

## ***Bukatsudō: The Educational Role of Japanese School Clubs***

Peter Cave  
Lecturer in Japanese Studies  
School of Arts, Languages, and Cultures  
University of Manchester  
peter.cave@manchester.ac.uk

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How is order created in Japan? Where do Japanese people's fundamental understandings of the self and its relations with others come from? And what are the sources of Japanese habits of learning? Answers to these questions have often been sought, in part, through the study of Japanese education – a reasonable search, since the long years most contemporary Japanese spent in school as children can be expected to exercise a continuing influence on their habits of mind, feeling and behavior as adults.

Research has yielded rich understanding of many areas of Japanese education and their effects. It has been convincingly argued that the patterns of order and the understandings of self promoted in the schooling system are often detected elsewhere in Japanese society.<sup>1</sup> Especially singled out have been the stress on routines and participation, and the promotion of mutual attachment and shared responsibility within the group. Yet the analysis seems more persuasive when applied to preschool and elementary education than to secondary schooling, where academic study is seen as increasingly individuated, despite the persistence of efforts to involve students in non-academic group activities. The kind of learning that takes place through activity and interpersonal involvement, such as might be found in apprenticeships, sport, or arts and crafts, is thought to be largely abandoned to the world outside the secondary school. The picture given by research posits an educational trajectory in which children first learn to be 'part of the group', but are then gradually expected to become disciplined individuals largely working in cognitive isolation.<sup>2</sup> But does this really give an adequate account of secondary schooling and its effects?

This paper argues that it does not, for it underestimates the significance of a major feature of Japanese secondary education – extra-curricular clubs, or bukatsudō, which are crucial to order, selfhood, and learning. Bukatsudō's vital contribution to the creation of order comes about through combining an appeal to individual enthusiasm and agency, opportunities for intense relationships, and demands for disciplined commitment. Here also we find the continued development of a sense of self as forged in relationship with others, as well as through individual choice and sustained effort. Moreover, the learning that goes on in bukatsudō follows a model that is based on observation and activity, quite different from the model of the secondary classroom. The important parallels with order, selfhood and learning in the world of Japanese adults suggest the importance of bukatsudō in helping to form ways of understanding and acting.

Bukatsudō demand enormous time, energy, and commitment from children, as well as teachers – a commitment that is not mandated by Japan's Ministry of Education.<sup>3</sup> Their continuation over decades therefore requires explanation, as do the consequences for students and teachers. I will argue that bukatsudō have persisted because of their protean flexibility as activities where many different educational needs can find simultaneous answers, and where diverse and even conflicting educational ideals can be accommodated. On the one hand, clubs help to socialize children into the hierarchical, self-disciplined behavior demanded by adult life. They are one of the main social institutions to continue to be a vehicle for seishin kyōiku, that “education of the spirit” which stresses perseverance through hardship as a path to maturity<sup>4</sup> - a set of ideas and practices of learning and human development that date to the Meiji period or before. Yet clubs can also promote student choice and freedom, allowing students with abilities otherwise little esteemed at school to find themselves valued. The bukatsudō phenomenon suggests that Japanese education is less centrally determined than is sometimes thought, and also shows the diversity of Japanese teachers' educational approaches and ideals. The attempt to maintain school order through willing participation, physically enacted ideals, and ritual, echoes other studies of order in Japan. Finally, given the longevity of bukatsudō, the recent decline in students' club participation may indicate significant shifts in values and behavior within Japanese society.

Once the official school day ends around half-past three to four p.m., students head for bukatsudō. Soon the playing field echoes to the yells of the soccer club, or the metallic ring of baseball on bat, while overhead wafts the sound of trumpets, horns and woodwind from the orchestra in the music room. In the summer, the swimming pool is full of sunburned figures completing length after length; on rainy days, the school corridors are full of students jogging, sprinting, doing push-ups, hopping up the stairs, or doing other training exercises. In junior high sports clubs, practice generally continues until dusk, which in summer means 6.45 p.m. High school clubs may go on still later. Moreover, sports clubs commonly practice six or seven days a week, year-round, and without any respite for school vacations, during which three hours' practice a day is normal.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes days off are only granted for the traditional New Year and summer O-Bon holidays.

Teachers and students alike see club activities as one of the most important parts of school life. Yet little has been written on bukatsudō in English, despite a few perceptive pages in studies by Fukuzawa and LeTendre,<sup>6</sup> and by Rohlen, who called

club activities “the most pleasant and encouraging part of the Japanese school day”.<sup>7</sup> LeTendre’s earlier discussion of clubs concentrates on their role in student guidance (seito shidō) and as an arena in which hierarchy and communal responsibility are learned.<sup>8</sup> This study aims to analyze the role of bukatsudō within Japanese education more comprehensively, first through considering their history, and then by examining contemporary club activities in six Kansai schools.

### Sport, spirit, and character: Tokugawa and Meiji

To understand bukatsudō today, it is important to understand their history, and the history of sport in Japan, which was limited before 1868.<sup>9</sup> The dominant pre-Meiji tradition was that of the martial arts, whose schools stressed a purified mind. About 1600 the text of the Hozoin school of lancemanship declared:

The Way is first of all about one’s own defects;  
After that, you can defeat others.

In the knightly arts, if a man’s will is right  
There is no doubt of his ultimate victory.

In a contest, first control your own mind;  
Only after that think about technique.<sup>10</sup>

Militarized character training pervaded education in the late Edo period, with domain schools and the proliferating private schools (shijuku) teaching the martial arts.<sup>11</sup> This tradition strongly influenced the Meiji reception of Western sports, which tended to be seen as not only for pleasure, but also for some more serious purpose, such as spiritual training or social bonding. Mori Arinori, the most influential Education Minister of the period, wrote in a letter of 1882:

If the body is strong, the spirit will advance of its own accord without flagging. Physical training is an indispensable element for character training.<sup>12</sup>

Mori himself had experienced such combined physical and character training as a member of one of the Satsuma Gōjū, bands which Satsuma samurai boys entered at the age of five or six and finally left at twenty-five or twenty-six. Gōjū members practiced fencing from four to six p.m. every day; they “climbed mountains, swam rivers, and vaulted ditches with imaginary invaders in mind ... as a test of will and stamina”.<sup>13</sup> Members spent most of their days with each other and as they got older, less and less with their family. Strict observance of hierarchy between old and young did not prevent an atmosphere of close comradeship. Such an intense environment must have had a formidable effect in instilling social habits and moral attitudes. The Gōjū had helped to shape not only Mori but also Orita Hikoichi, who in 1880 became principal of the Osaka Middle School and introduced a compulsory program of calisthenics, believing that organised physical activity was good for students’ morals.<sup>14</sup> However, Orita may also have been influenced by witnessing the growth of athletics at Princeton University, where he had studied. In the United States, Britain, and elsewhere, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a time when athletics flourished in education because they were seen as building moral character and good physique, and thus considered a vital tool in what contemporaries saw as the Darwinian competition between nations.<sup>15</sup> J.A.Mangan and others have also strongly argued that school sports and militarism were integrally linked at this time, the playing field ‘a place of preparation’ for the battlefield.<sup>16</sup> Mori seems to have been

strongly influenced by Social Darwinist ideas.<sup>17</sup> Both native and Western sources of influence upon the Japanese educators of the period thus stressed moral regeneration through physical discipline and hardship, and linked this to military ends.

### Clubs in the higher schools

In 1886 Japanese secondary education was divided into two parts, known after 1894 as middle schools and higher schools. The higher schools were deliberately elitist, meant to “cultivate ... men worthy of directing the thoughts of the masses”, in the words of Mori.<sup>18</sup> They were located in secluded spots far from urban “corruption”; Osaka Middle School, for instance, became the Third Higher School (Sankō) and was removed from Osaka to the outskirts of Kyoto at headmaster Orita’s insistence. The higher schools were meant to be self-contained communities for shaping young men to be the future leaders of society. It was in these institutions that club activities took off.

Sports such as baseball, athletics, and boat racing had been introduced to Japan in the 1870s, and college teams such as Aoyama Gakuen and Keiō Gijuku were playing by the late 1880s.<sup>19</sup> However, these clubs were poorly organized and unintegrated into school life. The clubs formed at the higher schools were much more serious. By 1890, nine clubs had been formed at First Higher (Ichikō) in Tokyo, their purpose proclaimed as “to encourage various arts of bun and bu”.<sup>20</sup> This alluded to samurai education’s balance between letters and military arts. For the early headmasters of the higher schools, their students bore an elite social function similar to that of Tokugawa samurai,<sup>21</sup> and clubs were no doubt one way of cultivating a desirably strong character in this new elite. The students themselves welcomed their elite status and responsibilities, and took to the new clubs and their bushidō spirit with zeal. The founding members of the Ichikō kendo club explained:

Ichikō’s school spirit honours diligence, thrift, and the martial ethos; our club, with its mottoes of righteousness, embodies the essence of this spirit.... By cultivating simplicity and manliness, we can oppose the frivolity of the vulgar world and lead the nation’s youth.<sup>22</sup>

More than enjoyment, sporting excellence, or even the glory of victory, it was thus spiritual and moral purification that were stressed as the clubs’ aims. Sport soon became a “test of endurance” in which club members were “expected to follow a Spartan routine of early morning alarms, cold baths, marginal nutrition, and hours upon hours of uninterrupted practice”.<sup>23</sup> The results on the field of play were spectacular. The 1890-1904 period became known as the “Ichikō Era” of baseball,<sup>24</sup> as the Ichikō baseball team dominated the diamond and delivered a series of trouncings to the Americans of the Yokohama Athletic Club which made the front pages of national newspapers. Thus bukatsudō became not only a means for institutionalizing elite samurai values within education, but also a way of expressing and strengthening national feeling.

### The spread of bukatsudō

The higher schools were a prestigious model for schools nationwide, and actively fostered bukatsudō at nearby middle schools. In 1896, for example, the students of Yokohama Commercial School cheered Ichikō in their victorious encounter with a U.S. Navy team, afterwards throwing a celebratory party for the Ichikō team. It is

said that the Ichikō captain presented the middle school with a bat and ball – and so the Yokohama Commercial baseball club was founded.<sup>25</sup> Subsequently an Ichikō player coached the Yokohama Commercial team. Similarly, a member of the Sankō baseball club was the first coach of the baseball club at Zeze Middle School in Ōtsu.<sup>26</sup> The higher school approach to extra-curricular club sports was thus transmitted down the educational system.

Members of staff often encouraged clubs, but with few alternative leisure facilities, student enthusiasm seems to have been strong anyway. The number of clubs expanded. At Shiga Commercial School, the athletics club founded in 1892 was followed by a boat club the next year, a baseball club in 1898, a tennis club in 1901, and in 1903 a kendo club.<sup>27</sup>

The pattern of club activities established in late Meiji determined their form until the Asia-Pacific War, and to a large extent even thereafter. Long hours of ferocious practice were the rule. In the clubs' ideology, however, such hardships were not to be resented, but accepted and even celebrated as part of a purifying rite of endurance which would strengthen body and spirit and forge deep bonds of fellowship between those who underwent them. On occasion this ideology found particularly flamboyant expression, as in this 1921 account of early morning winter practice (kangeiko) in the Hachiman Commercial kendo club:

Kangeiko – even to say it makes the arm throb and noble warm blood seethe uncontrollably in the breast. Even we are not insensible, it is not that we do not feel the skin-piercing cold, but the martial spirit that has been nurtured within us is running over, and our one pride is that we exceed all others in overflowing vitality. On January 22<sup>nd</sup> an unforgettably cutting cold wind was blowing strongly.... At 4.30 a whistle broke the loneliness of the cold night, and kicking aside our sheets we got ready and crammed into the dōjō.... After a brief time chatting and laughing around the fire, roll was called and soon fire was opened. In white headbands (hachimaki) and black hakama, what a heroic appearance! Forgetting the intense cold, striking each other and shouting war-cries, sweat poured down profusely. Truly we should call this manhood.<sup>28</sup>

Age hierarchies were usually strict, and many clubs seem to have been wholly run by the older students (sempai), with a nominal supervisor who never attended. For sempai to strike kōhai (younger students) was nothing uncommon, and worse kinds of physical terrorism (shigoki) were, it appears, not infrequent. One former member of the Hachiman Commercial baseball club of the early 1930s recalled the regular beatings that used to be dealt out on Saturday afternoons as “worse than anything I experienced in the army”, while another wrote that

The first years looked at the fifth years more as bosses than older brothers.... The fifth years used to line up on both sides of the hall, and everyone from the first year to the fourth year had to pass between them in order one by one. Usually there was someone who'd done something wrong and was pulled out of the line and given a hazing.<sup>29</sup>

In many cases, the club appears to have been a ritual community, set apart from the mundane world around it by its own internal rules and values. According to one former member of the Yokohama Commercial baseball club,

The [baseball] ground was a place of sanctity (shinsei na basho), a dōjō. So we were getting a thoroughgoing education on that, to

the extent of being told that if there were pebbles on it we had to pick them up, when a student who wasn't a club member happened to be walking across the outfield in clogs. The coach ran across, grabbed his neck and struck him on the cheek.... We were taught that the ground was a place of sanctity, a place of moral training (shūyō).<sup>30</sup>

Although I have found no evidence that clubs were explicitly used for the inculcation of ultra-nationalism, it is easy to see how the values of hierarchy, self-sacrifice, martial emulation, and acceptance of physical punishment would have contributed to the socialization of imperial subjects ready to live, kill, and die for the Emperor and the Japanese kokutai. The values and behavior patterns fostered in clubs have thus to be seen in the context of the entire content of schooling in early Showa, a period when textbooks<sup>31</sup> and ceremonies<sup>32</sup> fostered patriotic loyalty to the Emperor and nation, and when soldiers were posted in middle schools to teach military drill.<sup>33</sup> The link between sport and military values and preparedness had, indeed, been present from the inception of bukatsudō, as it had been present in somewhat different ways in the promotion of school sports and gymnastics over the period in Europe and North America.

Club activities lapsed during the Pacific War, but were soon revived thereafter by teachers, old boys, or students who had been members before the clubs' suspension,<sup>34</sup> and this helps to explain the apparent continuity between pre-war and post-war club activities. The running of clubs was no doubt also affected by the general liberalization of post-war secondary education and mores. Moral purpose remained important, as in the official aims of the Shiga Prefectural High School Baseball Federation between 1946 and 1975:

To develop healthy (kenzen) student baseball and foster sportsmanship, physical and mental discipline (shinshin no tanren), and proper comportment (hin'i).<sup>35</sup>

Here the combination of the traditional aim of shinshin no tanren<sup>36</sup> and the katakana word supōtsumanshippu seems to blend 'Japanese' and 'Western' ideas. At Hikone Higashi High, the range of cultural club activities seems to have broadened post-war;<sup>37</sup> besides the enduring newspaper club and (from 1965) brass band, there were also shorter-lived clubs and circles for shorthand, singing, folk dance, and discrimination studies.<sup>38</sup> In the mid-1970s, Cummings noted that junior high clubs in Kyoto promoted 'fellowship' and 'personal development', while 'de-emphasiz[ing] interschool competition',<sup>39</sup> and that as a result, most students took part in daily club activities. This suggests a liberal atmosphere in tune with Kyoto's left-wing leanings.<sup>40</sup> Yet high school histories also make clear that fierce competitiveness and intense practice continued to characterize many sports clubs. Rohlen's research in the Kobe high schools of the mid-1970s<sup>41</sup> discovered a mixture of liberal individualism and disciplined team spirit that I found continued to characterize bukatsudō in the 1990s.

### Bukatsudō in contemporary Japan: methods and research sites

My interest in bukatsudō began while teaching English at one of the high schools in this study, Shōyama Commercial, between 1987 and 1990, including six months practicing with the kendo club. Formal research began in 1992. I visited two junior high schools and four high schools<sup>42</sup> in a prefecture in the Kansai region. Each junior high school was visited three times and each high school from three to six times, a

total of 20 visits in all. At the junior high schools, a total of three sports clubs and two culture clubs were observed from start to finish and detailed fieldnotes taken. At the high schools a total of six sports clubs and three culture clubs were observed in the same way. Many other clubs were observed more briefly. At the junior high schools, five teachers who acted as the main supervisor for a club (in most cases one observed) were interviewed, as were 13 students, all from the clubs observed. At the high schools a total of 18 teachers and 33 students were interviewed. A questionnaire survey of 47 high school and 31 junior high supervisors was also carried out. Documents such as school brochures (gakkō yōron) and sometimes club histories, training manuals, or yearbooks produced by the clubs themselves were examined.

In 1996-97 I returned to one of the junior high schools, Tachibana,<sup>43</sup> to spend a year's fieldwork researching junior high education more broadly. During the 1996 spring term I frequently took part in practices of the track and field club (rikujōbu), usually from start to finish. During the course of the year I also watched entire training sessions of the soccer, baseball, badminton, and volleyball clubs, as well as parts of training sessions of these and other clubs more or less daily. I traveled to tournaments with the track and field, soccer, swimming, volleyball, baseball, and kendo clubs, sometimes staying the whole day. At the end of the school year I interviewed 24 third year students about school life, including clubs. During the year I also talked much to teachers about clubs. In addition, I was employed to teach the English Club, which met once a week. In June 1998 I made another visit to Tachibana and interviewed a further 21 third year students. In December 1998 and January 1999 I revisited the four high schools for one day or half a day each, watching one or more clubs at each, and talking to teachers and students, the purpose being to gauge the extent of change since 1992. Finally, in June 2000 I interviewed 22 first year students of the Education Faculty at Chūō University, Tokyo, about their experiences of bukatsudō. The following account should be understood to refer to data gathered in 1992 unless otherwise stated.

The two junior high schools, Shōyama Junior High and Tachibana, were both situated in cities which retained a small-town, rural atmosphere despite their populations of 50,000-100,000. Each had about 1000 students in 1992. Shōyama Junior High was considered a difficult school with many disruptive students. Tachibana had relatively few discipline problems. Its clubs were strong performers at the prefectural level, though only one or two were strong enough to compete at a regional or national level.

The four high schools were chosen to be representative of different types of high school.<sup>44</sup> Three were in the same small city as Shōyama Junior High. Shōyama High was a large regular (futsūka) high school with 1400 students, 800 girls and 600 boys. Its students were slightly above the academic average; 20% went on to four-year universities, and another 50% to junior colleges or technical colleges (senmon gakkō). Founded in the 1950s, it had few discipline problems.

The other two high schools in the city were both vocational. Shōyama Commercial High had been founded in the Meiji period. The prestige that comes with age in Japan, together with the fact that many of its alumni were people of note in the prefecture or even nationally, gave it the power as well as a certain obligation to insist upon stricter and more traditional standards of behavior than many other schools. This leaning was also apparent in the long hours and strict senior-junior (sempai-kōhai) relationships of

many of its clubs. Its students were of average academic ability; about 20% went on to further or higher education, the other 80% getting jobs, mostly locally. It had 800 students, 700 girls and 100 boys.

Shōyama Technical High had been founded in 1961 and had 950 students, over 900 being boys. Its students were below average academically, but about 20% went on to further or higher education. Some discipline problems were evident, as well as many unauthorised adjustments to the school uniform.

The fourth high school, Minabe, was in the prefectural capital. It also dated from the Meiji period and was the most academically prestigious school in the prefecture. It had 1500 students, 900 boys and 600 girls.

#### Organization and finance of bukatsudō

The organization of bukatsudō was similar at all six schools. Clubs were divided into sports clubs (undō-bu) and culture clubs (bunka-bu). One or more teachers were assigned to each club as a supervisor (komon). Aside from specialists such as physical education or art teachers, most supervisors had no professional training as coaches of the activities they were supervising. According to questionnaire returns from 78 supervisors, about half (39) had been members, at school and/or university, of the same club as they were supervising, while 31 had no experience of the activity at all. Without professional training, many supervisors are therefore drawing on memories of their own days as a club member to guide them in running their clubs. This helps to explain the considerable continuity in the way bukatsudō have functioned over the years. A supervisor without such experience does not necessarily mean a break in this continuity, however, due to the substantial role of senior students (sempai) in running the club, to be discussed later. Some clubs received extra coaching from a professional coach or from enthusiastic alumni, usually on Saturdays or Sundays.

The high school clubs were financed entirely from the budget of the school's student council (seitokai),<sup>45</sup> to which all students had to pay an equal annual contribution, whether they were club members or not. At Shōyama High in 1992, for example, every student paid ¥1000 upon entering the school, plus ¥6000 every year. Of the resulting student council budget of ¥10 million, one-third (¥3,300,000) financed the clubs, the rest being used for school events and general student council expenses. I was told that a similar system operated at every high school in the prefecture, although exact amounts paid by students varied. Money was allocated to clubs each spring, allocation depending on number of members, level of activity, success in competitions, need for new equipment, and, not least, how much was received the previous year. Sports clubs generally had more members and required more equipment than culture clubs, however, and consequently almost always received at least twice as much money.

At Tachibana Junior High in 1996, most of the money for clubs came from the City Board of Education, with some raised from parents. The total budget came to ¥1,400,000 in 1996 – much less than was available at Shōyama High in 1992, even allowing for the different sizes of the schools. As a result, supervisors had to ask parents of club members to cover some expenses.

A wide range of clubs was available to students. At Tachibana, there were 10 sports clubs and 8 culture clubs; at Shōyama Commercial, 14 sports clubs and 16 culture clubs; and at Minabe, 18 sports clubs and 23 culture clubs. Sports clubs were far more popular than culture clubs in all schools except Shōyama Commercial. At Tachibana, 74% of students were enrolled in sports clubs and only 26% in culture clubs;<sup>46</sup> at Shōyama High, 48% were in sports clubs and 28% in culture clubs; and at Minabe, the figures were 56% and 22%. Although girls were distributed fairly equally between sports and culture clubs, boys were overwhelmingly found in the sports clubs. Thus at Shōyama Commercial, 85% of whose students were girls, proportions were more even, 53% of students being enrolled in culture clubs against 47% in sports clubs. One culture club supervisor complained that understanding of the importance of cultural activities remained low in schools. The most popular culture clubs were usually the music clubs – generally in the form of a brass and woodwind orchestra – and, when they existed, clubs such as the computer club and word-processing club at Shōyama Commercial, which provided a practical work-related skill. The drama and art clubs usually had fewer members, and a lower profile within the school than the sports clubs.

#### Teachers' views of bukatsudō

Bukatsudō's multi-functionality is indicated by the diverse views that teachers held of clubs and their purposes. Three broad discourses could be discerned, one drawing heavily on seishin kyōiku ideas, the second emphasizing the broader socializing role of the club, and the third more influenced by liberal beliefs about individualism and freedom.

The roots of the first view go back to the Meiji clubs. This sees the club as a group where the student learns comradeship, commitment to others, discipline, good manners, perseverance and guts, undergoing a demanding regimen but emerging from it with strengthened personal qualities, a deeper sense of responsibility, and greater consideration for and sensitivity to others. Students enter voluntarily and are expected to give full commitment. Shared hardship and achievement make members keenly aware of what they owe to others' support. "They encourage one another as they go through hard (tsurai) experiences", said one teacher. Many teachers named nakama-zukuri (forging a group with a sense of solidarity) as one purpose of bukatsudō. This view of the club as an arena for social and moral education was well expressed by the volleyball supervisor at Shōyama Commercial:

In the end the purpose of club activities at school is the disciplining of body and mind (shinshin no tanren). "Severe on yourself, gentle to others" (jibun ni kibishiku, hito niwa yasashiku), to use the expression. Our volleyball club has a banner with "severe attitude, warm heart" (kibishii shisei, atataakai kokoro) on it. That's saying, you have to be severe on yourself, but towards others you've got to have empathetic feelings (omoiyaru kokoro). The volleyball club is a kind of microcosmic society, and within that society there is a set of rules. Unless everyone keeps those rules, everything breaks down. So before they graduate I'd like them to learn not to be selfish and put themselves first, and so on.

A second discourse (often but not necessarily linked to the first) emphasized the role that clubs play in social reproduction, and in training for the world of work. Indeed, one teacher at Shōyama Commercial compared the club to a miniature company where students could learn the manners (reigi sahō) they would need later, working in offices, shops, and factories. Several teachers said that one function of clubs was to teach “basic human things”, such as use of language (kotobazukai), cleaning, clearing up, making tea, or using chopsticks. The club is thus seen as a socializing agency, offering many more opportunities than the classroom for students to learn basic social skills through practical experience.

Other teachers saw the value of bukatsudō in the freedom that they offer students to choose to participate in something they like doing, along with others who have the same enthusiasm. Such teachers stressed the status of clubs as jishu katsudō (voluntary activities), and contrasted them with lessons, which are compulsory, and where the curriculum offers little choice. In clubs, students can make friendships which may be deeper or at least different from those with their classmates,<sup>47</sup> since they are based on common interests and since students often spend longer with their clubmates. In short, clubs are good because they offer chances for personal enrichment. Teachers who held this view sometimes saw traditionally-run clubs as fostering conformism and authoritarianism, crushing the spirit in the name of discipline and denying individuality and experimentation in the name of hierarchy and club solidarity.

While these differences of opinion were real, they were not necessarily held in a pure form. Many teachers were eclectics who saw some merit in all of them. There was a broad-based belief that club activities were a valuable part of school life, especially as a counterweight to the academic curriculum. The Tokugawa ideal of bunbu has a modern but demilitarized successor in the ideal of ryōritsu, to take a full part in both academic learning and club activities. This was taken seriously even at highly academic schools like Minabe, where 80% of students were attending clubs in 1992 despite study pressures. Rohlen too noted that club attendance at exam-oriented Nada was no different from that at other Kobe high schools.<sup>48</sup> Bukatsudō were seen as a respite from academic pressure. Whatever ambiguities teachers might feel about clubs, they were at least places where students could interrelate with other students, and with teachers, free from concerns about grades. In the words of the kendo supervisor at Shōyama High:

Sometimes there may be a tendency to be too concerned with marks ... bukatsudō are what supplements that. Of course, within a club you have winning and losing, but that's not the main thing. ... In a high school, you have two things which carry the most weight, bukatsudō and of course study, and it's from these that you get high school education. If things lean too much to either, I'm not sure that all you get isn't people who in human terms are misshapen.

The ryōritsu ideal is part of the general belief in Japan that schools are responsible not only for the intellectual-cognitive development of students, but also for their social and moral development, teaching the basic qualities and habits that society expects of its members in daily life. As scholars have documented, the concern to educate children in human relationships (ningen kankei) and social skills (shakaisei) is one that runs through Japanese education from preschool to high school. Preschools emphasize learning to participate in “group life” (shūdan seikatsu) rather than

academics.<sup>49</sup> Primary and junior high schools also devote much time to non-academic activities designed to foster shakaisei.<sup>50</sup> However, academic lessons at secondary level allow much less student initiative and student-teacher interaction than at primary level,<sup>51</sup> and this increases the significance of clubs in providing an alternative, less constrained space that allows more scope for student activity and informal interaction between teachers and students, as well as between students themselves. In this sense, clubs can be seen as an institutional response, at the secondary level, to concerns about social, moral and personal education that persist through different stages of the Japanese education system. As individual teachers have considerable autonomy about how they run their clubs, differing views about the purpose, content, and style of club activities can largely be accommodated by the flexibility of the institution.

### Participation, order and choice

Clubs play multiple and varying roles within even a single school. Although teachers usually refer to them as jishu katsudō (voluntary activities), the reality is more complex. Except for Minabe, where to join a club was a genuinely voluntary decision, all the schools I visited in 1992 operated a zennin sankā (participation by all) club system, whereby all students had to join a club for at least their first year. This system was less coercive in practice than it might sound, since in every school there were some clubs whose activities were desultory and where attendance was not enforced. These clubs seemed to function as a safety valve to relieve pressure within the system, and large numbers of their nominal members (known as yūrei-buin, or “ghost members”) used to leave school immediately classes and cleaning duties ended for the day. It was therefore relatively easy to avoid the club attendance that was nominally required.

The requirement that all first year students should join a club seems to date from the introduction of curricular club activities at the start of the 1970s.<sup>52</sup> However, schools do change their policies. When I revisited Tachibana in 1996, joining a club had become completely voluntary. Most students joined clubs nonetheless, but a significant minority did not. Teachers told me that four years before, the school policy had been to have as many students as possible enter clubs, and then to use clubs to channel students’ energies so that they developed in what teachers considered productive and healthy ways (bukatsu de seito o hipparu). They adduced several reasons for the shift; it respected students’ individuality (kosei), while the increase in the city’s leisure facilities meant that students didn’t just have time on their hands if they didn’t go to bukatsudō. The voluntary policy was also easier for teachers in some ways; parents complained less, and coaching became easier with genuinely motivated students. Tachibana’s change of policy can be interpreted as a response to social change and to government rhetoric about encouraging individuality and initiative among students,<sup>53</sup> although having gone several years without serious student disruption might also have been influential. Teachers emphasized that policies varied with individual schools and their situations. Bukatsudō’s role within a school can thus not only vary, but can shift over time.

Why should schools have a compulsory participation policy at all? First, such a policy reflects the broad authority of the school as a socializing agent and a provider of youth facilities in Japan.<sup>54</sup> Japanese schools assign to themselves responsibilities for the guidance of their students outside as well as inside school.<sup>55</sup> Teachers claim

that such guidance is expected of the school by society. This makes compulsory participation in an extra-curricular activity more comprehensible. Thirdly, a compulsory participation policy should be seen as part of the strong tendency in Japanese education, and Japanese society as a whole, to treat groups as single units which can make many legitimate claims on their constituent individuals, rather than as agglomerations of individuals which should make as few claims on those individuals as possible. Rohlen has suggested that for many Japanese groups and organizations, participation in basic routines “signifies attachment” and “represents a form of discipline”.<sup>56</sup> Non-participation can therefore cause considerable anxiety. As Rohlen notes, “the amount of time and money and emotional effort devoted to establishing and maintaining primary attachments is monumental in Japan,”<sup>57</sup> and LeTendre has contrasted Japanese junior high schools which relied on routines to maintain order with Californian schools which relied on rules.<sup>58</sup> Bukatsudō is one basic routine through participation in which schools try to ensure attachment and order.

Almost all students belonged to only one club. At the junior high schools and the two vocational schools, this was an unwritten rule, but even at Minabe and Shōyama High, there were few exceptions. In almost all cases, such students combined membership of two culture clubs, which generally met less frequently and for shorter hours than sports clubs, and enforced regular attendance less stringently. Most culture clubs met from one to five days a week for one or two hours, though the orchestra usually met for two to three hours, six or seven days a week. Sports clubs, however, met for between one and four hours, six or seven days a week, making dual membership practically impossible.

It is regarded as the norm that students remain with only one club throughout their school career, although a few do change clubs. This practice is authorized by tradition, and is practical, in that it ensures enough second and third year students to run the club on the many days when work prevents teachers’ attending. It is also supported by the belief that a person should not dissipate his energies in a variety of activities, but should pursue only one thing at a time with full commitment – a strong and widespread belief in Japan, as witnessed by Kondo,<sup>59</sup> and by common expressions of praise such as hitotsu no koto ni uchikomu (to immerse oneself in one thing) and isshokenmei yaru (to do something all-out), and disapprobatory expressions like chuto-hanpa na koto o suru (to do things halfway). These phrases came up repeatedly in conversation with students and teachers about clubs. Equally strong is the ideology of perseverance and endurance. Students are urged, and urge each other and themselves, to doryoku suru (make an effort), tsuzukeru (continue), kujikenai (not wilt and give up under pressure), and be nebarizuyoi (have stickability). To persevere to the end is a major goal in many clubs, expressed, for example, in the aims written by new entrants to the Tachibana girls’ volleyball club in a club bulletin of 1989:

Since I’ve entered the volleyball club, I want to carry on for three years without quitting halfway through.

I’ll go right through to the end without any moaning, no matter what happens.

I want to persevere and do my best for three years without any faintheartedness, and as far as possible with 100 per cent attendance.

Long-term commitment to a single club is conducive to the emotional engagement and resulting attachment that Rohlen has identified as a crucial instrument of order in many Japanese institutions.<sup>60</sup> But it is also crucial that this commitment is self-chosen, not imposed – unlike most of what goes on at school. The organization of bukatsudō encourages students to make a major, long-term personal investment in the club group, but does not compel it, since students always have the option of entering an undemanding club. The fact that the investment is voluntary makes the club more effective both as a site for learning and as an agent of order.

### Order and student guidance

Bukatsudō are seen as a vital tool of “student guidance” (seito shidō). LeTendre even reports that some teachers see the two as synonymous.<sup>61</sup> Narrowly, “student guidance” means maintaining school discipline and control; more broadly, it means helping students to develop a moral sense, together with the character to live out what that moral sense dictates. This is particularly important in junior high and vocational high schools, where disruptive students are more numerous. In many teachers’ minds, students who are engaged in clubs for two or three hours every day “don’t have any time to do bad things”, as one teacher at Shōyama Commercial frankly put it. The comparatively lengthy and informal interaction possible during bukatsudō also facilitates the personal teacher-student relationships that Japanese teachers see as vital to students’ discipline and personal development. Asserting the inseparability of clubs and student guidance, the soccer club supervisor at Tachibana explained that bukatsudō was intimately linked to gakkyū keiei<sup>62</sup> - caring for and guiding students in the homeroom group. Through a club, a teacher could make connections (tsunagari) with students that would otherwise be impossible; were clubs to vanish, teachers would “lose a place where battles are won or lost (shōbu suru basho)”. He therefore felt that many teachers preferred clubs to be run by the school, rather than the locality. To make close relationships with diverse students, teachers feel the need of every arena that schools offer. For this supervisor, soccer was not the final purpose of the club, keen coach though he was. In fact, he felt that the team’s play and results suffered because he berated members to study and do school chores: “The kids don’t play to their ability, they can’t play a relaxed game – because they think I’m scary.” Yet he believed that winning at soccer came second to trying to guide club members’ moral development. The baseball supervisor at Tachibana offered another insight into the links between bukatsudō and student guidance, explaining that through spending time with students in club activities, one got to learn how and where students spent their time out of school. This gave teachers clues about where to find students in situations such as those involving violent or criminal behavior, when it was teachers’ responsibility to find students, try to avert crises, and talk to and with them about their actions. Again, this indicates the responsibility teachers feel to guide students about even out-of-school actions, particularly in cases when they believe that students are getting inadequate care and guidance from their families. It also emphasizes the authority of the school within Japanese society.

### Hardship, friendship, and learning

In the clubs’ role as a place for personal, social and moral development, however, what is crucial is not just students’ relationships with the club teacher, but the entire experience of participating in the activities and relationships the club entails – an

experience whose effectiveness is often seen as resulting from its demands and intensity. For the coach of the Shōyama Technical rugby club, for example, the discipline of the club group offered its members the chance to focus on an aim and forge a new identity for themselves:

This isn't something that one likes to say, but at this school the situation is that there are many kids who don't have a stable daily life (seikatsumen ga fuantei na ko ga ōi), and many who have little motivation to study. They don't have much consciousness of a purpose (mokuteki ishiki) or much ability in self-management (jiko-kanri nōryoku).... In such an environment, to get students into a day-to-day way of life where they've got their act together (shikkari shita seikatsu), to get them doing things with motivation, is extremely difficult. When you think about that difficulty, the significance of club activities is much higher than at university-oriented schools, I think.... As I see it, I want to have [the students] apply themselves and make a good fist of doing club activities that are based in a stable daily lifestyle.... By getting them to tackle various challenges, you give them a sense of fulfilment (jūjitsukan). And as you give them that, you let them discover a new self (arata na jibun jishin).

A well-run and challenging club can thus give its members a consciousness of a purpose (mokuteki ishiki) and a sense of achievement (tasseikan) which they may not have in any other area of school life.<sup>63</sup> In this respect, it is important that clubs really are taken seriously by teachers and regarded as a vital part of school life, not as peripheral to the “real” business of academic learning. It is because club activities are accepted as a major part of the school's business, and because they are often so demanding, that students can gain a sense of achievement, self-confidence, and dignity.

It was striking how many of the students interviewed seemed to feel that the value of the club experience depended on the demands it made on members. One member of the Shōyama Commercial kendo club expressed her preference for a demanding club:

When I was at junior high the club was ... just like doing something for fun (asobi mitai), so somehow it felt a bit unsatisfactory (monotarinakatta).

At high school, on the other hand:

I think it was good that we didn't finish practice halfway, we went all out right to the limit (chuto-hanpa de renshū o owarun' ja nakute, tokoton dekiru tokoro made yaru).

In contrast, none of the students that I interviewed expressed strong discontent that their club was too demanding, though some did acknowledge that doing club reduced one's free time and that they would like it if the hours were a little shorter or there were a few more holidays. In general, there seemed to be a feeling that the friendships made in the club, and the satisfaction from self-improvement, were well worth the free time given up. Appreciation of the value of hardship and the satisfaction to be gained from all-out effort even came from students with bad club experiences, or who had quit bukatsudō after junior high school. One female university student who had changed schools as a result of bullying in her table-tennis club put it like this:

Seen as a whole, bukatsudō was a really good experience. ... Through the hard (tsurai) things, I was able to become bigger as a person (jibun

ga ningen-teki ni ōkiku nareta), so it was hard, but not a bad thing. Because there are things you can only learn in that situation. ... Being able to give all your time to one thing ... and identifying your bad points. ... Not getting angry and not giving up when the teacher picks up something, having a big goal, there's no way you can learn such things in your ordinary daily life.

A university student who had quit her high school club to have time for a part-time job recalled that “it was really hard (taihen) ...but doing something wholeheartedly was fun (isshokenmei yaru to iu no ga tanoshikatta)”. Another student's query, “Isn't that it's hard to be taken for granted (atarimae)?” seemed a common feeling. For many, the demands of a club appeared acceptable provided that friendships or an inspiring teacher made them significant.

Hardship often seems to be instrumental in deepening club friendships. Although about one-third of the 46 students I interviewed in 1992 said there was no difference between their friendships with clubmates and classmates, two-thirds (particularly those in demanding clubs) claimed that club friendships were deeper – “completely different” in the words of several. As one member of the Shōyama Commercial kendo club put it:

Bukatsudō was really hard, and there were lots of things that were really painful and unpleasant (tsurai), so with your club friends you had the feeling you were overcoming those all together (minna de sore o norikoeru), whereas with your friends in your homeroom class, you band together to do various things, for school events and such, but you can't go so far as to say those are things which are hard or painful for you.... With club friends, since you were practicing together every day after school, all the things that were hard or painful for you, you were enduring together and overcoming (iroiro kurushii koto toka o, issho ni taete, issho ni norikoeru), so in that respect the ties (tsunagari) with your club friends were stronger, I think.

Several students said that they had closer relationships in the club because it was there that people's real feelings came out (honno ga deru). It seems that many thus come to feel that relationships can be deeper when people go through hardships in a shared endeavor. It should be noted, however, that though club activities are often demanding, there is also plenty of time for relaxation and friendly, informal interaction – before and after practices, in the breaks between intense periods of physical activity, and so on. In this, the club activities exemplify a point made by Rohlen about Japanese society more widely, that order has “a fluctuating nature”, with “highly regimented routines interspersed between largely unsupervised periods”, and both “shared hardships and shared pleasures.”<sup>64</sup> The entire experience, with its combination of intensity and relaxation, regulation and informality, seems for many very effective in enabling self-development and simultaneously bonding the individual with other group members. The attempt is to forge selfhood and identity through a demanding engagement which is voluntary, yet supported by a group and a structure of activities. The intended lesson is that people are dependent on others, so that collective effort is more effective than that of isolated individuals – a lesson taught right through the Japanese educational system, but rarely driven home so forcibly as through the experience of bukatsudō.

### Bukatsudō and sempai-kōhai relationships

In Japan, age-hierarchy often defines appropriate behavior.<sup>65</sup> Many teachers noted that secondary students can only learn how to relate to seniors (sempai) and juniors (kōhai) in clubs, not among their peers in the homeroom group. Adults often voice concern that children no longer play in mixed-age groupings as much as they did thirty or forty years ago, and in recent years primary schools and even preschools have been introducing regular mixed-age activities to help children to learn these social skills.<sup>66</sup> However, it is not until entering junior high school, and in particular bukatsudō, that children encounter the roles of sempai and kōhai, and the expectation that they defer to those in older year-groups.

At the schools studied, relations between sempai and kōhai varied considerably from club to club. In some cases, relations were extremely strict and hierarchical. Kōhai addressed sempai with nervous deference, using polite desu/-masu language forms, and rushed to carry out directions from sempai; and each year-group had a clearly demarcated role and set of tasks to perform. The tennis and kendo clubs at Shōyama Commercial were two cases in which such a traditionally hierarchical division of roles was maintained. In the tennis club, it was the job of the first years to roll and sweep the courts every day, and to stand around the courts and collect stray balls while the second and third years practiced. In the kendo club, first years were expected to clean the dōjō floor (with floorcloths), to arrive early to make necessary preparations such as opening doors and windows, to attend to the needs of any visitors, and to ensure that everything in the dōjō was in order, down to the neat alignment of the shoes left at the entrance.

However, there were also many clubs where relationships between sempai and kōhai were much more relaxed and there was no set division of daily chores, which were simply done by whoever was in a position to do them first. The kendo clubs at Shōyama High and Minabe were of this type. At Minabe, students said that the six people who grabbed the mops and floorcloths first would clean the floor. Then there were clubs that fell between these extremes. In the Tachibana track and field club in 1996, for example, sempai-kōhai relations were very friendly, but it was nonetheless expected that the first years should rake the ground after practice, and do other menial tasks.

Because most sports clubs meet six days a week, teachers are often too busy to supervise them every day; moreover, it is not uncommon for supervisors to have no experience of their club's activity and thus find it hard to coach. Much of the responsibility for the day-to-day running of the club and the coaching of its new members therefore falls upon the older members, especially at high school. Ways of doing things originated by one supervisor or set of sempai may become traditions that are hard for a new supervisor to change. Sempai often identify strongly with the ways learned from their own sempai and their previous supervisor. It can be especially hard to persuade students to give their kōhai privileges which they themselves did not have. The supervisor of the Shōyama Commercial tennis club, for example, said it had taken him several years to get the third year students to share the club training room with the first and second years. Nonetheless, change can happen. Third year track and field club members at Tachibana said they had deliberately encouraged more relaxed and informal relations with their kōhai, in an attempt to avoid reproducing the harsh conditions they themselves had experienced as juniors.

Most students I interviewed were appreciative of their sempai. Almost all saw it as the responsibility of sempai to take the lead, and to guide and correct kohai. Good sempai, in their eyes, should “be kind enough to scold” kōhai (okotte kureru) when necessary, but should also be encouraging and easy to talk to when one had a problem. They should be reliable, think of others, do a proper job of teaching kōhai technique (gijutsumen), and get a good atmosphere going. “Severity inside kindness” (yasashisa no naka ni kibishisa ari) was how one student summed up the ideal sempai, adding emphatically, “That’s education!” The sempai’s responsibility to the club and her kōhai was stressed; she should teach conscientiously what she herself had been taught by others, and be severe with kōhai if necessary for the good of the club as a whole, even if she disliked doing so.

Students thus learn that in society they are not expected to behave merely as individuals, but to perform institutional roles (especially age-status roles) that carry responsibilities and behavioral expectations. Being a kōhai is an attitudinal education which demands that students be sunao (humble yet straightforward in evaluating themselves, eager to learn from teachers and from sempai, and eager to cooperate with them and do as they say) and have an active, positive (sekkyoku-teki) attitude, eagerly participating and mixing in with other club members. Nor is the role of sempai easy. The sempai’s task is not the narrow one of enforcement of rules and disciplining of rule-breakers, but the much more comprehensive one of making sure a group of people keeps operating well together, together with the teaching of specific technical skills such as how to swing a kendo shinai (bamboo sword) or how to pick up and shield a rugby ball. This demands skill in explanation and demonstration, along with the ability to see why learners are going wrong, and the maturity to be patient and good-humored in helping them. An impressive example of the system working well was provided by a third year member of Shōyama Technical rugby club, who was teaching a group of first years how to collect the ball on the ground. The third year explained the aim of the move and how to do it, then himself demonstrated it six or seven times, drawing the first years’ attention to detailed points such as the position of the thumb as the ball was collected. He then had the first years execute the move one after another, praising some and giving further explanation and demonstrations to those who did it less well. The atmosphere was firm but friendly; the first years were relaxed enough to ask questions and to chat a little amongst themselves, but one who talked while the third year was giving an explanation was told to do forty push-ups – which he did without complaint, receiving a good-humored “good work” (gokurosan) from the third year at the end. What was noticeable was the thoroughness of the teaching, the extensive use of repeated demonstration, and the adeptness of the third year’s manner, which combined patience and good humor with an expectation of high standards of performance. This was particularly impressive at a school whose students’ academic performance was well below the average. Ideally, therefore, progression from kōhai to sempai status involves learning to take on increasingly responsible, knowledgeable roles in a “community of practice”<sup>67</sup> – an experience of increasing competence and dignity.

The bukatsudō ethic and the organization of practice

Studies of American schools have shown that students achieve popularity and status through extra-curricular activities.<sup>68</sup> Bukatsudō seem less significant for such ends.

Though good athletes often win esteem, the effect seems smaller than in the United States. This may partly be because Japanese club activities are open to all; I found no cases of students being refused entry to a club on any grounds. This contrasts with the school reported by Merten, where entry to the prestigious female activities of cheerleader and pom-pom squad was decided by competitive try-outs.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, the kind of status group categories used by American students to mark one another seem less salient in Japanese schools. Categories such as “preppie”, “jock”, “burnout” and “nerd” are reported widely from American schools.<sup>70</sup> I encountered few such categories either at junior high or high schools. Eleven of 24 third years interviewed at Tachibana in 1996 claimed that such group labels were not used or little used; of categories named by the other 13 students, by far the most common was furyō (a rebellious student). No other category was named by more than two interviewees. Junior high students interviewed by Fukuzawa generally typed others by personality, a way of grouping which American students in Merten’s study reported as ending in elementary school.<sup>71</sup> Miyazaki found that girls in a low-status Tokyo girls’ high school referred to each other as belonging to different “groups” (“study” [benkyō], “ordinary”, “comic-book maniacs” [otakkij] and “rebels” [yankij]),<sup>72</sup> but the absence of a clear prestigious category like “preppie” is noticeable. The lack of salience of status categories may be related to the heavy emphasis on equal treatment and cooperation in Japanese public schools,<sup>73</sup> and the lack of events and rituals that make successful individuals highly visible. With the exception of the national high school baseball championships, sports fixtures are not attended by students outside the club, or by more than a handful of parents. Such games therefore provide no visibility, and consequent popularity, for team members, as they did in the American Midwestern school studied by Eder and Kinney, where “male athletic events were the main cultural events of the school”.<sup>74</sup> The main cultural events in Japanese schools are the Sports Day (taiikusai or taiiku-daikai) and Cultural Festival (bunkasai). Although there is some scope for talented individuals to shine at these events, this scope is deliberately limited. These events are organized so that all students are given significant roles and responsibilities, in order to encourage unity and cooperation among students, and to build up the self-esteem of the less confident.<sup>75</sup> Thus, neither bukatsudō nor other major cultural events in Japanese schools allow individuals great visibility with which to build up status through successful performance.

Club practice sessions I observed were not organized in ways that gave attention to talented individuals or that emphasized competition and winning. Perfecting oneself, not defeating others, was constantly emphasized, both in the rhetoric used and in the organization of practice. Overt competition between club members was often de-emphasized and was sometimes largely absent. In some clubs there were few or no regular practice games between club members – in the Shōyama Commercial kendo club, for example, such contests only took place in the few days before one of the four tournaments held each year, while in the Shōyama Junior High table-tennis club, I was told they were confined to the day before a tournament. In other clubs, such as the Tachibana girls’ volleyball club, such games would take up only the last half-hour of two or three hours’ practice. What took up most or all of the practice time was exhaustive, routinized practice of basic moves, beginning with the simplest and gradually progressing through more complex combinations. Because emphasis was laid on striving to perfect one’s performance in the fundamental techniques, there could be no skimping of even the simplest moves by even the most expert club

members. In the Shōyama Junior High table-tennis club, for example, the first half-hour of practice every day was devoted to “basic practice” (kihon renshū), during which members would practice one move – for example, forehand serve to backhand return – intensively and without any variation for ten minutes or so before going on to another move. Even some creative arts clubs organized practice in this way. In the Tachibana orchestra, the second and third years spent their first hour in basic practice before moving on to practice individually or in parts. First years in their first term spent almost the whole time on basic practice blowing through a mouthpiece. The drama club at Shōyama Commercial also spent 30-60 minutes every day in a coordinated jazz dance routine, designed to develop body strength and a sense of rhythm. Moreover, both these clubs had a significant element of physical training in their schedules. First years in the Tachibana orchestra began practices by running round the school five times and sometimes also by cleaning the corridor floor with floorcloths, while the Shōyama Commercial drama club began its practices by running once round the school, chanting as they went, and then doing sets of 30-50 sit-ups, push-ups, and other exercises. Sports and culture clubs thus had significant features in common.

Emphasis on imitation and exhaustive repetition of basic forms is so widespread as a learning pattern in Japan that it may be called one of the “set of micromodels for teaching and learning” that Rohlen and LeTendre have identified.<sup>76</sup> Traditional arts, including martial arts, place particular stress on “remembering with the body” (karada de oboeru) by means of the faithful practice of set forms (kata), not by the idiosyncratic application of natural talent. The Shōyama Commercial kendo supervisor told me that it used to be said that a kendoist should devote himself exclusively to the one basic routine of kirikaeshi (repeated striking of an opponent’s sword or helmet) for three years before beginning on any other kind of practice. The similarities between sports and martial arts are shown in the common use in clubs of the suburi routine – in kendo, swinging the bamboo sword above the head and then down. The kendo supervisor at Shōyama Commercial advised me to practice this fundamental movement 1000 times a day. However, I also saw suburi practice in tennis, table-tennis, and badminton clubs, including a half-hour stint in which first years in the Tachibana badminton club simply rehearsed the correct way to swing the racquet through the air. This emphasis on perfecting skills through routines fosters the habits of effort and of meticulous attention to the smallest and simplest matters. The learning approach also fits well with the bukatsudō ethic of all members’ participating in a common endeavor demanding both self-improvement and mutual support. Students become absorbed in the effort to better their own performance, rather than in an effort to beat others. This is not to say that there is no competition within a club, for there is keen competition to become a regular team member. However, such competitiveness seems to need little encouragement, and rhetoric and organization emphasize the ideology of the club as a band of brothers (or sisters) where all strive together in mutual dependence.

This desire to maintain the feeling of oneness is probably the chief reason for the common emphasis upon ōen (supportive cheering) within sports clubs. In many clubs, students keep up a constant energetic yelling of formulaic cries of encouragement to one another during practice – “faito!” (“fight!”) and “ganbarō!” (“let’s persevere!”) being most popular. During a game, cheering on of the team by the rest of the club is considered vital. Some coaches place great importance on training students in

koedashi – yelling, preferably at the top of one’s lungs. Ōen and koedashi are meant to raise the atmosphere and encourage the other players, but they are also a way in which the unity of the club and the equal importance of all its members (not just regular team members) can be expressed. As the supervisor of the Tachibana girls’ volleyball team put it, if the only significant actors were the players on the volleyball court, it was somehow sabishii (sad – with a sense of loneliness) – for the majority of the club’s members were on the sidelines. Through ōen, everyone in the club could take part in the game; it expressed the fact that everyone in the club had an important role.<sup>77</sup> The difference in status between club members is thus minimized. It is important to note that the stress upon ōen is not mere tokenism to give those not playing the illusion of importance. Teachers and students really believe in the contribution that ōen makes to club spirit and team performance. It is the enactment of the feeling that even talented individuals cannot achieve all they might without the supportive contributions of many others, that sense of and belief in mutual dependence and indebtedness identified by many analysts of Japan<sup>78</sup> – a sense that ōen, along with other aspects of bukatsudō that emphasize whole-hearted participation, makes into an intense physical and emotional experience.

### Bukatsudō as a ritual experience

Ritualization is important to the power of the bukatsudō experience. Relationships and procedures are often highly formalized, marking the club off from the surrounding mundane world as a special space and group into which one enters not casually but as a committed initiate.<sup>79</sup> There is usually a club uniform (often slightly different for each year, moreover, so that the age-status hierarchy is clearly demarcated), and often even a club haircut – shaven heads for male baseball or kendo club members, short hair for volleyball or basketball players. There may be practical reasons for this – long hair tends to catch the volleyball net – and members may not be told outright to conform, but few do otherwise, so that club members have a distinctive appearance. Many clubs’ practice sessions are also ritualized – beginnings and ends are usually marked by warm-up exercises, often in a large circle, and sometimes other features. The Tachibana girls’ volleyball club and the Minabe soccer club began practices by gathering in a tight circle to link hands or put an arm round their neighbor’s waist, then bent over and sprang up again with a yell of dedication. Shōyama Commercial kendo club members gathered in a circle at the end of practice to give formulaic apologies to the group for their slips and shortcomings during that day’s session, while the Shōyama Technical rugby club ended practice by singing the school song. At the Shōyama Commercial baseball club, members formed a line at the end of practice to thank, in unison, first their coach, then each other, and finally the baseball ground itself. The Tachibana track and field club also thanked the ground in this way.

Events such as tournaments, gasshuku (training camps), and welcome ceremonies for new members also become ritual moments. Anticipation mounts as a tournament approaches; normal practice schedules may change to include practice games between team members, and there may be a brief send-off ritual at which each team member makes a short speech of commitment to do his or her best. (When the Shōyama Commercial baseball team made it to the national championships in the late 1980s, there was a send-off ceremony attended by the entire school – and a welcome home ceremony when they returned.) In the Shōyama Commercial kendo club, it was

customary in 1989 – and still when I visited again in 1999 - for kōhai to give sempai small good-luck charms (o-mamori) before tournaments. The charms were made of felt and embroidered by hand with an appropriate character – for example, shō 勝, “win” – and were hung inside the waist protector or tare. The club’s welcome ceremony for members in 1990 was effectively an initiation ceremony, which began with a dinner cooked by the new first years under the instruction of the second years (the third years having simply the right to receive). After age-status roles had been impressed in this way, the community of the entire club was reaffirmed when everyone sat down together to eat. Later in the evening club teachers and alumni arrived, so that the party became a ceremonial affirmation of the continuity of the club’s present and future with its past. In symbolic homage to the club’s past, the new first year members served the former members with drinks and snacks – another affirmation of the club’s traditional age-status relationships. Later each new member had to introduce herself before the company and entertain them with a song, dance, or similar party trick, giving also her reason for entering the club. This was a public self-identification of oneself as a club member before what might be described as the ancestors and elders of the tribe, those who embodied the club’s traditions and were attending to validate its present and future. After the former members had departed, the present club members would sleep at the school and spend the whole of the next day practicing, a rite of endurance which sealed the new members’ commitment.

### Power, abuse and bullying

Bukatsudō have critics, who focus on what they see as excessive emphasis on hierarchy, hard training and winning, especially in some sports clubs. Clubs are also attacked for being used as an instrument of control – over younger teachers as well as students.<sup>80</sup> It is true that though bukatsudō are an extra-curricular activity, their institutionalization in schools makes it practically impossible for teachers to refuse supervisory duties which may take up a lot of time after school and at weekends. Concerns about the way some clubs are run are not unwarranted, given incidents such as the suicide of a high school student in 1985 after long-term physical abuse from the club supervisor,<sup>81</sup> or the death of a junior high baseball club member from heat exhaustion in 2000.<sup>82</sup> Bullying can also take place. Three of the 22 university students I interviewed said they had been bullied in their club, and one even changed junior high schools as a result. All three were girls, and the bullying mainly involved malicious gossip and ostracism. Other students said they had heard about bullying, including a case when sempai beat and kicked a kōhai for not greeting them properly.<sup>83</sup> Interviews suggested that bullying usually resulted from interpersonal friction or jealousy between club members, or from abuse of authority by sempai.

The teachers I interviewed insisted that they would not countenance bullying. It is true, however, that the seishin kyōiku tradition not only values discipline and hardship as enablers of learning, but in some cases even sanctions physical punishment.<sup>84</sup> Hori defends this practice in the Zen monastery on the basis that such force is used for the sake of freeing students as quickly as possible from “attachment to self” and “wants and desires”.<sup>85</sup> Rohlen notes the strong Zen influence on seishin kyōiku,<sup>86</sup> and I would argue that this influence extends to the understanding of human development implicit in many clubs, especially sports clubs. Zen influences were rarely articulated explicitly by teachers or students, but seemed present in some slogans I saw on club banners, such as onore ni katsu (“conquer the self”) at the Tachibana volleyball club.

The antipathy of liberal teachers to clubs influenced by the seishin kyōiku tradition may well be rooted in the fundamental difference in the attitude to the self of the seishin kyōiku and liberal traditions respectively. The line between strict discipline and bullying can be unclear, as one university student pointed out, especially in a context where hard experiences are seen as potentially beneficial. Many of the values nurtured within the seishin kyōiku tradition are also convenient for employers who want committed, hard-working employees, as Victoria has pointed out,<sup>87</sup> and can thus be linked to concerns about overwork and the lifestyle of the so-called “corporate warrior” (kigyō senshi)<sup>88</sup> – an appropriate term given bukatsudō’s links to samurai traditions. The issues of power relationships and the nature of discipline within clubs are therefore likely to continue to be controversial.

### The future of bukatsudō

For some years, there has been talk about the future of school-based extra-curricular club activities. As early as 1992, teachers told me that the running of such activities might sooner or later be taken over by a combination of local volunteers and specialist professionals. Noises about a movement in this direction have become louder during the 1990s, strengthened by a drift away from club participation, particularly at high school level. When I revisited the study’s four high schools in 1998-99, I was told that participation in clubs had decreased considerably compared to a decade earlier. Though it was impossible to get precise figures, teachers at Shōyama High estimated that about 50% of second year students were club members, while at Minabe the second year total was estimated at 70%. Teachers at both Shōyama Commercial and Shōyama Technical said that it was officially compulsory for all students to join a club, but that in practice, not all did so – Shōyama Technical teachers estimated that about 80% of first year students actually joined a club. The softball clubs at both Shōyama High and Shōyama Commercial had only eight members each, and had to “borrow” a girl from another club in order to make up a team. In the opinion of teachers, participation had declined because many students at the end of the 1990s were no longer prepared to accept demanding practice regimes, preferring part-time jobs, consumerism, and pleasure.

Many teachers would be pleased to see the burden of club activities taken from their shoulders by the local community. Even enthusiastic teachers who enjoy supervising their club said this to me, for as they emphasized, bukatsudō is an enormous drain on teachers’ time and energies. There do appear to be some tentative moves in this direction; I was told of local clubs run by volunteers. Yet any move to locality-based clubs is still at a tentative and exploratory level, and faces major practical problems, notably the availability of volunteers. I do not believe that large-scale changes in the present organization of clubs will come rapidly. Moreover, the drift away from club participation, though real, should not obscure the fact that clubs remain a major feature of school life.

### Conclusion

For over a century, extra-curricular club activities have been an important socializing institution, through which Japanese young people have learned experientially some of the most important values, beliefs, and behavior patterns of their society. When they started, Japanese school clubs were part of an international trend to promote athletics

as a means of physical and character training for the larger purpose of national self-strengthening. Shorn in the post-war period of their links to national self-strengthening and militarism, they have nonetheless been notable for the persistence within them of educational beliefs and practices broadly grouped under the label of seishin kyōiku. Previous writers have shown how seishin kyōiku persists in adult learning settings such as employee training,<sup>89</sup> but an examination of bukatsudō shows that its influence extends beyond such settings to touch much of the Japanese population – a fact which also helps to explain the receptiveness of adults to such programmes. The emphasis within clubs upon perseverance, the character-building nature of hardship, self-perfection through concentration on imitation and repetition, and mutual support within a group also helps to explain how such Japanese “common sense” continues to be reproduced.

It has been suggested that while “traditional” Japanese learning patterns persist in settings such as apprenticeships and even juku, they disappear from the public secondary school system, dominated by a “modern” pattern of education in which a teacher transmits masses of propositional knowledge to individuated learners.<sup>90</sup> A study of bukatsudō, however, forces us to modify this view. In fact, within secondary schools there exist at least two patterns of learning, standing in sharp contrast with each other: the classroom model, described above, and the club model, which much more closely resembles “traditional” apprenticeship-style patterns of learning,<sup>91</sup> and, more broadly, the “legitimate peripheral participation” in “communities of practice” theorized by writers on learning such as Lave and Wenger.<sup>92</sup> It is not difficult to appreciate that the experience of participating in clubs may later help Japanese adults to act as an informal participant-learner or participant-teacher in other settings, including workplace settings.

Clubs have probably continued to flourish because of their flexible nature and multifaceted appeal. They can and do serve different functions and agendas, even within a single school. They can appeal to teachers and parents with traditional notions of student discipline and development, as well as to libertarians who emphasize student choice. They are a means of school management and control in the widest sense, supplementing the classroom as an arena which allows both discipline and relaxation, and which lets students develop enthusiasms and abilities neglected by the formal curriculum. They may also be used as a means of control in a narrower sense, by schools or teachers who attempt to impose order through rigorous discipline. Like the preschools studied by Holloway, they are arenas for ‘diverse and contested approaches to educating ... children’,<sup>93</sup> showing that Japan’s education and society are less homogenous than they may at first appear. They are also institutions of the type identified by Kondo, with simultaneous potential for creation and self-realization along with coercion and domination.<sup>94</sup>

Some dislike the emphasis on discipline and hierarchy in the seishin kyōiku tradition that influences many clubs, as it does many forms of apprenticeship,<sup>95</sup> especially when this involves accepting physical and verbal chastisement that can easily become bullying. If club activities have helped to socialize Japanese teenagers into an acceptance of self-discipline and the value of hardship, moreover, they have probably also contributed to the acquiescence of adult Japanese in the self-sacrificing lifestyles of the “corporate warrior” and the devoted housewife. As the appeal of such lifestyles

and their associated values seems to weaken in contemporary Japan, it is not surprising that bukatsudō's appeal should be weakening somewhat too.

For teachers, supervision of club activities is a considerable burden, imposed not by the Ministry of Education but by the long-established institutionalization of bukatsudō in schools. Teachers may be ambivalent about bukatsudō, not only because of the time they demand, but because of the opposition some feel to seishin kyōiku practices. Yet most find considerable value in clubs, precisely because of the alternative setting and educational patterns that they offer, allowing more diversity and choice in the school experience for students, enabling students to gain dignity in developing talents other than those tested in exams, and making possible a closer and more relaxed relationship between teachers and students. For teachers as well as students, clubs may provide diversity and fulfillment.

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas P. Rohlen, "Order in Japanese Society: Authority, Attachment, and Routine," Journal of Japanese Studies, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Winter 1989).

<sup>2</sup> Thomas P. Rohlen and Gerald LeTendre, "Introduction: Japanese Theories of Learning," in Thomas P. Rohlen and Gerald K. LeTendre, eds., Teaching and Learning in Japan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 6-8.

<sup>3</sup> Between the start of the 1970s and 2002, one period of club activities (kurabu katsudō) was included in the primary and junior high curricula, but this was distinct from extra-curricular activities (bukatsudō). However, the Ministry of Education has carried out surveys and issued advisory publications about bukatsudō – e.g., Monbushō, Minna de Tsukuru Undō Bukatsudō (Tokyo: Tōyōkan Shuppansha, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> Robert Frager and Thomas P. Rohlen, "The Future of a Tradition: Japanese Spirit in the 1980s," in Lewis Austin, ed., Japan: The Paradox of Progress (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976); Thomas P. Rohlen, "'Spiritual Education' in a Japanese Bank," in Takie S. Lebra and William P. Lebra, eds., Japanese Culture and Behavior: Selected Readings (Revised Edition) (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986).

<sup>5</sup> Observations from fieldwork, confirmed by a Ministry of Education survey of 1996 (Monbushō, Minna de Tsukuru, pp. 1-2).

<sup>6</sup> Rebecca Erwin Fukuzawa and Gerald K. LeTendre, Intense Years: How Japanese Adolescents Balance School, Family and Friends (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2001), pp. 55-57.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas P. Rohlen, Japan's High Schools (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 187-94.

<sup>8</sup> Gerald LeTendre, "Guiding Them On: Teaching, Hierarchy, and Social Organization in Japanese Middle Schools," Journal of Japanese Studies, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Winter 1994).

<sup>9</sup> Exceptions included sumo wrestling and the aristocratic pastime of kemari, a game for a circle of players keeping a ball in the air with their feet.

<sup>10</sup> Trevor Leggett, Zen and the Ways (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1987), p. 165. Leggett gives examples of similar sentiments from other Edo period texts.

<sup>11</sup> R.P. Dore, Education in Tokugawa Japan (London: The Athlone Press, 1992), pp. 148-52; Richard Rubinger, Private Academies of Tokugawa Japan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 174-82.

<sup>12</sup> Ivan P. Hall, Mori Arinori (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 361.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>14</sup> Donald T. Roden, Schooldays in Imperial Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 36.

<sup>15</sup> J.A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School, Second Edition (London: Frank Cass, 2000); S.W. Pope, Patriotic Games (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), Chapter Seven.

- <sup>16</sup> Mangan, Athleticism, p.xliv.
- <sup>17</sup> Hall, Mori Arinori, pp.399-400.
- <sup>18</sup> Roden, Schooldays, p.40.
- <sup>19</sup> Nihon Taiiku Gakkai Taiikushi Senmon Bunkakai, Nihon Supōtsu Hyakunen no Ayumi (Tokyo: Bēsubōru Magajin-Sha, 1967), p.208.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid., p.208.
- <sup>21</sup> Headmasters and other educators often stressed the need to cultivate an elite of high moral character, an ideal which could be expressed in terms borrowed from Confucianism (kunshi), feudalism (shi, bushi), or Western elitism (shinshi, zentoruman). See Roden, Schooldays, pp.29-70.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 116.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid., p.117.
- <sup>24</sup> Nihon Taiiku Gakkai, Nihon Supōtsu, p.208.
- <sup>25</sup> Y-Kō Hyakunenshi Henshū Iinkai, Y-Kō Hyakunenshi Sono II (Yokohama: privately printed, 1983), p.47.
- <sup>26</sup> Shiga-Kenritsu Zeze Kōtō Gakkō Dōsōkai, Hachijunenkinenshi (Ōtsu: privately printed, 1978), p.179.
- <sup>27</sup> Hasshō Hyakunenshi Hensei Iinkai, Hasshō Hyakunenshi (Ōhmihachiman: privately printed, 1986), p.95.
- <sup>28</sup> Shiga-Kenritsu Hachiman Shōgyō Kōtō Gakkō Kenkyūkai, Kendōbushi (Ōhmihachiman: privately printed, 1988), p.37.
- <sup>29</sup> Hasshō Sōritsu Hachijusūnenkinenshi Henshū Iinkai, Hasshō Sōritsu Hachijusūnenkinenshi (Ōhmihachiman: privately printed, 1966), p.49-50.
- <sup>30</sup> Y-Kō, Hyakunenshi, p.58.
- <sup>31</sup> Karasawa Tomitarō, Kindai nihon kyōikushi (Tokyo: Seibundō-shinkōsha, 1968), p.217-19.
- <sup>32</sup> Hugh Ll. Keenleyside and A.F. Thomas, History of Japanese Education and Present Educational System (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1937), p. 176-77.
- <sup>33</sup> Kokuritsu kyōiku kenkyūjo, ed., Nihon kindai kyōiku hyakunenshi, Vol. 5 (Tokyo: Kyōiku kenkyū shinkōkai, 1974), p. 193; Keenleyside and Thomas, History, pp. 199-201.
- <sup>34</sup> Y-Kō, Hyakunenshi, p.58; Hikone Higashi Kōtō Gakkō Kōshi Henshū Iinkai, Hikone Higashi-Kō Hyakunijunenshi (Hikone: privately printed, 1996), pp. 630-631.
- <sup>35</sup> Shiga-ken Kōtō Gakkō Yakyū Renmei, ed., Tamaato: Shiga-ken Kōtō Gakkō Yakyū Renmei-shi (Ōhmihachiman: Shiga-ken Kōtō Gakkō Yakyū Renmei, 1994), pp. 669-674.
- <sup>36</sup> A 1911 government directive related the introduction of martial arts into the middle school curriculum to their value for shinshin no tanren. Hikone Higashi, Hyakunijunenshi, p.318.
- <sup>37</sup> Hikone Higashi, Hyakunijunenshi, pp. 732-734.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 734-735, 783-785, 885, 956-958.
- <sup>39</sup> William K.Cummings, Education and Equality in Japan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 137-138.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid., 63, 107.
- <sup>41</sup> Rohlen, Japan's High Schools, pp. 187-194.
- <sup>42</sup> Japanese secondary education comprises three years of compulsory junior high school from age 12-15, followed by three non-compulsory years of high school to which about 96% of children progress. See Kaori Okano and Motonori Tsuchiya, Education in Contemporary Japan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 34, 63.
- <sup>43</sup> All names of schools are fictitious.
- <sup>44</sup> High schools in Japan have entrance exams and are ranked academically. In 1995, about 70% of high school students attended a regular or academic (futsūka) high school, with another 23% attending vocational high schools (mostly commercial or technical). See Okano and Tsuchiya, Education, pp. 62-74.
- <sup>45</sup> For student councils, see John Singleton, Nichu: A Japanese School (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), pp.40-42.
- <sup>46</sup> All figures include club members nominally enrolled but rarely participating.
- <sup>47</sup> “Class” here refers to the homeroom group, not the year group.
- <sup>48</sup> Rohlen, Japan's High Schools, p.189.
- <sup>49</sup> Joseph J.Tobin, David Y.H.Wu, and Dana H.Davidson, Preschool in Three Cultures: Japan, China, and the United States (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).
- <sup>50</sup> Catherine C.Lewis, Educating Hearts and Minds: Reflections on Japanese Preschool and Elementary Education (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Rebecca Erwin Fukuzawa, “The Path to

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Adulthood According to Japanese Middle Schools,” Journal of Japanese Studies Vol.20, No.1 (Winter 1994), pp.61-62.

<sup>51</sup> Fukuzawa, “Path to Adulthood,” pp. 63-64.

<sup>52</sup> Hashhō, Hyakunenshi, p. 216; Hikone Higashi, Hyakunijunenshi, pp. 936-944.

<sup>53</sup> See Peter Cave, “Educational Reform in Japan in the 1990s: ‘Individuality’ and Other Uncertainties,” Comparative Education Vol. 37, No. 2 (May 2001), pp. 173-191.

<sup>54</sup> See Rohlen, Japan’s High Schools, pp.196-98, and Rohlen, “Order”, p.23.

<sup>55</sup> LeTendre, “Guiding”, p. 49; Fukuzawa, “Path to Adulthood”, pp. 69-74.

<sup>56</sup> Rohlen, “Order”, p.29.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p.31.

<sup>58</sup> Gerald K. LeTendre, Learning to be Adolescent: Growing Up in U.S. and Japanese Middle Schools (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 37-57.

<sup>59</sup> Dorinne K.Kondo, Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p.109.

<sup>60</sup> Rohlen, “Order”, p. 28.

<sup>61</sup> LeTendre, “Guiding”, p.47.

<sup>62</sup> Literally, “class management”.

<sup>63</sup> Sporting ability can also help students get a place at high schools or universities that want players for their own clubs.

<sup>64</sup> Rohlen, “Order,” pp. 26-27.

<sup>65</sup> Chie Nakane, Japanese Society (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), pp.26-39.

<sup>66</sup> My fieldwork observations at two Kansai primary schools in 1995-96, and Eyal Ben-Ari, Body Projects in Japanese Childcare: Culture, Organization and Emotions in a Preschool (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997), pp.23, 61-62.

<sup>67</sup> Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

<sup>68</sup> Donna Eder and David A.Kinney, “The Effect of Middle School Extracurricular Activities on Adolescents’ Popularity and Peer Status,” Youth and Society, Vol.26, No.3 (March 1995), pp. 298-324; Don E.Merten, “Burnout as Cheerleader: The Cultural Basis for Prestige and Privilege in Junior High School,” Anthropology and Education Quarterly Vol. 27, No.1 (1996), pp.51-70.

<sup>69</sup> Merten, “Burnout”, pp.54-55.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*; David A.Kinney, “From Nerds to Normals: The Recovery of Identity among Adolescents from Middle School to High School,” Sociology of Education Vol.66 (January 1993), p.23.

<sup>71</sup> Rebecca Erwin Fukuzawa, “Stratification, Social Control, and Student Culture: An Ethnography of Three Japanese Junior High Schools”, Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1989, pp. 289-362; Merten, “Burnout”, p.52.

<sup>72</sup> Miyazaki Ayumi, “Jendā sabukaruchā no dainamikusu: joshi-kō ni okeru esunogurafi o moto ni,” Kyōiku shakaigaku kenkyū No. 52 (1993), pp. 157-177.

<sup>73</sup> Cummings, Education and Equality; Rohlen, Japan’s High Schools, 307-308.

<sup>74</sup> Eder and Kinney, “Effect”, p.304.

<sup>75</sup> Rohlen, Japan’s High Schools, pp.201-202.

<sup>76</sup> Rohlen and LeTendre, “Introduction,” p. 5.

<sup>77</sup> Compare William W. Kelly’s observations on pro-baseball fans in “An Anthropologist in the Bleachers: Cheering a Japanese Baseball Team,” Japan Quarterly (October-December 1997), p.73.

<sup>78</sup> Notably Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1946), Chapter 5; Takeo Doi, The Anatomy of Dependence (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1973); Kondo, Crafting Selves, especially Chapter 4.

<sup>79</sup> Here I am indebted to Kondo, Crafting Selves, p.110.

<sup>80</sup> A good example is Mutō Yoshiteru, Kodomo no supōtsu (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1989), pp. 73-119.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 92-95.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Teacher slapped over boy’s exhaustion death,’ Mainichi Daily News 30 July 2002, <http://mdn.mainichi.co.jp/>

<sup>83</sup> LeTendre, “Guiding”, gives an example of abuse of authority by sempai. For press reports of bullying in clubs, see Asahi Shinbun (Tokyo), 19 October 1984 p.23, and 23 July 1985 p.22.

<sup>84</sup> Rohlen, “ ‘Spiritual Education,’ ” pp. 311-12; G. Victor Sōgen Hori, “Teaching and Learning in the Rinzai Zen Monastery,” Journal of Japanese Studies, Vol. 20, No.1 (Winter 1994), pp. 21-22.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>86</sup> Rohlen, “ ‘Spiritual Education,’ ” pp. 307, 329, 333.

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<sup>87</sup> Brian (Daizen) Victoria, "Japanese Corporate Zen," in Joe B. Moore, ed., The Other Japan: Conflict, Compromise and Resistance Since 1945 (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 117-131.

<sup>88</sup> For example, Kumazawa Makoto, Portraits of the Japanese Workplace (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), pp. 205-254.

<sup>89</sup> Rohlen, "Spiritual Education"; Kondo, Crafting Selves, Chapter 3; Victoria, "Corporate Zen."

<sup>90</sup> Rohlen and LeTendre, "Introduction," pp. 7, 12-13.

<sup>91</sup> John Singleton, ed., Learning in Likely Places: Varieties of Apprenticeship in Japan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>92</sup> Lave and Wenger, Situated Learning.

<sup>93</sup> Susan D. Holloway, Contested Childhood: Diversity and Change in Japanese Preschools (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 219.

<sup>94</sup> Kondo, Crafting Selves, pp. 161, 305.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 232-41.