	Total
1950	3	7	2	2	14
					28.0
1960	4	11	1	0	16
					32.0%
1970	0	1	0	2	3
					6.0%
1980	13	4	0	0	17
					34.0%
Total	20	23	3	4	50
	40.0%	46.0%	6.0%	8.0%	100%

($M=1.86$; $\chi^2=31.821$; $df=9$; $p>0.0002$)

Table 18 Question 23 Females
(What kind of club do you think that Ōendan continues to be?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very traditional	2 Traditional	3 Not so traditional	4 Not at all traditional	Total
1960	1	1	2	0	4
					15.4%
1970	4	3	0	0	7
					26.9%
1980	7	8	0	0	15
					57.7%
Total	12	12	2	0	26
	46.2%	46.2%	7.7%	0.0%	100%

($M=1.62$; $\chi^2=12.144$; $df=4$; $p>0.02$)

senpai-kôhai relationship. Each section, however, defined the parameters of this relationship in different ways. The men believed that "discipline" was an important quality in this regard; while the women felt that the concept of "principles" was the most important guiding factor. The degree of tradition, therefore, depends on the degree that these elements exist in the club.

The club continues to possess elements of tradition, especially for the men. The increase in their perception of *tradition* may mirror changes in the club. As the female section increased in popularity and stability is it possible that the men also tightened their grip around the section by intensifying the sense of *tradition* in the club. In this environment, men have the power of control. The captain (*danchyo*) of Leader-bu has a higher place in the social hierarchy than the leader of Cheerleader-bu. As one former Baton-bu member intimated, the men have the power to make all the final decisions that affect the entire club. "Ôendan is a very traditional club. Men are superior to women because men have the power to make important decisions. Women had to obey their decisions" (Female, 1980s group).

Analyzing the combinations of descriptors, each gender's perception of traditional elements was very similar. Of course, the existence of hierarchical social relationships is a given, but the form and degree of such relationships differed. The men perceived a traditional club as possessing an atmosphere of rigid discipline (*kiritsu*) where strict vertical relationships are forcibly maintained. One man from the 1960s group even went as far as describing the atmosphere as *yakuza*-like (gangster-like). The women agreed that hierarchical social relationships and

a sense of order/discipline are important, but also felt that the influence of the "OBs and OGs" is an important element. The sense of continuity created by the former members helped to maintain the traditional atmosphere.²⁶ According to both sexes, therefore, a traditional club must feature a strong social hierarchy and a highly regulated environment. Ōendan, particularly the male section, contains these elements in great measure.

Although both groups considered Ōendan to be a "traditional club," the boundary of this tradition differed. Question 25 (If women were allowed to become members of Leader-bu, would it continue to be considered a traditional Japanese club? [see Tables 19 and 20]) explored attitudes concerning the variable of gender in the tradition equation. The surprising results reflected either a more liberal attitude from the men or a more honest attitude from the women. Over half (55.1%, n=27) of the men stated that The percentages of men supporting this belief decreased with time, from 78.6% (n=11) for the 1950s group to 31.3% (n=5) for the 1980s group. Conversely, the rate of disagreement increased with time, from 14.2% (n=2) for the 1950s group to 50.1% (n=8) for the 1980s group. Almost 1/3 of the 1980s group (31.3%, n=5) chose the extreme answer, "Not At All

²⁶Like sports alumni in the Western universities, OB and OG organizations provide guidance through funding and influence.

Table 19 Question 25 Males
(If women were allowed to become members of Leader-bu, would it continue to be considered a traditional Japanese club?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very traditional	2 Traditional	3 Not so traditional	4 Not at all traditional	5 Do not know	Total
1950	2	9	1	1	1	14
						28.6
1960	1	9	1	5	1	17
						34.7%
1970	1	0	1	0	0	2
						4.1%
1980	0	5	3	5	3	16
						32.6%
Total	4	23	6	11	5	49
	8.2%	46.9%	12.2%	22.4%	10.2%	100%

($\chi^2=17.510$; $df=12$; $p>0.2$)

Table 20 Question 25 Females
(If women were allowed to become members of Leader-bu, would it continue to be considered a traditional Japanese club?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very traditional	2 Traditional	3 Not so traditional	4 Not at all traditional	5 Do not know	Total
1960	0	2	0	1	1	4
						15.4%
1970	0	1	2	1	3	7
						26.9%
1980	0	3	2	2	8	15
						57.7%
Total	0	6	4	4	12	26
	0%	23.1%	15.4%	15.4%	46.2%	100%

($\chi^2=3.859$; $df=6$; $p>0.7$)

Traditional." The 1980s group's responses revealed either a greater sense of conservative (*traditional*) values than their male predecessors or an extreme response to the radical change in the female section.

Surprisingly, in Question 25 a large percentage of women (46.2%, $n=12$) answered "Do Not Know" (DNK) and only

23.1% (n=6) of the women believed that *Ôendan* would continue to be a *traditional club*--none believed that the club would be "Very Traditional." In the context of *Ôendan*, most women did not associate femininity with *tradition*. *Ôendan* is a entity that they associated with men. Of those that chose an alternative answer to DNK, a majority of women from the 1970s and 1980s groups (26.9%, n=7) believed that the club would be *untraditional*. The changing parameters of womanhood in Japanese society and the recent development of Cheerleader-bu may have made it difficult for the women to answer this question. The elements that define a *traditional club* may be in a transitional phase for many of the female subjects.

In Question 26 (Do you think that traditional clubs are important to a university? [see Table 21]), almost 2/3 (62.9%, n=17) of the women supported the notion that such clubs are important to a university. Unsurprisingly, the men were even more adamant about this (86.6%, n=45 [see Table 22]). For most women, the sense of tradition was something that they believed to be an important element in the club. Tradition, however, also helped to complicate their role in *Ôendan* due to the development of Cheerleader-bu. Although most women felt that such clubs are important to the university environment, they seemed to be unsure of their role in these clubs:

Table 21 Question 26 Females
(Do you think that traditional clubs are important to a university?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very important	2 Important	3 Not so important	4 Not at all important	5 Do not know	Total
1960	1	0	1	0	2	4 14.8%
1970	1	4	0	1	1	7 25.9%
1980	2	9	2	1	2	16 59.3%
Total	4 14.8%	13 48.1%	3 11.1%	2 7.4%	5 18.5%	27 100%

($\chi^2=7.395$; $df=8$; $p>0.5$)

Table 22 Question 26 Males
(Do you think that traditional clubs are important to a university?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very important	2 Important	3 Not so important	4 Not at all important	5 Do not know	Total
1950	6	6	2	1	0	15 28.8%
1960	5	10	0	0	1	16 30.8%
1970	0	1	1	1	1	4 7.7%
1980	14	3	0	0	0	17 32.7%
Total	25 48.1%	20 38.5%	3 5.8%	2 3.8%	2 3.8%	52 100%

($\chi^2=30.054$; $df=12$; $p>0.003$)

I always smiled and tried to be cheerful when I was a member of the Cheerleaders. When I associated with Leader-bu [for sporting events, meetings, etc.], I always sat straight or stood still for a long time. I was forced to act in this two-faced way. Cheerleader-bu was a unique club that combined the traditional aspects of Japanese Budo [way of the samurai] with the modern aspects of American culture. (Female, 1980s group)

The addition of women to Ōendan was more a compromise for women than men. The mixture of women into the male equation had more of an effect on women because of their

aforementioned attitudes concerning club atmosphere.

Tradition, in the Ôendan sense, is not the highest element on the women's list of priorities because most would never tolerate the traditionally defined atmosphere in Leader-bu.

Exploring this idea, Question 41-1 (Do you think that Cheerleader-bu is as traditionally Japanese in character as Leader-bu? [see Tables 23 and 24]) asked subjects to judge which section they believed was more *traditionally Japanese in character*. Over half (56.3%, n=27) of the men and 50.0% (n=13) of the women believed that Cheerleader-bu was less traditional than Leader-bu. Characteristically, an overwhelming percentage of men from the 1980s group believed that the women's section was less traditional than the men's section (71.4%, n=10)--35.7% (n=5) answered "Much Less Traditionally Japanese."

A substantial percentage of men (41.7%, n=20) and women (46.2%, n=12), however, believed that the sections were equally traditional. In a sense, many subjects may have interpreted this question to explore a different concept than was intended. Even though Cheerleader-bu more closely resembles a Western club than Leader-bu, the Japanese have assimilated it into their collective psyche and therefore consider it to be Japanese. Cheerleader-bu is a part of Ôendan, and Ôendan is a traditional club. This sense of tradition has been passed down through the generations and

Table 23 Question 41-1 Males
(Do you think that Cheerleader-bu is as traditionally Japanese in character as Leader-bu?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Much more traditionally Japanese	2 More traditionally Japanese	3 Equally traditionally Japanese	3 Less traditionally Japanese	5 Much less traditionally Japanese	Total
1950	0	0	6	6	2	14 29.2
1960	0	0	8	4	4	16 33.3%
1970	1	0	2	0	1	4 8.3%
1980	0	0	4	5	5	14 29.2%
Total	1 2.1%	0 0%	20 41.7%	15 31.3%	12 25.0%	48 100%

($M=3.77$; $\chi^2=15.342$; $df=9$; $p>0.09$)

Table 24 Question 41-1 Females
(Do you think that Cheerleader-bu is as traditionally Japanese in character as Leader-bu?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Much more traditionally Japanese	2 More traditionally Japanese	3 Equally traditionally Japanese	3 Less traditionally Japanese	5 Much less traditionally Japanese	Total
1960	0	0	1	0	1	2 7.7%
1970	0	0	1	3	3	7 26.9%
1980	1	0	10	4	2	17 65.4%
Total	1 3.8%	0 0%	12 46.2%	7 26.9%	6 23.1%	26 100%

($M=3.61$; $\chi^2=6.696$; $df=6$; $p>0.4$)

acts as an agent that restricts change in the club:

Ôendan's traditions are the cause [for the discriminatory attitude between the genders]. For example, Leader-bu cannot cheer for the American Football Club. It depends on the sport. Originally, Ôendan was formed to cheer for baseball games and rowing events. Ôendan's tradition has been inherited and passed down. So, in this context, women cannot be part of this traditional form of Ôendan. (Male, 1980s group)

The majority of women, who believe that Leader-bu is more traditional, have similar reasons for believing so. The primary reason is that Cheerleader-bu is not as strict as Leader-bu by choice. The women do not practice as hard as the men, nor do they restrict their levels of enjoyment. "This is an old tradition, like sumo. It is not discrimination. Women do not join because of the physical disciplinary actions of the *senpai*" (Male, 1980s group). Many women stated that Leader-bu is more Japanese in character because of its strict atmosphere. The greater degree of strictness and hierarchical relationships, the greater the sense of *tradition*.

Tradition in *Ôendan* takes shape on the frame of its *vertically-structured society*. Many men mirror Nakane's (1970) belief that gender differences are not a matter of discrimination, but rather the women's place in the social hierarchy. It is a simple explanation that requires little elucidation because it is a predominant belief in Japanese society. Most men accept this without question because, as one man explained, "*Ôendan* is based on a *vertically-structured society* that comes from the feudal times. This will not change. That does not mean that women are inferior, but men will never take orders from a woman" (Male, 1980s group).

Although many consider this explanation to be sufficient, the causes for the restrictions go deeper. According to the results from Interview Question 15 (What behaviors that are associated with Leader-bu members, if any, do you consider to be inappropriate for women? Why do you consider them to be inappropriate?), most OBs considered the notion of a woman eventually joining Leader-bu to be very unlikely because of the perceived differences in mental and physical strength, and their associated limits, between the sexes:

Leader-bu's activities are not suited for women. There are things that men should do which are unnatural for women. It is ridiculous for women to do these things. Men and women have different physical limits and ways of thinking. Women cannot be like men. (Male, 1960s group)

The reasons for this disparity lie of the realms of power and perceived realities and traditions. The power of those in the upper level of the social hierarchy can have a variety of effects on subordinates. As a foundation for Japanese society, according to Nakane (1970), most Japanese accept their position in specific social hierarchies without overt challenge. The difference between genders is not one of inequality but rather of hierarchy. Women have a place in the social hierarchy that society perceives as being lower than men. The roles that women may assume in Japan are important in the eyes of the greater society, but they have less status than male roles.

The frustrations for women who do not wish to accept their fate are many. Men continue to assume roles of power outside the family structure where there is little room for women who seek differing degrees of power or equality. In a Confucian sense, Ôendan does not promote separate but equal relationships. Because of the well-demarcated level of hierarchy in its social structure, it is a good example of Nakane's *vertically-structured society*. The degree of freedom in the *senpai-kôhai* tradition is dependent on the degree of belief in the importance of this hierarchy in the social unit.

Each section's perception of tradition has not changed greatly over time. Hierarchical social relationships and discipline were the predominant descriptors for a majority of men, regardless of age. Although most women also found hierarchical social relationships important, they believed as well that Ôendan's principles and OB/OG network have a major part to play in the tradition equation. Each section's perception of the elements that lay the foundation of a traditional club has not changed greatly. These foundations for tradition have their origins in Japanese mythology.

Archetypes and Gender Roles

Traditional Japanese archetypes continue to act as a model for present behavior (see Chapter 1). Izanagi (The Deity the Male-Who-Invites) and his sister Izanami (The Deity the Female-Who-Invites) maintain their influence on modern Japanese gender roles. The traditional-mythic gender roles help to define Japanese culture and are accepted by many Japanese without question (Iwao, 1992). Most Japanese companies continue to be reticent to hire women for many reasons (women will not commit their lives to a company because they will quit their jobs after marriage), but an important criterion concerning a company's decision-making process lies in the realm of Japanese mythology--women cannot rise to a level of power because the dominant culture believes that only males can be the initiators of ideas and actions; and, what is more important, men are jealous of the power that women have over them. To create a perception of control, a woman must follow a man's lead in important matters. In this way, myth continues to shape behavior on a grand level.

In the social constructs of *Ôendan*, many aspects of traditional Japanese gender roles take form in the divergent environments between each section. Most subjects consider *Ôendan* to be a very traditional club by Japanese standards due to its heavy emphasis on discipline and its hierarchical

social structure. Power, status, and gender roles are demarcated along the social structure that takes shape in the form of the male captain (*danchyo*) who symbolizes men's perceived dominance over women, the differences in practice sessions and goals for each section, and the amount of freedom for change that each section possesses. From its inception as a informal postwar social entity to its reconstruction as a "reverse course" social organization bent on recapturing elements of discipline and hierarchy (see Chapter One) to the unexpected growth in popularity of the female section, *Ôendan* has become a social organization that finds it difficult to support two different sets of goals and ideologies.

The recent separation of the female section reveals much about the club (see Chapter 5). It has shown the differences in the amount of behavioral latitude that each gender possesses in the club environment. The more traditional nature of the male section has created a wide gap between the genders, especially when combined with the more rapidly changing role for women in society. Each sex's perceptions of gender roles in society and in the club provided impetus for the separation and has helped to create a "reversal of freedoms" (see Chapter 2) in gender relations.

CHAPTER 5

PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER ROLES IN ÔENDAN

The goals are the same for both sexes, but the methods are different. There is no possibility of ever being the same because each gender's role is different. Men cannot have children and women cannot do the physical work that men can do. Therefore, there should be different roles.

-Second founder of Ôendan
(Male, 1960s group)

Documenting the parameters of gender roles and their effects on the social relationships in a Japanese university club, this chapter continues to present the results of the survey and the interviews in relation to the subjects' perceptions of the club. I begin with men's perception of gender roles in the context of Ôendan. This will be followed by a discussion of gender roles from the women's point of view. The final portion of this chapter will document the subjects' perceptions of life after Ôendan in relation to gender roles.

Each sex's perception of gender roles has a great effect on attitudes concerning tradition, social hierarchy, and club atmosphere. Defining gender roles in the context of Ôendan summons a variety of opinions. Due to differing societal expectations and environments, there was a strong difference in opinion between genders concerning those elements that construct ideas of gender roles in the club.

Ôendan hones gender role expectations through its separate sections. These gender segregated sections provide the frame in which members define fully their roles in the club. Each section has different rules that combine to form a perceived Confucian "whole" in the club, and eventually, in society. This is one of the primary reasons that the sections remain separate.

As stated in the above quote, "there is no possibility of ever being the same because each gender's role is different." By stressing the differences between the genders instead of the similarities, each section of Ôendan has been able to create radically different atmospheres, as described in the previous chapters. This section discusses the results of the survey and the interviews, first from the men's perspective and then from the women's point of view.

Men's Beliefs

In the context of Ôendan, the concept of status takes form as positions of leadership. As stated previously (Chapter 2), Japanese society considers women to be inferior to men because they seldom hold higher social status (Nakane, 1970). Most women do not hold positions of power where they have a higher degree of status than men. Consequently, if Nakane's theory concerning the concept of *status* as the only defining factor in the hierarchy between

the sexes, then *status* should be the main determinant for the differences between the sexes in Ôendan. This, however, was not the case. In Ôendan, the issue was more complicated. The variables concentrated around an *imbalance in power*, a power that some women seek and most men fear losing (Carrigan, Connell, and Lee ,1987).

Physical and Mental Strength

My observations of club activity revealed that female members were not required to undergo much of the strict training that was a daily occurrence for the men. The results for Question 32 (Women should be treated differently from men in Ôendan. [see Table 25]) of the survey, however, which sought to elicit attitudes concerning the equality between men and women, disclosed a vacillation in each group--40.8% of the men (n=20) disagreed with the statement, 30.6% (n=15) supported it, and 29.6% (n=14) chose the mid-point (3) in the scale. These results show that although many men have no problem treating women in a similar manner to men in the context of Ôendan, many other men disagree with this philosophy. This could mean that most men did not consider it to be an important issue or may have been unsure about the specific context of this "treatment" because the mean (2.80) for this question was close to the mid point (3).

Table 25 Question 32 Males
(Women should be treated differently from men in
Ôendan.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1950	5	1	6	2	0	14 28.6%
1960	6	2	0	0	6	14 28.6%
1970	0	0	2	0	2	4 8.2%
1980	3	3	6	3	2	17 34.7%
Total	14 28.6%	6 12.2%	14 28.6%	5 10.2%	10 20.4%	49 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=2.80$; $\chi^2=21.896$; $df=12$; $p>0.04$)

"Similar treatment," however, has its boundaries in Ôendan. I believe that similar is related to the belief that each sex has the necessary attributes (mental and physical strength) to withstand the rigors of Leader-bu's practices. The next two questions concerning physical and mental strength show that men have strong beliefs concerning women's limitations, despite their ambivalence concerning differential treatment. Question 33 (Women possess the necessary physical strength to be Ôendan members [see Table 26) yielded a negative response of 42.8% ($n=21$). The belief that women are inferior in this sense of physical strength allows men to rationalize the limits they place on women's status in the club. Women cannot take part in Leader-bu because they do not possess the physical strength to endure the training.

Table 26 **Question 33** **Males**
(Women possess the necessary physical strength to be
Ôendan members.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1950	0	1	7	4	2	14 28.6%
1960	6	0	2	3	3	14 28.6%
1970	2	0	0	0	2	4 8.2%
1980	10	2	2	3	0	17 34.7%
Total	18 36.7%	3 6.1%	11 22.4%	10 20.4%	7 14.3%	49 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=2.69$; $\chi^2=24.500$ $df=12$; $p>0.02$)

The results also revealed a large contrast between the 1950s and 1980s members ($p>0.02$). Although 70.6% ($n=12$) of the 1980s members disagreed with the statement, only 7.1% ($n=1$) of the 1950s members felt this way. This marks a striking change in attitude over time (the other two groups were split on the issue). As the founder stated, the modern incarnation of Ôendan is much stricter than the original group because of its greater reliance on social hierarchy and discipline.

Nevertheless in Question 34 (Women possess the necessary mental strength to be Ôendan members.) men's opinions were split: three to two--44.8% of the men ($n=22$) supported the statement and 28.6% disagreed (see Table 27). Most men from each group favored the idea that women possessed the necessary mental strength, except the 1980s group--almost half, 47.1% ($n=8$), of that group disagreed

Table 27 **Question 34** **Males**
 (Women possess the necessary mental strength to be
 Ôendan members.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1950	0	2	6	4	2	14 28.6%
1960	2	0	3	5	4	14 28.6%
1970	1	1	0	0	2	4 8.2%
1980	6	2	4	2	3	17 34.7%
Total	9 18.4%	5 10.2%	13 26.5%	11 22.4%	11 22.4%	49 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
 (M=3.33; $\chi^2=15.935$; $df=12$; $p>0.2$)

with the statement (35.3% strongly disagreed, n=6). This is a slight contradiction with Ôendan's basic philosophy that mental strength is more important than physical strength. Many men believe that mental strength allows a person to endure the hardships associated with Leader-bu's training (see The Rewards of Suffering). Therefore, if almost half the men believed that women possess the necessary mental strength to be Ôendan members, then it follows that women would be allowed to take part in such training if they desired to do so. In this sense, physical strength is secondary.

After combining the above results with the results in Question 32, it became apparent that many men believed that, if women were allowed to enter Leader-bu, the equal treatment that they would receive would make it impossible for them to stay in the club. "If a women wanted to join

Leader-bu, I would not oppose it. However, I would treat her exactly like the male members, and I think that this would change her mind" (Male-1980s group).

The responses to the two questions reflect a contradiction where mental strength and a mild belief in equal treatment are not enough to offset an attitude that it is a perceived difference in physical strength, or most women's reticence to take part in activities where physical suffering is an important element, that inhibits true status equality between the genders. Although most men may acquiesce in gender equality on an intellectual level, they also believe that, in reality, this is impossible because of the physical differences between the sexes:

Leader-bu's activities are not suited for women. There are things that men should do which are unnatural for women. It is ridiculous for women to do these things. Men and women have different physical limits and ways of thinking. Women cannot be like men. (Male, 1960s group)

The atmosphere of each section reflects traditional behavior limits for each sex. Despite the similarities, such as practice times, each is purposefully different:

There is a difference between men's and women's training, as in *aisatsu* [formal greetings]. In the end, men should act like men, and women should act like women. This is most important. One should not require women to act like men. (Male, 1960s group)

Behavioral distinctions between the sexes go beyond the concept of status. In *Ôendan*, members define, and redefine, gender roles on the basis of accepted behaviors in Leader-

bu. These masculine behaviors draw the line between the genders. Although men may exhibit "feminine" behaviors at times, women will rarely take part in "masculine" behaviors. Women do not desire to subject themselves to the strict training and harsh social atmosphere that most men are willing to accept. As a male member stated previously, women choose not to join (Leader-bu) because of the physical disciplinary actions of the seniors in that section. The levels of physical hardship that Leader-bu members must endure sets the primary boundaries for gender roles. Both sexes believe that women cannot take part in Leader-bu on a physical level, and choose not to do so on an intellectual or emotional level.

According to the interviews, the perceived degrees of masculinity in Ōendan lie on a continuum, from a low of *possessing no purely masculine elements* to a high of *yakuza-like*. Most of the subjects' opinions in this area were skewed in the direction of *yakuza*, indicating a sharp difference in the type of training that the male and female sections would tolerate. One of the original female members commented:

The main purpose of Ōendan is to practice, repeatedly. This is all they have. They cannot obtain direct pleasure from their activity, like most sports clubs. They can only obtain indirect pleasure from cheering. I think that is masculinity. (Female, 1960s group)

Representing the low end of the continuum, a 1960s member believes that Ōendan does not symbolize masculinity, although he can understand why most people believe this. Ōendan is the type of club that appears to be extremely masculine in character because of the manner in which members perform *aisatsu* (formal greetings or salutations) and the style of cheering. A 1980s member concurs with this belief. According to him, if a person takes part in other sports, he/she would probably not think that Ōendan is a measure of a man's masculinity. When a man performs something with a high degree of enthusiasm, even as a member of a common-interest (*dōkōkai*) club, "this enthusiasm can be seen as a measure of masculinity" (Male, 1980s group).

Most interview subjects considered Ōendan's form of masculinity to be characterized by the term *bankara*.²⁷ *Bankara* is best described in English as *being in an unkempt state of self-neglect*, and is the medium ground of masculinity in Ōendan, between enthusiastic behavior and extreme physical hardship. It involves denying oneself many of the normal comforts of modern life for the sake of self-development. Testing one's sense of endurance through hardship can be an element of this style. The founder of the Owari University Ōendan chapter sought the medium ground

²⁷Examples of the *bankara* style can be found in Donald Roden's (1980) descriptions of Ichikō students.

of *bankara* when he formed the club: "At that time (1953), I wanted to maintain a neutral course, unlike other segments of society" (Male, 1950s group). This neutral course attracted many men to Ōendan.

Attaining purification through self-denial requires strength, both physical and mental, the type of strength that only men have the power to possess. *Bankara* is only for men. In society's eyes, such behavior is not a part of the feminine world because "unrefined styles, such as *bankara*, are inappropriate for women" (Male, 1950s group). In men's eyes, the inappropriateness is a result of the belief that women do not have the capability to take part in such activity--they possess neither the necessary physical endurance nor mental strength. The higher status that men have in the club environment is a direct result of their ability to withstand the physical and mental rigors of *bankara*. On a basic level, according to the sociobiological conservatism, men are able to be leader-bu members through the process of natural selection--they are stronger.

This premise, however, is based on the belief that women do not possess such endurance or strength. The actual limits in mental and physical strength for women may have little to do with this inappropriateness. *Bankara* requires a minor amount of physical or mental strength. The impropriety of this style for women probably lies more in

the area of role expectations than physical and mental limitations. It is unbecoming because it lies outside the socially accepted role for a woman.

Duty, Honor, and Discipline

As Ôendan's membership changed in the early 1960s, due to the change in power from the original group to a newer more aggressive group, so did the atmosphere in the club. At the extreme end of the scale, violent behavior and physical hardship became seen as major elements of Ôendan and masculinity. To some, the strictness associated with Ôendan is a way of thinking:

We can be violent when we need to be. We use violence as a way of discipline. I was not violent, since I do not like such behavior, but many members used violence without reason. Many universities' Ôendan chapters were very similar to *yakuza*. (Male, 1960s group)

The club has always contained many of the major elements of a military organization: duty, honor, and discipline. Ôendan does not exist for cheering. At its foundation lies a belief system that includes a strong sense of discipline, self-sacrifice, and endurance:

I cheered for many sports clubs and participated in school events because it was my duty [*gimu*]. In my mind, however, I thought that no club was worth cheering for. Ôendan doesn't exist for cheering. It is more like a political organization, although it has nothing to do with politics. I don't like right wing ideologies, but

Ôendan is like a right wing organization.²⁸ (Male, 1960s group)

Since the 1960s, the perception of Ôendan as a *yakuza*-like organization has been an element of the club's atmosphere. The militaristic semblance that the club projects has helped to project such an image. "Many people believed that Ôendan members were very much like *yakuza* in those days. We always had to fight against those perceptions. This perception is more closely related to our actions than it is to how we dress" (Male, 1960s group).

Although the type of masculinity has varied over the years, Ôendan as a masculine icon continues to be an important issue for most men. In Question 35 (Being a member of Ôendan is a measure of a person's masculinity. [see Table 28]), men showed a high level of support for the statement (63.2%, n=31). In many respects, Leader-bu is a "measure" for masculinity in the club because of its extreme training drills. The amount of hardship that one can endure is in proportion to the amount of masculinity that one possesses.

Leader-bu members believe that their training and practices are special. They believe that the level of strength and endurance needed to perform such training is a

²⁸As in the case prior to World War II, most *right-wing* organizations in Japan continue to foster extreme nationalism and the belief in the emperor as God (Pyle, 1978, pp. 176-179).

Table 28 Question 35 Males
(Being a member of Ōendan is a measure of a person's
masculinity.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1950	3	2	1	4	4	14 28.6%
1960	1	0	2	5	8	16 28.6%
1970	2	0	1	0	1	4 8.2%
1980	1	1	4	4	5	15 34.7%
Total	7 14.3%	3 6.1%	8 16.3%	13 26.5%	18 36.7%	49 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=3.64$; $\chi^2=12.628$; $df=12$; $p>0.4$)

strict measure of masculinity because the ability to endure harsh things is a quality that men should possess. It separates the men from the boys, the hard path (*kôha*) from the soft path (*nanpa*):

I do not know what should be the measure of masculinity, but Ōendan members must have something that the average Japanese person does not possess. For example, most children in my *juku* [cram school] do not know courtesy and respect and always speak their minds. However, when someone acts like that to them, they feel hurt. They cannot hear what others say, and wish to speak and do things that only they want. In contrast, Ōendan members always listen to others and have the ability to endure many things. (Male, 1960s group)

In opposition to the previous question, men disagreed with the statement in Question 36 (It is not socially acceptable for a woman to be a member of Ōendan [a member of the general club]. [see Table 29]) by 61.2% ($n=29$). There was, however, also moderate agreement from the men. Those that agreed [23.5% for the 1960s group and 33.3% for the

Table 29 Question 36 Males
(It is not socially acceptable for a woman to be a member of Ôendan [a member of the general club]).

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1950	10	3	0	0	0	13 26.5%
1960	6	2	5	0	4	17 34.7%
1970	2	0	2	0	0	4 8.2%
1980	4	3	4	0	5	15 30.6%
Total	22 44.9%	7 16.3%	11 20.4%	0 00.0%	9 18.4%	49 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=2.31$; $\chi^2=16.052$; $df=9$; $p>0.7$)

1980s] chose the "Strongly Agree" ranking. Although most men believe that Ôendan is a measure of masculinity, they also believe that it is acceptable for women to be part of the club, as long as the sections remain segregated.

Membership does have its confines:

Men and women are equal. Although I do not think that it is a good or bad thing, I cannot imagine a woman as a Leader because women would not be strict enough with men. *Senpai* [seniors] must be very strict with *kôhai* [juniors] so that they become strong. (Male, 1970s group)

The Rewards of Suffering

In Ôendan, the key philosophy that permeates its atmosphere is one that I call *suffering-reward*. It is a highly accepted fact that one grows mentally and spiritually through a good amount of suffering. In previous sections concerning practice and gender roles, I suggested that physically stressful practices are important elements of

Leader-bu's identity. Physical suffering is not an end; it is a means to purification and strength, "It is important to overcome pain. If one succumbs, one cannot gain mental strength. Mental strength is more powerful than physical strength. One needs it to do important things in life" (Male, 1980s group).

Physical suffering is *necessary for mental strength*. The mental strength that one gains from Leader-bu's strict environment has beneficial effects in both the personal and professional spheres of Japanese life. The great amount of suffering that many members endure has its rewards later in life:

In society, there are many times that one feels overcome by a sense of failure. I cannot remember how many times that I attempted to quit the club, and even the university. I felt a great sense of pressure knowing that I had to do *kentate* [push-ups done on one's knuckles] after class. However, I overcame this, and stayed in the club for four years. When I compare the painful memories concerned with *kentate* with the hardships of working, I feel that work is easy. (Male, 1980s group)

Beyond the rewards, the strict environment also instills in many members a feeling of superiority over the average Japanese person. Most members believe that the sense of perseverance they gained from their association with Leader-bu enables them to outperform their peers:

People who spend four years in *Ôendan* or *Kendo* [one of the traditional Japanese martial arts, e.g., judo, karate] are very different from the average person. They

do not become upset with small things and can do many difficult things. So, the experience is good for one to perform well in society. (Male, 1960s group)

Although many did not realize it when they were part of the club, most subjects appreciated the life skills they learned. Most believed that these skills have enhanced their post-Ôendan lives:

Though only those who have experienced this can understand, carrying something through until the end is very difficult, yet rewarding. Ôendan members have a sense of confidence that we carry through terrible hardships, while other students were enjoying their university years. This is our confidence and it is good for us after we get out into the world. We consider this confidence as a part of masculinity. (Male, 1980s group)

The confidence that most members developed after their four years in Ôendan is a key element in this perceived sense of superiority over the average Japanese person. Enduring the physical hardships that are a primary element of Ôendan's training provides each member with a sense of accomplishment and self-worth that can transfer to adult society. Ôendan, however, does not possess a monopoly on such qualities; it is more the degree that these qualities are present in the club, and more specifically, in each section.

Discipline and suffering (or *gaman suru*--to persevere) are elements that permeate through all levels of Japanese society. The sense of discipline that most subjects associate with Ôendan is not a quality that only men must endure. The Cheerleaders believed that their efforts also

Table 30 Question 37 Males
(Discipline is primarily a masculine quality.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1950	7	4	2	1	0	14 27.5%
1960	10	1	0	1	4	16 31.4%
1970	3	0	0	1	0	4 7.8%
1980	6	1	5	1	4	17 33.3%
Total	26 51.0%	6 11.8%	7 13.7%	4 7.8%	8 15.7%	51 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=2.18$; $\chi^2=18.254$; $df=12$; $p>0.11$)

require a great sense of discipline and sacrifice. The subjects' perception of the term *masculinity*, therefore, must be associated with other attributes and/or with the degree and form of the discipline in each section.

The major differences between the two sections' training has been one of degrees. A level of discipline does in the female section, but this differs from the male section because of the degree of discipline that the women will tolerate. In Question 37 (Discipline is primarily a masculine quality. [see Table 30]), almost 2/3 of the men (62.8%, $n=32$) disagreed with the statement. The men also tended to disagree with the statement, regardless of time period ($p>0.11$). The degree of disagreement, however, reached its lowest level in the 1980s group's response as less than 1/3 (29.4%, $n=5$) supported the statement. Because

Table 31 Question 38 Males
(Physical suffering is something that only men should
experience.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1950	4	6	1	2	1	14 28.6%
1960	8	3	0	0	4	15 30.6%
1970	1	0	2	0	0	3 6.1%
1980	3	5	3	2	4	17 34.7%
Total	16 32.7%	14 28.6%	6 12.2%	4 8.2%	9 18.4%	49 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=2.47$; $\chi^2=19.954$; $df=12$; $p>0.07$)

the female section is part of Ôendan and of the *taiikukai*
(athletic clubs), discipline is a given.

Discipline is a quality that is endemic to both
sections of Ôendan. It is more than a "men only" territory.
Cheerleader-bu's degree of discipline may not reach Leader-
bu's proportion, but its goal of competition requires that
certain degrees of discipline and hierarchy must exist.
Without these qualities, goal attainment would not be
possible.

The type and degree of discipline and physical hardship
between the two sections have differed because of the
perceived physical differences between genders. In support
of this, in Question 38 (Physical suffering is something
that only men should experience. [see Table 31]), strong
percentages of men (61.3%, $n=30$) did not believe that
physical suffering, especially the type associated with

clubs, is primarily a territory of masculinity. Although a minority of the men agreed with the statement across age groups, this percentage increased with time (with the exception of the 1970s group, only three responded) to a peak of 35.3% (n=6) for the 1980s group. The percentage of disagreement for the 1980s group was also much less than the average (47%, n=8).

The atmosphere in the men's section in the 1950s and 1970s differed from that of the 1960s and 1980s. Although the 1950s was a time of popularity and excitement for Ōendan (this coincided with the forming of the club) and the 1970s exhibited a sense of liberalism (as reflected in the more socially active student society during this time), the 1960s and 1980s were times of great conservatism and tradition.²⁹ Hence, the level of agreement fluctuated with the decades, high in the even numbered decades and low in the odd numbered decades. The Cheerleaders' recent separation may have had an effect on the 1980s group's responses.

A Man's Territory

The gender territories for men and women are strictly defined by context. Leader-bu is men's territory only, and vice versa. The physical differences between the genders

²⁹From the late 1960s to the mid 1970s, Japanese university students exhibited a high sense of social unrest. Strong student organizations, such as Zen Kyoto, were at the forefront of such attitudes.

Table 32 Question 39-1 Males
(If a woman was captain of Leader-bu, would you
feel comfortable taking orders from her?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very comfortable	2 Comfortable	3 Not so comfortable	4 Not at all comfortable	Total
1950	0	3	9	3	15 29.4%
1960	4	4	3	7	18 35.3%
1970	2	1	0	0	3 5.9%
1980	1	3	6	5	15 29.4%
Total	7 13.7%	11 21.6%	18 35.3%	15 29.4%	51 100%

(M=2.80; $\chi^2=17.385$; df=9; $p>0.05$)

make Leader-bu's activities appear to be unnatural for
women:

I could not ever imagine a woman being part of Leader-bu. While men and women sometimes practiced together, only men could be Leaders. Each section requires different qualities. For example, Leader-bu requires that one possesses a strong voice. (Male, 1950s group)

Developing this theme of gender territory further, Question 39-1 (If a woman was captain of Leader-bu, would you feel comfortable taking orders from her? [see Table 32]) created the hypothetical situation of a female captain (*danchyo*). Almost 2/3 (64.7%, n=33) of the men stated that they would not feel comfortable with a female captain. Many of the men across age groups chose the selection that expressed the least amount of comfort "Not At All" (n=15). For most men, it appears necessary to have a man in an important position of authority, especially in what they perceive to be a strictly masculine context. An important

Table 33 **Question 31** **Males**
 (Men and women should **not** practice together.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1950	3	6	4	0	1	14 28.6%
1960	4	1	1	1	7	14 28.6%
1970	2	0	1	0	1	4 8.2%
1980	5	1	5	3	3	17 34.7%
Total	14 28.6%	8 16.3%	11 22.4%	4 8.2%	12 24.5%	49 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
 (M=2.82; $\chi^2=20.645$; $df=12$; $p>0.06$)

element in this reasoning lies in Eastern thought,
 Confucianism:

I think that it is impossible for a woman to be a leader in such a group. I guess that this is the way of Eastern people. Western people may not be able to understand it since they do not follow Confucianism....We did not believe that men and women are equal, and that women should practice the same as men. (Male, 1960s group)

Despite the segregation of gender territories in Ôendan, women have their place in the club. Although some men may disagree with the notion of a coed club, most men realize the social necessity of having a women's section. The need for a women's section and the possible changing attitudes in men may have been the impetus for a more liberal attitude toward coed practices. Depending on the generation, however, male attitudes concerning women's status in the club varied. Almost half, 44.9% (n=22), of the men disagreed with the statement in Question 31 (Men and women should not practice together. [see Table 33]).

Table 34 Question 29 Males
(Cheerleader-bu should have a closer association with
Leader-bu.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1950	2	0	5	2	5	14 29.2%
1960	3	0	7	0	3	13 27.1%
1970	1	0	1	1	1	4 8.3%
1980	0	1	6	3	7	17 35.4%
Total	6 12.5%	1 2.1%	19 39.6%	6 12.5%	16 33.3%	48 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=3.48$; $\chi^2=10.015$; $df=12$; $p>0.7$)

Again, the responses echoed the differences in attitudes between the even and odd decade groups.

Similar questions yielded similar responses and support the belief that the men felt that there is a need for the female section. In Question 29 (Cheerleader-bu should have a closer association with Leader-bu. [see Table 34]), 45.8% of the men ($n=22$) supported the statement. The 1980s members had the highest percentage (68.8%, $n=10$) of those in agreement, and 41.2% strongly agreed. In Question 30 (Cheerleader-bu should have separate activities from Öendan. [see Table 35]), 42.6% of the men ($n=20$) believed that the women cheerleaders should not be separate from Öendan. The important element concerning the men's attitudes, which may have been a response to the 1980s women's desire for independence and control, was the high percentage of disagreement among the 1980s members (58.8%, $n=10$)--no

Table 35 Question 30 Males
(Cheerleader-bu should have separate activities from
Ôendan.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1950	3	3	5	0	2	13 27.7%
1960	3	0	7	1	3	14 29.8%
1970	1	0	1	0	1	3 6.4%
1980	7	3	7	0	0	17 36.2%
Total	14 29.8%	6 12.8%	20 42.6%	1 2.1%	6 12.8%	47 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=2.58$; $\chi^2=11.563$; $df=12$; $p>0.5$)

member supported the statement. The women's growing desire to compete may have affected the men's response. Although a high percentage of men did not support the idea of separation, an equal percentage was indifferent (42.6%, $n=20$), a possible response to a confusing situation ($p>0.5$).

As Cheerleader-bu gained popularity during the 1980s, it became an integral part of Ôendan. The 1980s Leader-bu members witnessed this transition, from a marginal addition to the highly popular section. Cheerleader-bu's newfound popularity helped to redefine Ôendan's harsh image as an all-male bastion. Ironically (when compared with the original purpose for having women in the club), this altered the club's marginal status, and made it more highly visible. In a way, it was necessary for the club's continued existence as it influenced the administration's perception of the club and aided in the recruitment of new members.

From the men's point of view, status continues to be an element that separates the genders, but the reasons for each gender's status in Ōendan's society go much deeper than the male dominated philosophies associated with Confucianism. Rather than accepting these definitions at face value, the men have rationalized them by saying that women are not physically suited to the rigors of the male environment. The biological differences between the genders dictate that each sex inhabits its territory, at least until this belief is disproved:

The variance in body strength is the biggest difference. The purpose of Leader-bu's practices is to achieve self-discipline through hardship. Male members are unable to admit a person [male or female] who is not able to overcome the same hardships that all members must endure....It is prejudice. Most men think that women are unable to do the same things as men. However, if a woman ever overcame the practices, hardships, and atmosphere in the club, no one would be able to complain about her becoming *danchyo* [captain]. (Male, 1980s group)

The status of women is not as fixed an entity as the Confucian philosophy would like men to believe. If a woman were able to meet the men's tough requirements, her status in the club would change or the men might erect even higher standards. Until, or if, that happens, however, men will continue to hold firm to their beliefs. Women will retain their state of innocence and secondary status until they prove otherwise.

Women's Perspectives

From the women's point of view, Ôendan has represented a traditional Japanese club that had the characteristics of masculinity as its foundation. An earlier quotation by one of the original Baton-bu members (see Physical and Mental Strength), which stated that masculinity involves being able to perform a difficult activity that has no tangible goal, reveals one female member's point of view as an admirer, one who felt a certain amount of respect for the men as she watched Leader-bu's practice sessions, but never had to actually take part in the practices. To most female members, however, Ôendan's practices represented a harsh form of self-punishment and endurance training that they would never desire or tolerate:

They deny it, but they're like the army. They have no purpose and blindly believe that they must act in such ways. Because the men cheer for other sports clubs, they believe that they must endure more pain than these clubs. Otherwise, they believe that they can't cheer. It's just an excuse. It's stupid. Women think differently.
(Female, 1970s group)

The above quotation reveals a definite difference in the type of behaviors that each section (gender) is willing to embrace. The atmosphere in the female section is much less strict and severe than that of the male section. This difference is a matter of individual and group choice, perceived limitations, and gender expectations.

Table 36 Question 32 Females
(Women should be treated differently from men in
Ôendan.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1960	1	0	2	1	0	4 14.8%
1970	0	0	3	1	2	6 22.2%
1980	10	2	2	0	3	17 63.0%
Total	11 40.7%	2 7.4%	7 25.9%	2 7.4%	5 18.5%	27 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=2.48$; $\chi^2=13.863$; $df=8$; $p>0.09$)

Women As "Other"

Societal expectations help define the concept of femininity in the female section. As one former Baton-bu member expressed:

Even people who believe in gender equality still have amae [dependence] and believe that we should be treated with tolerance because we are women. If one acts very kawaii [cute], one will be treated well by men. Many women want to be treated like they are dependent, and men believe that they are superior because of women's behavior. (Female, 1970s group)

In this context, femininity exists as the "other" to masculinity. Yet it also is a set of behaviors that complements its opposite by manipulation. By creating an aura of dependency, women are able to elicit special treatment from men. It is a tension between power and dependency. In reward for this special treatment, men attain a feeling of superiority. As with the social hierarchy, it is a relationship based on interdependency.

Table 37 **Question 33** **Females**
 (Women possess the necessary physical strength to be
 Õendan members.

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1960	1	1	0	1	1	4 14.3%
1970	5	1	1	0	0	7 25.0%
1980	6	0	4	3	4	17 60.7%
Total	12 42.9%	2 7.1%	5 17.9%	4 14.3%	5 17.9%	28 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
 (M=2.54; $\chi^2=9.555$; df=8; $p>0.3$)

The limits that each section sets for itself does not always negate the desire for egalitarian treatment. In Question 32 (Women should be treated differently from men in Õendan. [see Table 36]), the results supported a trend toward equal treatment as their ratio of disagreement over agreement was almost 2:1 (13:7). The 1980s women overwhelmingly disagreed with the statement (70.6%, n=12), and skewed the results in this direction, but the members from other decades showed slight disagreement. Half of the women from the other groups chose the neutral response of "3." The opinion of a recently graduated 1980s member reflects this result:

I had heard that there was a time when the Cheerleaders were submissive followers of the Leaders. They obeyed the Leaders in order to be protected by them. We never felt like that. We felt that we were just members of an athletic club. (Female, 1980s group)

The ambiguous responses to Question 33 (Women possess the necessary physical strength to be Õendan members. [see

Table 37]), 50% (n=14) of the women disagreed and 32.2% agreed with the statement, reinforced trend for equal treatment . Female opinion was split in all groups, except the 1970s group's responses stood out. As members of the female section, it appears that women believed their degree of strength was adequate for their section, but not the men's. Their perceived physical limitations, in comparison to the male section, and disdain for physical punishment may have prevented them from crossing certain gender boundaries:

Leader-bu's purpose is not only cheering. They also believe that their hard training will train their bodies and minds. It might be possible for women to perform their cheers, but it would be impossible for a woman to do Leader-bu's hard training. (Female, 1980s group)

Despite this, the poise that women gained from their metamorphosis to Cheerleader-bu grew as the club developed and became more popular. Their eventual success in competition also gave them more faith in their physical abilities. They no longer had to depend on the male section for their own existence. The Cheerleaders had developed into a highly successful part of Ōendan. The newfound confidence may have translated into the 1980s members support for the belief that women possessed the strength to be Leader-bu members.

Table 38 **Question 34** **Females**
 (Women possess the necessary mental strength to be
 Ôendan members.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1960	0	0	0	1	3	4 15.4%
1970	3	2	2	0	0	7 26.9%
1980	0	1	2	5	7	15 57.7%
Total	3 11.5%	3 11.5%	4 15.4%	6 23.1%	10 38.5%	26 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
 (M=3.54; $\chi^2=18.769$; $df=8$; $p>0.02$)

A Growing Sense of Poise

In the realm of mental strength, the women had a greater sense of assurance. In Question 34 (Women possess the necessary mental strength to be Ôendan members. [see Table 38]) almost 2/3 (61.6%, n=16) of the women supported this statement. Yet despite such results, few women felt inclined to enter into a higher level of physical and mental training. Those that did were quickly discouraged:

There was one applicant, but we talked her into giving her idea up because it would have been too difficult, actually. The members of Leader-bu said they would not be able to accept or treat her equally (they would not be able to inflict the same sort of physical and mental punishment on her). (Female, 1980s group)

The idea of Ôendan as a measurement of masculinity was not a popular idea with the women. The traditional image of a club as an all-male institution changed with the entrance of Baton-bu, despite the reasons for its inception. In Question 35 (Being a member of Ôendan is a measure of a

Table 39 Question 35 Females
(Being a member of Ôendan is a measure of a person's masculinity.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1960	0	1	0	2	1	4 14.8%
1970	1	1	3	0	1	6 22.2%
1980	8	1	6	2	0	17 63.0%
Total	9 33.3%	3 11.1%	9 33.3%	4 14.8%	2 7.4%	27 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=2.44$; $\chi^2=13.890$; $df=8$; $p>0.09$)

Table 40 Question 36 Females
(It is not socially acceptable for a woman to become a member of Ôendan [the general club].)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1960	1	1	1	0	1	4 14.8%
1970	1	1	1	2	2	7 25.9%
1980	7	4	2	1	2	16 59.3%
Total	9 33.3%	6 22.2%	4 14.8%	3 11.1%	5 18.5%	27 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=2.52$; $\chi^2=5.464$; $df=8$; $p>0.8$)

person's masculinity. [see Table 39]) had weak support from women (22.2%, $n=6$). The women's disagreement with the statement increased to a high of 53% ($n=9$) for the 1980s group. The idea of Ôendan as a masculine institution has changed over time. From its beginnings as an all-male club, the organization had become a group that was defined by the two sections. Although status discrimination between the genders continues to exist, it is no longer as concretely defined by such clear lines of gender segregation.

The women's perception of their acceptance of being an integral part of the club increased with time. In Question 36 (It is not socially acceptable for a woman to become a member of Õendan [the general club]. [see Table 40]), the women's responses were very similar to the men's as 55.5% (n=15) believed that it was socially acceptable to be part of such a traditional institution. In the pattern of the previous questions, the women's disagreement with the statement reached its peak in the 1980s (68.8%). The percentage fell to 28.6% (n=2) for the 1970s group as 57.2% (n=4) supported the statement. These results portray a mild generation gap. Also, the newly acquired power and independence of Cheerleader-bu had an effect on how women perceive their own status. The 1980s women, the members of Cheerleader-bu, believed that they deserved a greater degree of equal treatment than their predecessors because of the greater degree of confidence in their physical abilities.

As valid members of the club, the women held that their efforts also included a sense of discipline; it was not just masculine territory. In Question 37 (Discipline is primarily a masculine quality. [see Table 41]) the women strongly disagreed with the statement (85.8%, n=24) with a slight decrease across age groups. As stated in the previous section, discipline extends throughout all levels was an important element for achieving their goals.

Table 41 Question 37 Females
(Discipline is primarily a masculine quality.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1960	4	0	0	0	0	4 14.3%
1970	4	2	0	0	1	7 25.0%
1980	11	3	2	1	0	17 60.7%
Total	19 67.9%	5 17.9%	2 7.1%	1 3.6%	1 3.6%	28 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=1.62$; $\chi^2=6.858$; $df=8$; $p>0.6$)

Table 42 Question 38 Females
(Physical suffering is something that only men should experience.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1960	3	0	1	0	0	4 14.8%
1970	2	4	0	0	1	7 25.9%
1980	9	3	3	0	1	16 59.3%
Total	14 51.9%	7 25.9%	4 14.8%	0 0.0%	2 7.4%	27 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=1.84$; $\chi^2=7.447$; $df=6$; $p>0.3$)

In conjunction with discipline, in Question 38 (Physical suffering is something that only men should experience. [see Table 42]), a strong percentage of women (77.8%, $n=21$) did not believe that physical suffering, especially the type associated with clubs, is primarily a territory of masculinity. The women strongly disagreed with the statement across time periods ($p>0.3$). Like discipline, physical suffering is a sometimes necessary element in an athletic club, but it need not exist to the degree that it

Table 43 Question 39-1 Females
(If a woman was captain of Õendan, would you feel comfortable taking orders from her?)

Scale/ Decade	1 Very comfortable	2 Comfortable	3 Not so comfortable	4 Not at all comfortable	Total
1960	0	1	0	0	1 4.3%
1970	2	4	1	0	7 30.4%
1980	6	4	4	1	15 65.2%
Total	8 34.8%	9 39.1%	5 21.7%	1 4.3%	23 100%

($M=1.96$; $\chi^2=3.763$; $df=6$; $p>0.8$)

exists in the male section. In addition, the women's definition of masculinity may not have included the need for physical suffering. For many women, it was not a necessary feature. "We [women] were disgusted by such things. I never spoke with any Leader-bu freshmen about it, but I guess that they hoped that the torture would end as soon as possible" (Female, 1980s group).

Although the level of comfort for women slightly decreased over time for Question 39-1 (If a woman was captain of Õendan, would you feel comfortable taking orders from her? [see Table 43]), from 100% for the 1960s group, who answered "comfortable" (only one person responded), the percentage fell to 66.7% ($n=6$) for the 1980s group, almost $3/4$ (73.9%, $n=17$) of the women stated they would feel comfortable if a female had the highest position in Õendan. Due to their recent success in competition, the growing sense of confidence that women have in their abilities, both

physical and mental, had created in them a desire for a more equal status.

As stated in the previous section, most men stated that they would feel uncomfortable with a female captain. The need to have a man in an important position of authority, especially when they believe it will affect their territory in the club (Leader-bu), reveals as a marked difference in the attitudes between men and women. Most men have not changed their belief systems enough to accommodate such a perceived departure from tradition as a female *danchyo* (captain). Most women, however, had less of a problem with the hypothetical situation. "There is too great a belief in the traditional roles for men and women. For example, women can never be *danchyo*, or flag holders. Women used to walk behind men. The new Cheerleaders felt that this was ridiculous" (Female, 1970s group).

Most women believed that, in this context, an authority figure can be of either sex--the most important thing is to respect a leader's authority. The greater percentage of disagreement among the 1980s members, however, may have reflected their reticence to cross into the harsh realities of a male world. "It is impossible when we consider the activity. We could not subject women to such difficult and punishing training. If it is ever possible, a woman *danchyo* [captain] would only be a symbol" (Female, 1980s group).

Table 44 Question 31 Females
(Men and women should **not** practice together.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1960	0	1	2	0	1	4 14.3%
1970	2	1	4	0	0	7 25.0%
1980	8	3	3	1	2	17 60.7%
Total	10 35.7%	5 17.9%	9 32.1%	1 3.6%	3 10.7%	28 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=2.35$; $\chi^2=7.352$; $df=8$; $p>0.5$)

The subjects' parameters of masculinity encompass behaviors that they associate with leadership and physical discipline. Although many women stated that they also endured a great deal of physical stress as cheerleaders, the type and degree of stress differed greatly between sections. Cheerleader-bu had long, hard practices where the women repeated routines endlessly, but Leader-bu subjected each member to practices that could be physically brutal. Women wanted no part of such traditions. The growing differences in the aforementioned definitions of tradition may have led to the women's separation.

In Question 31 (Men and women should not practice together. [see Table 44]), 53.6% ($n=15$) of the women did not support the idea of separate practices. The level of disagreement with the statement increased with time for the women, from 25% ($n=1$) for the 1960s group to 64.7% ($n=11$) for the 1980s group. Even though the percentages fluctuated

Table 45 Question 29 Females
(Cheerleader-bu should have a closer association
with Leader-bu.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1960	0	0	1	1	2	4 14.3%
1970	0	3	0	1	3	7 25.0%
1980	1	2	3	3	8	17 60.7%
Total	1 3.6%	5 17.9%	4 14.3%	5 17.9%	13 46.4%	28 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=3.85$; $\chi^2=5.812$; $df=8$; $p>0.7$)

Table 46 Question 30 Women
(Cheerleader-bu should have separate activities from
Ôendan.)

Scale/ Decade	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1960	3	0	1	0	0	4 14.3%
1970	3	1	0	2	1	7 25.0%
1980	8	2	2	5	0	17 60.7%
Total	14 50.0%	3 10.7%	3 10.7%	7 25.0%	1 3.6%	28 100%

The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
($M=2.23$; $\chi^2=6.828$; $df=8$; $p>0.6$)

between decades, most women's desire for a greater degree of gender equality grew as the section developed and became an integral part of the club.

Despite the recent separation, the results suggest that many women desire to be associated with Ôendan, especially last year's senior members. In Question 29 (Cheerleader-bu should have a closer association with Leader-bu. [see Table 45]) nearly two thirds (64.3%, $n=18$) of the women supported the statement. Also, in Question 30 (Cheerleader-bu should

have separate activities from Ôendan. [see Table 46]], 60.7% (n=17) of the women believed that the cheerleaders should not be separate from Ôendan.

Women have their important place in Ôendan. Although this place may not contain the same degree of status as men, their role in Ôendan is no longer dependent on or subsidiary to the men's role. Since the inception of Cheerleader-bu, their section continued to develop into a self-sufficient entity. Its popularity made it the most visible section of Ôendan. In some respects, it even overshadowed the male section.

The bold lines between behaviors that used to separate the genders in the club had become less distinct. The differences between the sections have become more a matter of degree. Although physical hardship defined, and continues to define, the male section, the female section also possessed similar elements in their practices. The extremist behavior that was an integral part of the male section, however, was not a part of Cheerleader-bu. Such behavior was one of the many reasons for the recent separation. The vast differences in degree of some behaviors were something that the women could no longer tolerate.

The Separation

During the interview phase of the data collection process (October 1993 to March 1994), I learned that, due to the impetus of the third year Cheerleader-bu members, the section decided in late 1993 to separate from Ôendan to form their own club. Despite the objections of most fourth year members, the third year members led a mini-rebellion that eventually resulted in the separation.³⁰

The division occurred for a variety of reasons; the most visible reason, however, was the desire to perform freely in the national cheerleading competitions. After Cheerleader-bu placed first in the 1992 All-Japan Cheerleading Competition, many members came to believe that the responsibilities associated with Ôendan would hinder them from preparing adequately for future competitions. According to a member during the early 1980s, this successful effort helped to set the stage for the split:

I think that they desired to concentrate more on their practices after their success. Our sister school's Cheerleader-bu became independent after we took first prize. Following this action, they won first prize. Our decision to separate was probably influenced by their success. (Female, 1980s group)

³⁰During the month of October in their fourth year, the senior club members transfer the reigns of power to the third year members. At this time, the third year members officially take control of the club.

Since 1992, the Cheerleaders have failed to repeat their successful performance, and have performed poorly in recent competitions. With this in mind, the Cheerleaders believed that a greater focus on preparation for competition was needed. The women of Cheerleader-bu found it necessary to separate from Ôendan because Leader-bu had placed restrictions, through the hierarchical chain of power, on the amount of time that Cheerleader-bu could spend on competition preparation. Essentially, the responsibilities associated with cheering for Ôendan were not a priority for Cheerleader-bu.

Many opinions drifted throughout the campus concerning the separation. As stated previously, the most publicized reason for the split was the desire to focus on competition. Other reasons, however, also surfaced during my discussions with various members of the *taiikukai* (athletic club organization). The primary reason given was the Cheerleaders' growing aversion to following the mandates of the Leader-bu. "I heard that the separation began as a problem in the relationship between the two sections. This was probably the reason for the separation" (Female, 1980s group). As I mentioned before, Leader-bu has the power to make all final decisions for Ôendan, and Cheerleader-bu in particular, because male members have a higher place in the hierarchical social structure. According to many *taiikukai*

members, the Cheerleaders left because they were tired of taking orders from Leader-bu and being thought of as "just a decoration."

The response to the split has varied from support to condemnation. One of the original Baton-bu members (the Cheerleaders consulted with her before they decided to separate) understood the Cheerleaders' need to compete, and eventually separate, but also felt that, because most clubs are comprised of men and women, Ōendan should also have men and women. One of the recently graduated 1980s members, however, expressed a different sentiment, concluding that an internal struggle may have been an alternative reason for the split:

I'm angry with them [third year members]. I can't say if it's right or wrong because I'm no longer part of the club. We were also sometimes discontented with the club, but we tried to solve those problems by remaining in the club. The juniors [third year members] had an idea of leaving the club not so long ago. I guess once they declared that they were leaving, they couldn't turn back. The heart of the matter was the relationship between the seniors [fourth year members] and the juniors. The juniors felt that they couldn't accept the ways of the seniors, and we [OGs] couldn't give them any good advice in such matters. (Female, 1980s group)

In fact, most OGs expressed dismay because the separation--a combination of understanding and anger predominated in most opinions. The context behind the third year members' decision helps to explain this combination of feelings. The third year members entered Cheerleader-bu

during the year that the club placed first in the national competition. They joined the club, primarily, to cheer in competition. Repeating the 1992 feat was their major goal and they expected to compete successfully as long as they belonged to Cheerleader-bu. Many new elements, however, occurred in the club simultaneously, such as an accelerated growth in membership and the rapidly increasing popularity of cheerleading. As cheerleading became more popular, the level of competition increased. This increase in popularity has made it more difficult for smaller schools, like Owari University, to perform well in competitions. Hence, to continue to compete successfully, the Cheerleader-bu members needed more preparation time.

Despite the level of sympathy that most OGs possessed for the third year members' situation, many believed that the members had broken the unwritten rules of loyalty and obligation (*giri*). As one recent graduate pointed out, "If they [the two sections] couldn't agree, there should have been another solution. The juniors shouldn't have given up their responsibilities. They weren't acting fairly" (Female, 1980s group).

Each student club and the university have a "give and take" relationship. In this context, each party cannot make decisions that only considers its own needs and desires. "They have responsibilities, not only inside the club but

also outside the club. So they should tolerate the difficult training and the *senpai's* strictness" (Female, 1980s group). Selfish behavior can jeopardize the foundation of Japanese group formation.

Further analysis of the situation reveals that the third year members' decision affected groups that had little power to influence this decision. Due to the hierarchical social structure in the club, the club's *kôhai* (sophomores and freshmen) felt obligated to accept the decision to separate. Only the third year members were discontented with Leader-bu and the fourth year Cheerleader-bu members. The *kôhai* had no choice. "The juniors must have left with only themselves in mind" (Female, 1980s group).

Even though most OGs believed that the third year members experienced a sense of excitement and accomplishment because of their new found independence, some felt that this may be a temporary separation. As the fourth year members neared graduation, their power diminished. The first and second year members, therefore, had to follow the third year members. When the power structure shifts again after the third year members graduate, it is possible that the second year members may choose to return.

The men had different feelings concerning the event; most were much more understanding than the women. Some men felt that the women may have wanted to separate because they

represented the majority (about 55%) of the student population at the university--the split was a natural thing. "As a group gets larger, as in the case of Cheerleader-bu, they will break-up into smaller groups and compete against each other" (Male, 1980s group).

In response to the separation, Leader-bu, along with the fourth year Cheerleader-bu members, decided to form another version of Cheerleader-bu, the *Koalas*, but this new club has experienced a great amount of difficulty in acquiring new members (they presently have five members). This new form of the female section does not take part in competitions. Like Leader-bu, they only cheer for the other sports clubs. It has been difficult to attract many women to the new club because most students find the American form of cheerleading to be more *fun and acrobatic*. Most female students do not desire to be like traditional cheerleaders:

When we are freshman, we do not fully understand all there is to know of Ôendan. For freshman, Ôendan is just a strict club. So, I would probably join the American cheerleading club [the new, separated version called the *Rustles*]. (Female-1980s group)

Even the fourth year cheerleaders had their reservations concerning Ôendan's cheering requirement. Although they did not enjoy their schizophrenic cheering existence because they had to prepare for both competition and cheering for the sports clubs as part of Ôendan ("There are two ways to cheer, American and Japanese. It was

confusing" [Female, 1980s group.]), they chose to remain as part of the club to fulfill their sense of responsibility to the sports clubs. "When we are not taking part in the championships, we have to cheer for the members of the *taiikukai*. I want the Cheerleaders to do so" (Ibid.).

I had originally speculated that attitudes concerning gender roles have changed over time. Although the results of the survey did not always support this hypothesis, such as in Q29 and Q30, regarding the issue of practicing together, the modern members have differed with past members. The female members of the club during the 1980s exhibited a much higher degree of modern feminist attitudes than their predecessors. Also, the male members of the club during the 1980s showed a greater leaning towards traditional gender attitudes, particularly when they were faced with the women's growing desire for independence.

Simply put, as society changed, so did the attitudes of the female members. During the pre-women's liberation movement era of the 1960s, it was natural for women to be subservient to men, despite the gains in technology and the influence of the international media. The members of the 1960s female group were duly impressed with the demeanor of the Leaders. They admired the Leaders for the hardships that they could or would endure. "We just used to follow the men. We desperately wanted to maintain Baton-bu. It is

unbelievable for me, but I understand the Cheerleaders desire to focus on competition" (Female, 1960s group).

The 1980s group, however, had less of a desire to "follow" the men than their predecessors. As a firmly established section of the club, the female section was now free to make any changes they desired. The first was to change the focus of the club, from Baton-bu to Cheerleader-bu. Combined with their new "liberated" attitude, this put them on a course that led to the separation. Basically, cheering for competition was more interesting and self-gratifying than cheering with Leader-bu. The major difference between the 1980s group and the 1960s group is that the 1980s group felt the freedom to act on their desires.

The direction of the attitudes for each group may have provided the necessary impetus for the greatest change in Ôendan in the last 30 years. During the last three decades, Ôendan has not changed at a sufficient pace to meet the needs of social change. In fact, Ôendan's attitudes toward gender role change had regressed during the 1980s. It was possible that the women's response was an inevitable step.

The type of behavior that is exemplified by the Cheerleaders' bold step does not always translate well when extrapolated on the greater society. Iwao's reversal of freedoms has its limits in the accepted gender role for

women. They possess a great amount of freedom in this role. If they choose to step outside this role, however, they must confront the barriers that surround the territory of men and higher status. Men, who are prisoners of their social institutions, find it difficult to let anyone in or out.

Gender Roles and Shakai-jin

Some of Japan's best high-schools and colleges for women share the same motto. *Ryosai kenbo*, the brave new slogan chosen by these pioneers in education for females, means *good wives and wise mothers*. This was the primary aim of the Japanese women's schools back in the late nineteenth century when they first opened their doors, and its influence lingers to this day. (Cherry, 1987, p. 48)

Post-university life leads students to roles of greater responsibility than they have ever experienced. School life ends and the world of adults or *shakai-jin* (a society person) begins. Although women's status is slowly changing in Japanese society, most men in *Ôendan* find this change a difficult thing to accept. The traditional role of *good wife and wise mother* continues to be the accepted standard. As one man stated, men usually prefer the security of traditional gender roles:

Depending on the type of things one has to do, women are good at doing certain things and the same applies to men. Essentially, I did not feel that there was a great difference. Concerning employment, as a teacher I believe that it is impossible for men and women to work together as equals, even though teachers' salaries do not vary according to gender. Also, after marriage, there are few instances of men doing housework. It is a very rare sight. (Male, 1980s group)

The recent attempt by women to create a greater degree of gender equality in Japan has had its effect on the way many men view inevitable change in its business environment and its family structure. For many men, the limited accomplishments of a minority of women have created the perception that equal opportunity exists for women:

The situation is not the same as before. Now, men and women are equal. A woman can earn the same salary as a man. In such cases, however, women have to work harder. They also have to care for their families. If a woman works and her husband refuses to help with the household duties, this relationship will have problems....In a company where a woman is unusual [as a full-time employee], most men will treat her in a friendly way. For example, if a salesperson is a woman, clients will readily see and listen to her. However, if the salesperson is a man, they will not see him. (Male, 1960s group)

Unfortunately, such is not the case for most women. Salaries are not equal in Japan and neither is employment opportunity. A woman's role is not in a company; it exists in the home. The sacrifice for a woman who chooses to enter the permanent salary track in a company is too great, especially after marriage. In many men's eyes, women receive preferential treatment because of their perceived vulnerable position and "natural" role as mother:

For women, the biggest events in their lives are the births of their children....I want to be a women sometimes because they are protected. Their lives are not too hard. I had to collect taxes for the government. That is a man's job. Women in my office do not do such work. Their salary is the same, but they work less. If I get married and have a daughter, I want her to be a

government employee because after having a baby, a women is allowed paid maternity leave. In city hall, half of the women quit after having a baby. One of the reasons is that they want to be with their baby. *Women care for children better than men* [italics added]. Because there is no child care, someone must take care of the baby. Therefore, women are restricted by this. (Male, 1970s group)

Many women do not agree with most men's opinions, nor do they share the men's misgivings concerning the breakdown of the family. "It is natural for women to care for new born babies. These days, women can leave their babies during the day. If a woman wants to work, it is possible for her to participate in society." (Female, 1980s group).

Even though they may have a greater element of choice in pursuing a career, many women do not wish to take on the responsibilities associated with the men's role. In this scenario, Iwao's *reversal of freedoms* (1993) takes shape. One of the reason for such reticence is the perceived difference in physical strength:

Although men hold responsible positions, I do not want such responsibilities. Men possess the strength to work late at night. If women desired such things, they would be able to do the same work, but I just think that it is too difficult. Men and women are treated equally in a *juku* [cram school], but men are usually in charge of the *juku*. (Female, 1980s group)

At the extreme end, some women believe that such traditions are a product of the government or ruling class. Women and men have their traditional roles because it is

good for society and the country. The advent of technology, however, has created a more equal environment:

I have been studying that this came from the era of Japanese militarism. To become economically powerful, men must work outside the home and women must stay at home. Politicians believe that they can use men effectively in this way. If it is unnatural, this will change, but there is no need to do something to change it. For example, years ago, work required physical strength only from men. Now, through technology, women can share in the work. Things will become equal, gradually. (Female, 1970s group)

Yet despite the "equal treatment" that women are receiving in the workplace, discrimination continues to exist. The same woman who expressed a sense of positiveness concerning gender equality in the above quote was also dismayed at the discriminatory attitudes of male employers:

There is no real difference [between the sexes]. In the Bible, all humans are equal. From my experience, many of the women of the 1980s who studied at university were not able to get a job. They felt a great deal of regret because many companies will not hire women, even those with great talent. Also, if a woman does not live with her family before marriage, the company will look down on her. When I looked for a job, I felt discrimination. (Female, 1970s group)

The 1980s women have been the direct recipients of the social change that has resulted in greater opportunities for women. The examples of the gender inequalities that continue to permeate the Japanese business and social environments have allowed them to view both sides of the issue, the before and after and the now and possible future:

At one time, women were not allowed to be tour guides. However, this changed when we became employed. Cleaning the office and discarding cigarette butts were considered women's work. I thought that men were stronger than women because of their responsibilities. (Female, 1980s group)

The discrepancy in status between men and women is a belief that the slowly changing business and social environments continue to reinforce. It is difficult to relinquish the security of a belief system that has "worked" for previous generations:

A housewife's world is definitely limited, but she knows much of the world. I am thankful that my husband told me that I did not have to work. The situation might not change dramatically. My generation feels comfortable with the thought of a male-dominated society because we grew up watching our parents. Our children are also influenced by us. Of course, there are new types of families, I know some, but it might not become a major trend. I think that it is desirable to divide households (by both parents working), but my generation does not agree with this. (Female, 1960s group)

Despite the greater degree of choice that women have in Japanese society, as compared with their predecessors, many women feel reticent to take on the hardships associated with the male world. The greater sense of freedom that women feel in Japanese society, as stated in Iwao's *reversal of freedoms*, combined with traditional beliefs, will continue to reinforce the secondary status of women in Ōendan and Japanese society. The reinforcement of the present gender status system requires the efforts of both genders.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Hear the sound of winning.
The time has come to shine,
Fly to a higher glory.
Thundering, we will fight forever.
-(Ôendan Cheer #3, First Verse)

The noonday cacophony of screaming male voices never failed to interrupt lunchtime conversations. During my first month as a lecturer at Owari University, such choruses seemed entirely out of place. As I gazed down on the source of this concert, which originated below me on the rooftop of a neighboring building, I was startled by the sight of a group of men in peculiar black garments practicing unusual cheers in the noonday sun. Their attire consisted of black military-style uniforms. The trousers had very wide legs (reminiscent of the "elephant bellbottom trousers" of my youth), but were a bit shorter than usual, fully revealing the black high-heeled loafers beneath them. Above the trousers, some members revealed a long sleeved white shirt that I was never to see on the junior members of the club because the seniors would not allow them the luxury of removing the final item of clothing, the high-collared, button-down black jacket. It looked an uncomfortable uniform during the best of weather, but when worn during a

30°C Japanese spring day, it looked intolerable. This was my second encounter with Ôendan. Combined with my first rendezvous (see Chapter 4), these two encounters have helped to shape my image of Ôendan and Japan.

From the onset, I felt that this was a special club, especially as part of a modern educational environment. Such unabashed strictness seemed to have little place in a university atmosphere. Yet as the research progressed, I realized that many people value such experiences, especially those in the personnel section of companies (Rohlen, 1988). In one sense, Leader-bu's sense of strictness may appear to be an unnecessary test of a person's strength. In another sense, however, most individuals probably possess a great deal of respect for the club. To have endured such a test of mental and physical strength elicits varying degrees of esteem from others. Although most men would never subject themselves to such an environment, especially during college, each man admires those who have. They secretly respect the inner strength that they believe is a result of such an environment.

Ôendan's atmosphere, however, is not exceptional in this sense. In the university, the Japanese educational system has constructed an environment where students are free to pursue their chosen "extra-curricular" activity with a vigor that is usually unimaginable, except for sports

teams, in most Western societies. The relative unimportance of studies allows students to expend great amounts of time and effort on club activities. During their four years at university, clubs are the focal points of most students' lives. The club environment, therefore, plays an important role in shaping a student's attitudes and conduct. Ôendan is no exception.

It is possible that this research has placed too much emphasis on Ôendan and made it appear that it was the only university club to place a high priority on a *vertically-structured society*. However, such is not the case. Most athletic clubs also use a hierarchical social structure (*senpai-kôhai*) to construct their social spheres, and similar clubs also subject their members to long, physically punishing practices. Yet as with all clubs, Ôendan also has its unique qualities. The important differences between Ôendan and many sports clubs are its lack of a tangible goal and the emergence of a separate female section. These two elements give the club its special quality.

Possessing no tangible goal, the club appears to have little purpose to outside observers. Nevertheless, as one school administrator stated in the Introduction, "Ôendan is at the top of the *taiikukai*." Most members believe they belong to a traditional Japanese organization that helps to define those elements that shape what many in Japanese

society consider to be the Japanese "hard way" (*kôha*). Ôendan is strictly Japanese in this sense. Although examples of the female section can be found in Western society, the male section is something that exists only in Japanese society. The idea of cheerleaders subjecting themselves to a great degree of physical punishment as an ethical prerequisite for cheering is a concept that presupposes the Japanese societal beliefs in group formation and obligation (*giri*). The male version of Ôendan could not, or would not, exist in most societies.

The female section of Ôendan also provides the club with a special quality that most athletic clubs do not possess. Athletic clubs are usually sexually segregated entities (except some martial art clubs as *shorinji kenpo* and karate)--most do not possess a separate female section. Most competitive clubs, such as baseball, soccer, American football, etc., have only male members. The female participants in such clubs are there to serve the men as trainers and managers. In Ôendan, however, the female section has become an important part of the club. Its growing popularity has made Ôendan more accessible to the outside observer by providing it with a softer, more egalitarian image than would have been possible with a "men only" membership.

Tradition and Social Reproduction

What separates the men from the boys or, in this case the men from the women, are the practices of each section. Before the separation, the female section's practices had a tangible goal in mind: to learn routines to compete or perform alongside Leader-bu. The male section, however, does not possess such a goal and its practices reflect this fact. Leader-bu's practices can be strict and harsh because such an atmosphere builds strength (physical and mental), ere builds obedience (knowledge of one's place in the social hierarchy), a tolerance for adversity, self-confidence, and a sense of responsibility for oneself and one's group. These qualities help to define and create what most men believe is masculinity in the club, and in Japanese society.

The strong sense of tradition in Ōendan is an important facet in its social reproduction. As most members believed, both male and female, the qualities that defined Leader-bu (discipline, strict social hierarchy, etc.) provided the club with this sense of tradition. When most members considered the concept of tradition, they thought of Leader-bu. Leader-bu members continue to reinforce this belief in the importance of tradition year after year, generation after generation. They believe that they are benefiting from such traditions. In Iwao's terms, men continue to be the prisoners of the institutions that they have created.

As the dominant group in Japanese society, they also fell victim to the symbolic violence that was meant to subjugate the women. As victims of this belief system, they feel compelled to reproduce it. In reproducing it, however, they also must suffer from the lack of freedom that accompanies it--they cannot break free from such gender role limitations.

Most men in Ôendan wish that women would continue their traditional roles as wife and mother for the perceived well-being of the Japanese nuclear family and the avoidance of the difficulties associated with such a major social change. I believe that most of the male subjects fall into the masculine perspective of *sociobiologist*. As mentioned previously (Chapter 2), the sociobiologists contend that masculine behavior is a product of natural selection. For the sociobiologists, the gender role changes that are the results of feminism are a futile attempt to eradicate congenitally established masculine behavior. Universal sex roles provide stability in human society.

Ôendan's men believe that they are physically stronger because they are the product of natural selection. Women cannot be Leader-bu members because it is not natural for them to do so. A challenging physical environment is something that only men can and do choose to endure. Due to the natural selection process, women have little desire to

engage in such behavior because of their physical limitations and natural abhorrence for such activity. Men, on the other hand, believe that challenging environments benefit them by allowing them to gain a higher sense of status than women. In this case, perceived strength is status.

This description of reality has the power of belief grounded in myth attached to it, and with belief comes the reinforcement of established norms. These norms may be compromised in certain situations, but established limits between acceptable behaviors are never fully challenged. The archetypal image of Izanagi and Izanami (see Chapter 1) continue to influence present behavioral norms. Man, as the natural aggressor, must be physically stronger than his less dominant counterpart, woman. Bold lines of demarcation between the limits of physical strength define each gender's role. Men can, and should, endure more hardship because they are stronger. In the case of *Ôendan*, few women have ever attempted to cross the gender boundaries that have separated the two sections of the club. Instead, they have avoided such confrontations and have chosen to develop their own sphere.

Gender and the *Tate Shakai*

Traditional gender status in postwar Japanese society has not changed in the same ways as in most Western

societies, even though all have followed capitalist developmental paths. As stated earlier, Nakane believes that the reason for this is that in Japan, the Confucian concept of status supersedes other sociological determinants, such as age and sex. On the surface, Nakane's belief in the primary position of status in Japanese culture is well aligned with the logic of her *vertically-structured society*. When one questions the reason for such values in status, however, her argument loses validity because she never attempts to provide an answer. Nakane herself is unwilling, or unable, to question such truths. The reason for this is up to speculation, but I believe it is due to the strength of male hegemonic power. If one replaces the word "status" with "power," men definitely have greater strength in Japanese society.

As the dominant group in Japan, men possess the *symbolic power* (the power to create appearances and beliefs) to "confirm or transform the vision of the world and thereby action in the world, and therefore the world itself" (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 117). As in Western society, men have the power to define hegemonically sexual norms in such a way that the prescribed behavior of women actually reinforces such norms. If women collectively believe that being a *shufu* or housewife is a natural manifestation, their gender

role status in Japanese society will only change at a very slow rate.

Manliness, as defined in Ôendan, is a combination of the traditional manliness that is associated with the samurai way (*bushido*), along with its military implications, and modern society's expression of the *samurai way*: to sublimate one's individual desires/needs for the good of the group. Although the ideals associated with group economic success have replaced those associated with war, Ôendan retains the traditional ideals of strict discipline and physical suffering. It has been able to retain traditional influences in the face of an ever-changing society.

As stated in the Introduction, Gilmore (1990) believes that a person's gender identity is not simply a reflection of individual psychology; it is part of what he calls *public culture*. Definitions of gender extend beyond biological and psychological concepts into the area of sociocultural dynamics. In Ôendan's case, most members have chosen to stop at the biological and psychological levels to define masculinity in the club. When they do venture beyond these definitions, it is usually into the realm of Japanese tradition. The Confucian belief in a strong social hierarchy and the samurai code of loyalty and physical hardship continue to play a strong part in defining masculinity in the club and society.

A Reversal of Freedoms

Despite the predominance of traditional beliefs, the female section's increase in popularity and strength and eventual separation imply that gender role limits are slowly changing. Although the female section began as a ploy to reestablish Ōendan following its dismantling by the Owari University administration, the female section was not a temporary phenomenon--it flourishes today.³¹ Its popularity has grown tremendously in the six years since the members changed the name and focus of the group from Baton-bu to Cheerleader-bu. With this change, it became a more independent force, dividing its responsibilities between cheering for sports clubs and practicing for competition.

I had speculated in my original proposal that men would exhibit a strong sense of gender territoriality, while women would lean toward gender role equality. Although this was true to a great degree, the survey results revealed attitudes that were skewed in the direction of a closer association between the separate sections. The overall survey, however, did not reflect the attitudes of the present Cheerleaders. A desire for a closer relationship between the sections was not a primary goal for them. They desired something very different--to practice and cheer as a

³¹Most large universities in Japan also have female sections of Ōendan. Cheerleading has become a very popular club for women in recent years.

group divorced from the responsibilities and the subservient behavior associated with Ōendan. The women did not wish to become like the men.

The separation reflects more than just a desire of a group of women to satisfy their needs. The act is a concrete example of Iwao's *reversal of freedoms*. The women were more likely to challenge the accepted way or order because they felt a greater sense of freedom. They have shown that they have a great deal more latitude in their actions than the men. As a long time resident of Japan, I have observed that most women are more willing to take a chance in their life course decisions than men. It is very rare to see a man return to university or change careers. It is quite normal, however, for a woman to do so. Secondary status in society means that women have less (social) responsibility and, therefore, less to lose.

As a necessary precursor to the "reversal of freedoms" taking part in Japanese society, men have made themselves prisoners of the institutions that they have created (Iwao, 1993). The postwar Japanese system of long-term employment and the seniority based promotional ladder have placed men in a "prison of responsibility" that they can only escape through retirement. This prison of responsibility restricts Leader-bu's capacity to change and develop. Although the male section has changed over the years (a sharp decrease in

membership, possibly due to a loss of appeal), it has not changed as much as the female section. It continues to be a highly disciplined organization that possesses no visible, tangible goal and subjects its members to a physically punishing atmosphere in the name of personal and spiritual growth.

In a reaction to the Cheerleader's recent separation, Leader-bu decided to establish its own version of Cheerleader-bu, the *Koalas*. At this point, with the help of last year's senior members of Cheerleader-bu, they have been able to recruit only five members. The seniors believe that this is the case because those women who find cheerleading to be an interesting activity also find the *Rustles* (the newly separated version of the Cheerleaders) to be a more appealing environment since its goal is to compete. The mere existence of this new section, the *Koalas*, in Ôendan is proof, however, that most members feel that there continues to be a need for women in the club. Whether to soften a hard image or to continue a 30 year tradition, the desire to recruit women for Ôendan reflects a change in attitude in the male members, especially when compared with the highly chauvinistic attitudes of the 1960s members.

With the separation of the female section, the men could have reestablished Ôendan as an all-male club by taking no action. This would have been the perfect opportunity. To

the eyes of most outsiders, they were guiltless concerning the separation because they appeared` to be the injured party. Yet the present Leader-bu members chose to solicit the support of Cheerleader-bu's seniors to recruit members for the new female section. The action reaffirms that the male members believe that women continue to be necessary to the club. The present members, however, have different reasons from the 1960s members for believing this. To them, the women are seen as an element that helps to define the club. They provide a soft side to the otherwise hard atmosphere and help to make the club a whole.

Men do not seem to believe that their present state in Japanese society has become less powerful in the gender arena and continue to hold on to the belief that they are the "respected superiors of society and belittle women's voices as nothing but emotional, unrealistic *female logic*" (Iwao, 1993, p. 8). The primary reason, however, that women do not challenge the male belief in superiority has to do with the nature of *equality*. Japanese women are much more interested in creating a "*humane life* which transcends both men and women" (p. 12). Most Japanese women do not envy the life of the average Japanese man. Having the freedom to pursue individual goals is more important for a woman than status in a "man's world."

The two major changes in the female section (name and focus and their separation) reflect a freedom of action not available to men. Most men would consider such behavior as a sign of weakness. It would not fit into the perceived social image of men in Japan. Such behavior is not part of the "hard" (*kôha*) or "soft" (*nanpa*) paths to manhood in Japan because it extends beyond the acceptable margins for such descriptors. Most men consider the Cheerleader's behavior to be irresponsible, and irresponsibility is not a desired facet of masculinity.³²

Conclusion

In traditional Japanese thought, one of the most important elements of a man's life concerns his adherence to strict moral principles, or the "way.". Most men have regarded this as the "ideal for character building, and the Japanese multitude has shown regard for followers of Stoic discipline who pursue the Way" (Yukawa, 1967, p. 58). The social parameters in *Ôendan* would have probably been tolerant of Mishima's sexual preference as long as he followed the principles of the "way." *Ôendan's* pursuit of

³²Although most of the men and the senior women disagreed with the Cheerleaders' decision to separate, they were powerless to stop it. In essence, university clubs are voluntary organizations and members have the right to quit. Of course, there were repercussions for their action. Due to their decision, the Cheerleaders had to forfeit, at least temporarily, their membership in the *taikukai* (athletic clubs).

character building in the name of Stoicism can include a variety of personal preferences, as long as the individual keeps these in their proper social contexts. The concept of *suffering-reward* is central to the "way." All other variables are secondary in comparison.

According to Benedict and Nakane, Japanese society rationalizes its "proper" perception of gender roles by placing them on a Confucian based social hierarchy where men are superior to women because they occupy a higher place on the social continuum and possess a greater degree of status. Unlike Benedict who rarely places value judgments on her observations, Nakane believes that the Japanese system of gender relations is less discriminatory. Male superiority is not a result of discrimination; rather, it is based on a simple fact of life--men hold higher positions of social status. To rationalize such a theory fully, one must begin with the belief that gender status is a natural phenomenon. Nakane, however, never fully explores the reasons concerning women's lower degree of status. She never acknowledges her philosophical beliefs in this area or explains which came first, women's lower status or society's belief in their lower status. I believe that such distinctions are necessary.

This study, therefore, disagrees with Nakane's simplistic notion of a Confucian-based belief system which

states that the "difference of sex will never be so pronounced in Japanese thinking as in America" (1970, p. 32fn). Such realities are not based solely on the laws of nature--societies choose to create and maintain them. I believe that, as the dominant gender, men have created this sense of high status for their own benefit and reproduction. The political and economic power that they wield is very impressive and accounts for the discrepancy in status between men and women. It is the nature of such a system to discriminate.

Conversely, I believe that Iwao's concept of a *reversal of freedoms* (1993) is a better description of the present state of gender relations in Ōendan and, ultimately, Japan. Men continue to believe that they benefit more from the present social system than women. Their power (economic and political), however, is limited to certain social spheres and it comes at a high price. Women have a greater degree of freedom to break free of social conventions than men. As in the case of the separation, the Cheerleaders chose to leave a situation that they found to be intolerable. The men of Leader-bu would never have considered making such an action. Part of being a man is accepting responsibility and tolerating the intolerable (*suffering-reward*).

According to Carrigan, Connell, and Lee (1987), one of the main problems with stereotypes of gender is that they

are defined in such a rigid fashion, never allowing for the gray areas that exist in the real world. In these strict parameters of sex role theory, any behavior lying outside these boundaries is considered abnormal, or non-masculine (1987, p. 165). Many of the behaviors that one society looks on as masculine would be considered effeminate in another. Yukio Mishima would never have been able to become the object of adoration for a right wing group in Western society. A large portion of Japanese society, however, still considers the idea of a husband doing household chores as unusual. The elasticity of gender roles stretches in different directions, depending on the cultural and social parameters.

The definition of masculinity in the social parameters of Ōendan has not stretched a great deal since its rebirth in the early 1960s. Leader-bu continues to exist as a highly conservative social phenomenon that uses the concept of *tradition* to define masculinity. Although the present members have acknowledged the need for women in the club, they persist in using the same criteria to fix the limits of masculinity. The men of Ōendan will never experience the degree of freedom that women possess as long as they hold firm to such traditional definitions. Ōendan's men seek an ideal of another time.

Implications for Future Research

This study contends that the Japanese university is more than its reputation of a four-year "leisure land" where students place a higher priority on the pursuit of happiness than on study. The university years educate and socialize students into adult social roles, even if the emphasis is not on academic study. Most academics have overlooked the important role of the university in Japanese society. Despite the secondary importance of academic grades to most students the social education that students receive at the university makes it an integral social-reproductive organ.

Student clubs help make the university environment an important facet in Japanese society. Most students' focus on clubs boldly colors their university years--clubs are the most important aspect of their lives. Compared to their academic subjects, most students devote a great deal of time and effort to club membership. For example, even though the university classes do not meet during school holidays, sports club members are required to take part in club activities (practices, sporting events, and so on) during this time. The social relationships students make and the behaviors (in this case, gender-related behaviors) they learn in these environments affects their future, both professionally and personally.

Because this study investigated only one defining element (gender) of student clubs, and more generally the university, I believe much is left to be learned about these phenomena. The university years play an important role in Japanese society, a role that should not be overlooked. Future research needs to explore further these reproductive elements and their relationship to various levels of Japanese society.

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Appendix 1A

Survey Cover Letter

June 2, 1993

Dear Former Ouendan Member,

I am a teacher in the Department of English and American Studies at Owari University and a Ph.D. student in the Department of Social and Educational Studies at the University of British Columbia in Canada. At this time, I am in the process of studying the parameters of the Japanese "vertically-structured society" within university clubs. I believe that Ouendan is a good example of a traditional Japanese university club which possesses a strong sense of this "vertically-structured society." Therefore, I am asking you to fill-out the enclosed survey that asks about your experiences in Ouendan.

I understand that you are busy, but I hope that you will find time to complete the enclosed survey. The results of this survey will only be used for my research.

If possible, I would appreciate a reply by June 15, 1993. Thank you for your participation.

Sincerely,

James J. Vincenti

平成5年6月2日

拝啓

皆様におかれましては、益々御清栄のこととお慶び申し上げます。

さて、私は今、南山大学外国語学部英米科にて4年目の教鞭をとっており、また平行してカナダ バンクーバー市のブリティッシュコロンビア大学（U.B.C.）に籍を置き、博士課程の研究をしている者です。

今回、私の研究対象であります日本のタテ社会構造を考察するにあたり、大学のクラブの重要性に焦点をあて、戦後における日本社会の構造を、この調査をもとに掘り下げていきたいと思っています。

そこで、日本の大学のクラブの中で、最も興味のある応援団部を調査対象として選ぶにあたり、ご多忙中のことと存じますが、これを御理解いただき、アンケートに協力していただくことをお願いする次第です。

この調査は、私個人の調査として統計的に分析するものであり、皆様個人のお答えを公表することはありません。

尚、できましたら6月15日迄に返送していただきますようお願い致します。

敬具

James J. Vincenti

自宅：466 名古屋市昭和区八雲町51 南山学園八雲アパート204号

Tel: 052-835-7038

研究室：466 名古屋市昭和区山里町18

Tel: 052-832-3111 内線617

Appendix 2A

OB President's Letter

Dear Member,

I hope that all is well with you.

Mr. James Vincenti of the Department of British and American Studies at Owari University is studying Ouendan to learn more about the Japanese "vertically-structured society." Enclosed with this letter is a survey that investigates university club activities. I understand that you are busy, but I would appreciate your cooperation.

I look forward to seeing you again at an OB Association meeting.

Sincerely,

Masami Nishio
President,
Ouendan OB Association

謹啓

応援団 O.B. O.G. の皆様には益々
ご健勝にてご活躍の由 何よりと
お慶び申し上げます

早速ながら 南山大学 英米学科 講師の
ジェームス・ヴァンセンティ先生が 日本の
メテ社会について研究されておられ、大学の
クラブ活動についてアンケートと必要とされ
ていますので、ご多用中とは存じますが
ご協力をお願い申し上げます

皆様と O.B. 総会などで再会出来る日と
楽しみにしております

敬具

応援団 O.B. 会長

西尾 正巳

再生紙使用

MITSUKOSHI

Appendix 3A

Survey

1. What is your sex?
 - 1) Male
 - 2) Female
2. Why did you choose to attend Owari University?
 - 1) It had a good reputation
 - 2) Could not enter school of first choice
 - 3) Convenient location
 - 4) Other _____
3. What years did you attend university?
Year you began: _____ Year you finished: _____
4. Approximately, how many clubs do you think that the university had at that time?

5. Were these clubs mostly all-male clubs?
 - 1) Yes
 - 2) No
 - 3) Do not know
6. Why did you choose to join Ouendan?
(Tick all applicable)
 - 1) A friend was a member
 - 2) The sense of discipline
 - 3) The challenge of being part of such a club
 - 4) Other _____
7. What things about Ouendan did you find appealing?
(Tick all applicable)
 - 1) The sense of discipline
 - 2) The traditional nature of the club
 - 3) The challenge of being part of such a club
 - 4) Other _____
8. Do you think that your experience in Ouendan was meaningful?
 - 1) Very meaningful
 - 2) Meaningful
 - 3) Not so meaningful

Question 8 (cont.)

4) Not at all meaningful

Why? _____

9-1. Do you continue to communicate with friends (fellow Ouendan members) you made as a member of Ouendan?

1) Yes

2) No

9-2. If you answered **yes** to the above question, in what capacity do you continue to communicate?

(Tick all applicable)

1) As friends

2) As co-workers

3) As senpai/kohai

4) Other _____

10. How do you think that most students (those who were not members of Ouendan) felt about Ouendan?

1) Greatly respected it

2) Respected it

3) Respected it very little

4) Did not respect it

5) Do not know

11-1. Did you consider joining any other clubs?

1) Yes

2) No

11-2. If you answered yes to the above question, which clubs did you consider joining?

Please list: _____

12. Why did you choose Ouendan over the more sport oriented clubs (baseball, kendo, etc.) at Owari University?

13. Why did you choose Ouendan over the more interest oriented clubs (ESS, Orchestra, etc.) ?

14-1. At any time did you consider quitting Ouendan?

1) Strongly considered it

2) Considered it

3) Mildly considered it

4) Never considered it

14-2. If you answered (1) or (2) to the above question, why did you consider quitting?

15. What do you think is the most important thing(s) about a university club?

16. How important was Ouendan while you were a student?

- 1) Very important
- 2) Important
- 3) Not so important
- 4) Not at all important

17. Was it more or less important than your academic studies?

- 1) Much more important
- 2) More important
- 3) Less important
- 4) Much less important

Why? _____

18-1. Do you feel that your experience in Ouendan has been helpful since you graduated from university?

- 1) Very helpful
- 2) Helpful
- 3) Not so helpful
- 4) Not at all helpful

18-2. If you answered (1) or (2) to the above question, in what way(s) has your experience been helpful?

19. What did you do after attending university?

- 1) Got a job in a large company
- 2) Got a job in a small company
- 3) Secured a ministry position
- 4) Secured a public service job (teacher, social worker ,etc.)
- 5) Started own business
- 6) Other _____

20. Did your employer find your membership in Ouendan to be a major criterion for acquiring this position?

- 1) Very important
- 2) Important
- 3) Not so important
- 4) Not at all important

Why? _____

- 21-1. Was a former member(s) helpful in acquiring this position?
- 1) Very helpful
 - 2) Helpful
 - 3) Not so helpful
 - 4) Not at all helpful
- 21-2. If you answered (1) or (2) to the above question, in what way(s) was this member(s) able to be helpful?
- 1) Had an important position in the company or ministry
 - 2) Knew someone who had in important position in the company or ministry
 - 3) Shared information that was useful in acquiring the position
 - 4) Other _____
22. What are you doing now?
- 1) Working at the same job
 - 2) Working at a different job
 - 3) Retired
 - 4) Other _____
23. What kind of club do think that Ouendan continues to be ?
- 1) Very traditional
 - 2) Traditional
 - 3) Not so traditional
 - 4) Not at all traditional
24. If you answered (1) or (2) for the above question, what do you think are those elements that make it a traditional Japanese club?
Please list: _____
25. If women were allowed to become members of Leader-bu, would it continue to be considered a traditional Japanese club?
- 1) Very traditional
 - 2) Traditional
 - 3) Not so traditional
 - 4) Not at all traditional
 - 5) Do not know
26. Do you think that traditional clubs are important to a university?
- 1) Very important
 - 2) Important
 - 3) Not so important

Question 26 (cont.)

- 4) Not at all important
- 5) Do not know

Why? _____

27. Do you think that clubs have an important place in modern Japanese society?

- 1) Very important
- 2) Important
- 3) Not so important
- 4) Not at all important
- 5) Do not know

Why? _____

28. What function do you think that Ouendan plays in Japanese society?

- 1) Prepares students for the social realities of company life
- 2) Allows students to enjoy university life
- 3) Teaches students good moral values
- 4) Other _____

(Scale for questions 29 - 38.)

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 **Strongly Agree**

29. Cheerleader-bu should have a closer association with Leader-bu.

30. Cheerleader-bu should have separate activities from Ouendan.

31. Men and women should **not** practice together.

32. Women should be treated differently from men in Ouendan.

33. Women possess the necessary physical strength to be Ouendan members.

34. Women possess the necessary mental strength to be Ouendan members.

35. Being a member of Ouendan is a measure of a person's masculinity.

36. It is not socially acceptable for a woman to become a member of Ouendan (the general club).

37. Discipline is primarily a masculine quality.
38. Physical suffering is something that only men should experience.
- 39-1. If a woman was captain of Ouendan, would you feel comfortable taking orders from her?
- 1) Very comfortable
 - 2) Comfortable
 - 3) Not so comfortable
 - 4) Not at all comfortable
- 39-2. If you answered (1) or (2) to the above question, why would you feel comfortable?
- _____
- 39-3. If you answered (3) or (4) to the above question, why would you feel uncomfortable?
- _____
40. Do you think that Cheerleader-bu is as important as Leader-bu?
- 1) Much more important
 - 2) More important
 - 3) Equally important
 - 4) Less important
 - 5) Much less important
- 41-1. Do you think that Cheerleading-bu is as traditionally Japanese in character as Leader-bu?
- 1) Much more Japanese
 - 2) More Japanese
 - 3) Equally Japanese
 - 4) Less Japanese
 - 5) Much less Japanese
- 41-2. If you answered (1) or (2) for the above question, why do you think that it is more Japanese?
- _____
- 41-3. If you answered (4) or (5) for the above question, why do you think that it is less Japanese?
- _____
- Please share any memories, thoughts, or opinions that you may have concerning university clubs.

アンケート

1. 性別 1) 男 2) 女
2. どうして南山大学を選びましたか。
 - 1) 評価の高い大学だから
 - 2) 第一希望の大学に入れなかったから
 - 3) 場所が便利だから
 - 4) その他 _____
3. 在学期間
 - 1) 入学年度 19 年
 - 2) 卒業年度 19 年
4. あなたが南山大学に在学していた時、幾つぐらいクラブがあったと思いますか。 _____
5. それらのクラブは男性だけのクラブでしたか。
 - 1) はい
 - 2) いいえ
 - 3) わからない
6. どうして応援団部に入りましたか。該当するものを全てを、選択して下さい。
 - 1) 応援団部の友達がいた
 - 2) 規律、基本精神があるから
 - 3) 一つのチャレンジだと思った
 - 4) その他 _____
7. 応援団部のどんな点に興味をもちましたか。該当するものを全てを、選択して下さい。
 - 1) 規律がある
 - 2) 伝統的なクラブである
 - 3) 応援団部の部員であることは、一つのチャレンジである
 - 4) その他 _____
8. 応援団部での経験は意義のあるものでしたか。
 - 1) とても意義のあるものだった
 - 2) 意義のあるものだった
 - 3) あまり意義のあるものではなかった
 - 4) 全然、意義がなかったそれはどうしてですか。 _____
- 9-1. 応援団部の時の友人と、つきあいを続けていますか。
 - 1) はい
 - 2) いいえ
- 9-2. 上記の質問に”はい”と答えた人は、次の質問に答えて下さい。
どんなつきあい方をしていますか。該当するものを全てを、選択して下さい。
 - 1) 友人として
 - 2) 同僚として
 - 3) 先輩、後輩として
 - 4) その他 _____

- 1 0. 応援団部以外の学生は、応援団部についてどう感じていたと思いますか。
- 1) とても尊敬していた
 - 2) 尊敬していた
 - 3) あまり、尊敬していなかった
 - 4) 全然、尊敬していなかった
 - 5) わからない
- 1 1-1. 他のクラブにはいることを考えましたか、また実際はいつていましたか。
- 1) はい
 - 2) いいえ
- 1 1-2. 上記の質問に“ はい” と答えた人は、入ろうと思った、また入ったクラブ名をあげて下さい。
(入ったクラブは○印)
- _____
- 1 2. いわゆる体育系のクラブ（野球部、剣道部、柔道部など）ではなく、応援団部を選んだのはどうしてですか。
- _____
- 1 3. いわゆる文化系のクラブ（E S S、オーケストラなど）ではなく、応援団部を選んだのはどうしてですか。
- _____
- 1 4-1. 応援団部をやめようと考えたことがありましたか。
- 1) 強く考えたことがある
 - 2) 考えたことがある
 - 3) あまり考えたことがない
 - 4) 全然考えたことがない
- 1 4-2. 上記の質問で、1) か 2) を選んだ人は、次の質問に答えてください。
どうしてやめようと考えましたか。
- _____
- 1 5. 大学のクラブで最も大切なことは何だと思いますか。
- _____
- 1 6. 在学中、応援団部はあなたにとって、どの程度重要でしたか。
- 1) とても重要だった
 - 2) 重要だった
 - 3) あまり重要ではなかった
 - 4) 全然重要ではなかった
- 1 7. 応援団部は、大学の勉強より大切でしたか。
- 1) ずっと大切だった
 - 2) 大切だった
 - 3) 勉強の方が大切だった
 - 4) 勉強の方がずっと大切だった
- それはどうしてですか。 _____

1 8-1. 卒業してから、応援団部での経験が役に立っていると思いますか。

- 1) とても役に立っている
- 2) 役に立っている
- 3) あまり役に立っていない
- 4) 全然役に立っていない

1 8-2. 上記の質問で1) か2) と答えた人は、次の質問に答えて下さい。
どういうふうに役に立っていますか。

1 9. 卒業してから、どうしましたか。

- 1) 大企業に就職
- 2) 中小企業に就職
- 3) 国家公務員上級職についた
- 4) 国家公務員中級職、地方公務員についた
- 5) 自分でビジネスを始めた
- 6) その他 _____

2 0. 採用の際、応援団部の部員であったことが重要な要素として考慮されましたか。

- 1) 非常に考慮された
 - 2) 考慮された
 - 3) あまり考慮されなかった
 - 4) 全然考慮されなかった
- それはどうしてですか。 _____

2 1-1. 採用の際、応援団部の先輩は手助けをしてくれましたか。

- 1) とても助けてくれた
- 2) 助けてくれた
- 3) あまり助けてくれなかった
- 4) 全くなかった

2 1-2. 上記の質問に1) か2) と答えた人は、次の質問に答えて下さい。
どういうふうに手助けをしてくれましたか。

- 1) 採用された会社で重要なポストにいた
- 2) 重要なポストにある人を知っていた
- 3) 有益な情報を教えてくれた
- 4) その他 _____

2 2. 現在、何をしていますか。

- 1) 同じところで働いている
- 2) 違うところで働いている
- 3) 退職した
- 4) その他 _____

2 3. 応援団部は、どんなクラブだと思いますか。

- 1) とても伝統的
- 2) 伝統的
- 3) あまり伝統的ではない
- 4) 全然伝統的ではない

24. 上記の質問に1)か2)と答えた人は、次の質問に答えて下さい。

応援団部を伝統的なクラブにしている要素は何だと思いますか。

(何が、応援団部を伝統的なクラブにしていると思いますか。)

25. (リーダー部に)女性の入部が許可された場合、同じように伝統的なクラブだと見なされると
思いますか。

- 1) とても伝統的なクラブだと見なされる
- 2) 伝統的なクラブと見なされる
- 3) あまり伝統的なクラブと見なされない
- 4) 全然伝統的なクラブと見なされない
- 5) 分からない

26. 伝統的なクラブは大学にとって重要だと思いますか。

- 1) とても重要だと思う
- 2) 重要だと思う
- 3) あまり重要だと思わない
- 4) 全然重要だと思わない
- 5) 分からない

それはどうしてですか。 _____

27. 現代の日本社会で、大学のクラブは重要な位置を占めていると思いますか。

- 1) とても重要な位置を占めている
- 2) 重要な位置を占めている
- 3) あまり重要な位置を占めていない
- 4) 全然占めていない

それはどうしてですか。 _____

28. 応援団部は日本の社会において、どんな役割を果たしていると思いますか。

- 1) 実社会への準備の場
- 2) 大学生活をエンジョイするためのもの
- 3) 学生に道徳的価値観を教えるための場
- 4) その他 _____

以下の質問(29~38)には、1から5で選択して下さい。

	イエ					バイ				
29. チアリーダー部は応援団部(リーダー部)と一緒に活動すべきだ。	1	2	3	4	5					
30. チアリーダー部は応援団部(リーダー部)と別々に活動すべきだ。	1	2	3	4	5					
31. 男性と女性と一緒に練習するべきでない。	1	2	3	4	5					
32. 応援団部において、女性は男性と別の待遇を受けるべきだ。	1	2	3	4	5					
33. 女性は応援団部(リーダー部)たる体力を備えている。	1	2	3	4	5					
34. 女性は応援団部(リーダー部)たる精神力を備えている。	1	2	3	4	5					
35. 応援団の部員であることは、男らしさを示す一つの尺度となる。		1	2	3	4	5				
36. 女性が応援団部(リーダー部)の一員になることは、社会的に受け入れられない。		1	2	3	4	5				
37. 規律(鍛練)は主として男性の特質だ。	1	2	3	4	5					
38. 肉体的鍛練における苦痛は男性だけが経験すべきものだ。	1	2	3	4	5					

3 9-1. もし女性が応援団部の部長だったら、あなたは女性の部長から命令を受けることに抵抗はありますか。

- 1) 全然抵抗はない
- 2) 抵抗はない
- 3) 少し抵抗がある
- 4) とても抵抗がある

3 9-2. 上記の質問に、1) か 2) と答えた人は、次の質問に答えて下さい。
それはどうしてですか。

3 9-3. 上記に質問に、3) か 4) と答えた人は、次の質問に答えて下さい。
それはどうしてですか。

4 0. チアリーダー部は応援団部（リーダー部）と同じくらい重要だと思いますか。

- 1) チアリーダー部の方がずっと重要だ
- 2) チアリーダー部の方が重要だ
- 3) どちらも同じくらい重要だ
- 4) チアリーダー部はあまり重要ではない
- 5) チアリーダー部は全然重要ではない

4 1-1. チアリーダー部は応援団部（リーダー部）と同様、日本古来の武道精神（体育会系の厳しさ）を持ちあわせていると思いますか。

- 1) チアリーダー部の方がずっときびしい
- 2) チアリーダー部の方がきびしい
- 3) 同じくらいきびしい
- 4) 応援団部の方がきびしい
- 5) 応援団部の方がずっときびしい

4 1-2. 上記の質問に 1) か 2) と答えた人は、どうしてチアリーダー部の方がより体育会系の厳しさをもっていると思いますか。

4 1-3. 上記の質問に 4) か 5) と答えた人は、どうして応援団部の方がより体育会系の厳しさをもっていると思いますか。

以 上

その他クラブについての思い出、考え、気付いた点、意見等をお聞かせ下さい。
ご協力、誠に有難うございました。

Appendix 4A

Interview Questions

1. Are you employed at this time?
If so, what kind of company do you work for?
If not, how do you spend your days?
2. If you were able to live over your time at university again, would you join Ouendan (The Cheering Club)?
Why or why not?
3. Would you please describe a typical week in Ouendan when you were a member?
-Hours of practice?
-Difficulty of practices?
-Time for school work?
4. In what ways has your experience in Ouendan been helpful in your life?
5. Would you recommend Ouendan to present freshmen? For what reasons would you recommend/not recommend Ouendan?
6. Was Ouendan popular when you were a member? Why do you think so?
7. Do you consider your time as a member of Ouendan to have been a successful/rewarding experience? Why?
Do you think that other members also felt this way?

(The following seven (7) questions are based upon some results of the survey that you answered in June.)

According to the survey:

8. A majority of men stated that they would be in favor of practicing with women. Does this surprise you? Why?
9. A majority of men believe that their association with Ouendan is a measure of their masculinity. Why do think that this is so? How is it a measure of masculinity?
10. A majority of both men and women believe that it is socially acceptable for a woman to become a member of

Question 10 (cont.)

Ouendan. If this is so, then why do you think that the two clubs have not become closer? Why do you think that they should/should not remain separate?

11. More women seemed to enjoy their experiences as part of Cheerleader-bu than men did as part of Leader-bu. Why do you think that this is so? Do you think that the atmosphere within each club is/was different? How are/were they different?
 12. Almost 2/3 of the men stated that they would feel uncomfortable taking orders from a woman if one were to become captain of Ouendan. Why do you think that this is so?
 13. A majority of former Ouendan members who began university in the 1980's expressed the viewpoint that women are very different from men and should be treated differently. Why do you think that this is so?
 14. Most of the men stated that physical suffering is something that is not directly associated with Ouendan. Which do you feel subjects its members to a higher degree of physical punishment, Leader-bu or Cheerleader-bu? Why?
15. What behaviors that are associated with Leader-bu members, if any, do you consider to be inappropriate for women? Why do you consider them to be inappropriate?
 16. If you could be born again as member of the opposite sex in Japan, would you do so? Why or why not?
 17. In what contexts would you feel comfortable being a member of the opposite sex in Japan?
 - At work?
 - At home?
 - At school?
 - In a club environment?
 18. In Japan, most men have full-time jobs and provide financial support for their families, while most women assume the role of housewife and mother. Why do you think that this is so?
Do you believe that this situation should be changed? If so, how?

19. Do you believe that the traditional roles for men and women in Japan are an integral part of Ouendan? Why?
20. Do you believe that there are any benefits in being a member of the opposite sex in Japan? As a member of a club? In a company?
21. What do you consider to be the best, and worst, thing(s) about being a man/woman in Japan?

Interview Questions

- 1 あなたの現在の状況（お仕事など）は、何ですか。
- 2 もし、また大学生活を送るとすれば、前と同様、応援団／チアリーダー部に入りますか。
それは、何故ですか。
- 3 あなたが応援団／チアリーダー部で過ごした頃の典型的な一週間を、話して下さい。
--練習時間について
--練習の様子（厳しさ）
--勉強時間のとり方 などを含めて
- 4 どのような点で、今のあなたの生活において、応援団／チアリーダー部の経験がいかされていますか。
- 5 あなたは、新入生に応援団／チアリーダー部に入ることを、推薦しますか。
それは、何故ですか。
- 6 あなたが、メンバーだった頃、応援団／チアリーダー部は人気のあるクラブでしたか。
それは、何故だと思えますか。
- 7 メンバーとして過ごした時間は、実りのある／価値のあるものであったと考えられますか。
それは、何故ですか。
また、他のメンバーも同じように感じていたと思えますか。

次の7つの質問は、6月に行ったアンケート調査の結果を元にして作成したものです。

調査によれば、

- 8 大多数のOB（男性部員）は、女性と一緒に練習をすることに反対はしないと答えています。
この結果は、どうしてだと思えますか。
- 9 大多数のOBが、応援団に所属することは、男らしさの一つの尺度であると思われています。
これは、どうしてだと思えますか。
また、応援団において男らしさの尺度として、どのようなものがあげられますか。
（例 服装、練習の厳しさなど）
- 10 OB（男性部員）、OG（女性部員）の大多数は、女性が応援団の一員になることは、社会的に受け入れられると考えています。
もし、受け入れられるのなら、現実に応援団、チアリーダー部と一緒にならないのは何故だと思えますか。
性差による区別は、されるままであるべきだと思えますか。

- 1 1 応援団の一員としての男性より、チアリーダー部の一員としての多くの女性が、自分の経験を楽しんでいただと見られます。
これは、どうしてだと思ひますか。
それぞれのクラブ内での雰囲気は、違っていたと思ひますか。
それは、どのように違っていましたか。
- 1 2 約3分の2のOBが、もし女性が応援団の団長であったならその女性の命令を受けるのは、あまり好ましくないと答えています。
この結果は、どうしてだと思ひますか。
- 1 3 1980年代に入学した初期のOB、OGの大多数が、女性と男性には大きな違いがあり、女性は男性とは違った風に扱われるべきだという視点にたっています。
これについては、どのように考えますか。
- 1 4 大多数のOBが、肉体的苦痛は、応援団に特有のものではないと答えています。応援団とチアリーダー部のどちらが、より肉体的苦痛を受けなければならないと思ひますか。
それは、何故ですか。
- 1 5 応援団の中にあるどのような行動、様式が、女性にとっては不適当だと思ひますか。
また、それはどうして不適当だと思ひますか。
- 1 6 もし、あなたが日本において、逆の性に再び生まれ変われるとすれば、そうしますか。
それは、どうしてですか。
- 1 7 どのような点が、日本において逆の性になったとき、快適であると考えられますか。
- 1 8 日本では、ほとんどの男性がフルタイム（パートタイムではない）の仕事を持ち、家族を経済的に支え、一方ほとんどの女性は、妻として母としてその役割を果たしています。
これは、どうしてだと思ひますか。
この状況は、変えられるべきだと考えますか。
もしそうであるとすれば、どのようにですか。
- 1 9 日本における男性、女性としての伝統的な役割分担は、応援団、チアリーダー部においてもそのまま反映されていると思ひますか。
- 2 0 日本において、逆の性になった時のメリットはあると思ひますか。
--大学のクラブの一員として
--企業内で
- 2 1 日本において、男であること、女であることの一番の良い点は何であると思ひますか。