

**An Analytical Study
on the Causes of and Attitudes
toward '*Enjo Kôsei*' among Female High
School Students in Japan**

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I. Background and Objectives of the Study

I—1 'Enjo Kô sai'—The Current Situation

The term '*enjo kô sai*' (literally a 'mutually-beneficial relationship') began to appear in the media at the beginning of the 1980s. At that time, '*enjo kô sai*' was used to refer to long-term 'contractual' relationships formed between women working and the sex industry, and male customers. Recently '*enjo kô sai*' has started to be used to denote relationships in which junior and senior female high school students date, or engage in sexual activities with adult men in exchange for money (often several hundred dollars) or gifts. Some critics say that using the term '*enjo kô sai*' to express relationships which commercialise sex and 'prostitution' might irresponsibly distort the reality of prostitution. Despite wide use by the media the expression is not frequently used by junior and senior high school students themselves. Some people have pointed out that the media's overuse of the term may in fact encourage school students to engage in such relationships. Moreover, the term is used to express a wide variety of sexual 'services' in which girls participate in exchange for money. The expression '*enjo kô sai*' itself is therefore problematic, and is used in this study for convenience, but will be put in quotation marks. Perceptions of female high school students concerning this phenomenon will be analysed and discussed in this paper.

Recently, various new types of service have appeared in the Japanese sex industry. These include 'date clubs,' 'telephone clubs,' 'two-shots,' and 'blue sailor (school uniform) shops' ('telephone clubs' and 'two-shots' merely provide men and women the opportunity to talk to each other on the phone, however, most of the male clients expect to have sexual relations with the women they make contact with in this way. These systems are therefore often used for the purpose of prostitution. A 'blue sailor shop' usually buys and sells the underwear of junior or senior female high school students.) In addition, the remarkable development and spread of communication technology, such as pagers and mobile phones, means that students may use these while they travel to and from school, and has made it easier for them to enter the sex industry. The involvement in the sex industry by junior or senior female high school students has recently become more prominent. For instance, according to the 'report on children's attitudes toward life and their current situation' by the Japanese PTA Association, among the students who participated in the research, 27.0% of the female and 7.6% of the male students have used a telephone club. On the other hand, an investigation by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government in 1996 (N = 1291, from 1st grade junior high school to 3rd grade high school) showed that 4.0% of female high school students and 3.8% of female junior high school students have engaged in '*enjo kô sai*'. The data may not be valid—it may only be the tip of the iceberg. There have been reports that at certain schools, one third of female students to have had some experience of '*enjo kô sai*'. 'The situation of victimised youths relating to telephone clubs,' by the National

Police Agency, indicates that in 1991 the number of victimised youths began to increase, exceeding 1000 in 1994, and the number has doubled in the past three years. In 1995, there was an incident in which a man murdered a first year junior high school girl whom he met through a 'two-shot dial'.

Some local governments have begun to legislate ordinances to regulate telephone clubs, and in 1996, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government re-opened a discussion on whether or not it should introduce an ordinance to punish indecent acts.

1—2 Media Portrayal of 'Enjo Kôsei'

Some local governments have taken active steps to address the issue, and the media has given a great deal of coverage to the phenomenon. In addition, the public is interested in the unique fashion and culture of these girls, involving fads such as 'tamagocchi,' (a key-ring toy), 'loose socks,' (referring to the recent fashion among school girls to wear baggy white socks) and 'print club' (a recent craze involving small photo-stickers—also used as a 'tool' for prostitution.) Many people have discussed the issue in various ways: Newspapers devote much space to the phenomenon; would-be intellectuals discuss the issue of '*enjo kôsei*' on late-night TV programmes; sociologists and documentary writers publish papers about it; magazines, TV news and 'wide shows,' (day-time gossip shows) often take up the topic, and feature direct interviews with female students.

However, on analysis we can see that the images of '*enjo kôsei*' which appear in the media are not portrayed with sensitivity to the human rights of women. In covering the issue, the media tend to use sensational expressions and sexual innuendo. This reflects the common attitude in Japan that school girls are sexual objects. For example, a survey of recent headlines, article titles, and contents of published works and magazines on '*enjo kôsei*' and related issues include the following; '*Joshikokosei Kaitai Shinsho*' ('The Anatomy of Female High School Students') ('*kaitai*' in this title means anatomy and has physical and violent connotations.), 'Female high School Students—Dangerous After School,' '*Joshi Chu Ko Sei Nosusamajii Seitai*' (The Amazing Life of Female High School Students) ('*seitai*' (ecology) is usually used in a context such as 'the ecology of ants,' to describe lives of animals rather than human beings.), and 'Seishohin to Shitenô Joshikosei wo Kataru (School Girls as Sexual Commodities—Their Stories)'. This is only a small part of what appears in the publications, and a similar trend can be observed in much of the mainstream media.

In pornographic magazines, comics, and videos, female students are exploited as sexual subjects. However, the mainstream media, whilst occasionally discussing '*enjo kôsei*' in serious terms, does not pay enough attention to the human rights of female high school students. Sexual images of female students in

the media are pervasive. These influence students' own self-image, which in turn leads to their secondly and tertiary sexual exploitation.

1—3 Gender Equality and 'Enjo Kôsai'

When asked about '*enjo kôsai*', many female high school students answered that 'it is fine' because there is consent between adults.' Many members of the general public are of a similar opinion.

Whether or not people engage in actual sexual activity, or just go on a date, '*enjo kôsai*' is fundamentally very similar to prostitution in that services of sexual nature are provided in exchange for money. In '*enjo kôsai*' older men, assuming that economically and sexually the two parties are unequal, have their economic power behind them to make younger women satisfy their sexual desire. Whether they are aware of it or not, there exists a relationship of the 'dominator' and the 'dominated' in which one side sexually dominates the other mediated by money. In these relationships girls may be threatened with violence or raped. This reflects the unequal power relationship between the genders and age. This unequal relationship does not lie between individuals, it rather lies between different social groups which are divided by gender and age. Such imbalances of power also originate in the social, economical, and cultural differences between men and women. Such phenomena, including in particular the denial of women's sexual self-esteem and violations of reproductive health rights, are characteristic of societies which discriminate against women.

To examine '*enjo kôsai*' it is imperative to include a consideration of the human rights of women and children, based on the above. From the point of view of the human rights of women, the Prostitution Prevention Law in Japan has been criticised for punishing only the women who sell themselves in prostitution, not the men who buy them. In response to this criticism, rather than analyse the behaviour and attitudes of female high school students, it is necessary to examine and discuss the behaviour and attitudes of men who buy sex with school girls, focusing on this as a form of commercial sexual exploitation of children (or 'child prostitution'). The exclusive focus on females students, who are both women and children, reflects a discriminatory attitude toward women and children. This over-concentration also distorts the basis of the debate about the sexual autonomy of children at its very base.

The spread of '*enjo kôsai*' has lowered the age of the girls targeted for prostitution, and it is therefore expected that the damage done to the victims will increase. There is an urgent need for us to understand the current situation of '*enjo kôsai*' to prevent its harmful expansion, and to protect the human rights of female high school students. By seriously considering such points and by focusing on '*enjo kôsai*' as 'child prostitution,' this preliminary study aims to clarify the attitudes and perceptions of female high school students concerning '*enjo kôsai*'.

I. Research Method

II—1 Methodology/ Selection of Interviewees

Interviews were conducted by several interviewers (see page 3). Thirty female high school students who live in the Tokyo Metropolitan area were chosen as interviewees. In each interview, three interviewers interviewed between one and four students. The subjects for the interviews were set after several discussions, however, if interviewers found that it was possible to probe a subject in depth, the interviewers then asked for further details, and did not necessarily ask all of the remaining questions. In this sense, the interviews that were carried out for this research were semi-structured.

In choosing the subjects for this study, efforts were made to select interviewees from a wide range of female high school students. Because of the time constraints, however, sampling was not random. Therefore, the results of this study do not necessarily represent the attitudes of all female high school students. In the future, studies need to be implemented with a larger sampling range and randomly chosen. The sample covered in this study is small, but nevertheless it provides insight into the perceptions of female high school students. Furthermore, it is hoped that this study will provide a useful starting point for future studies.

After three to five interviews, case conferences were held to discuss the outcomes. These conferences enabled the interviewers to improve the successive interviews. Based on the discussions, three subjects were interviewed again. (In the sixth interview, two out of four subjects who were interviewed during the first interview were interviewed again. In the fifteenth interview, the subject from the ninth interview was interviewed again.)

All the interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed.

II—2. Items to be Discussed in the Interviews

School Environment:

- school grade?
- school setting (private/public)?

- school setting (co-ed/single sex)?
- location of the school—means of transport to and from school?
- evaluation of school—fun/ or not, what kind of rules does your school have, are there any classes you can not keep up with?
- evaluation of teachers:
 - Are there any teachers you can talk to without any hesitation?
 - Do you feel that some of the teachers are enthusiastic? (Teachers Attitudes toward classes)
 - Are there any teachers who use violence on students?
 - Are there any teachers who treat boys and girls differently?
 - Are there any teachers who give different tasks for boys and girls?
 - Are there any teachers who sexually harass female students?
 - about male teachers and female teachers

Family Environment:

- family structure—father, mother, siblings, nuclear family or extended family?
- occupation of parents—father's occupation, mother's occupation (full-time/part-time), if part-time, when did she start working?
- has own room or not?
- does the family get together, for example for dinner?
- discipline(upbringing):
 - do you have a curfew?
 - do(es) your parent(s) have a strict gender based discipline?
 - do(es) your parent(s) discipline you differently from your male sibling(s)?
 - do you have to do chores such as preparing meals, grocery shopping, and doing the dishes?
- evaluation of family life:
 - is your home fun?
 - what roles do your mother and father take separately in the family?
- evaluation of parent(s) way(s) of life:
 - evaluation of mother?
 - evaluation of father?
 - how do you view your parent(s)?
 - do you regard your parent(s) as the model(s) of your family life in the future?
 - are your parents on good terms?

Relationship with Friends:

- number of friends—male/female?

- where did you meet them?
- do you have any 'best friends'?
- what kind of friends are your best friends?
- where did you meet them?
- how do you have fun with your friends?
- favourite boys?
- are you dating anyone?
- what kind of boys do you like?
- what do you do when you go out with your boyfriend?
- **questions regarding sexual awareness and sexual experiences (if she uses contraception or not):**
- knowledge and feelings about reproductive health rights?
- sexually autonomy—can you say, 'no' when a man you like asks you to have sex?
- feelings about choice of whether or not to give birth?
- perception of her own body?
- how do you manage your menstruation—measures basal body temperature?
- knowledge and about the side effects of the pill?
- knowledge and feelings about dangers of abortion and childbirth?

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- **experience of part-time jobs?**
- **amount of allowance**—how do you spend your allowance?
- orientation toward certain brands—'what is your favourite brand, do you take brand names into account when you purchase something?'

Communication Tools:

- **utilisation of communication technology**—pagers, mobile phones, etc.?
- means of gathering information—what kind of magazines do you read, favourite TV programs, favourite entertainers?

Future Plans:

- intended course: pursue career or go to higher educational institutions?
- school: occupational school/junior college/four year college or university
- major at school?
- career: 'What kind of job would you like to find?'
- are you going to continue your career after getting married/or having a child?
- marriage: image of marriage?
- when do you want to get married?
- future: image of future life?

- do you have any model for future life?
- ageing: significance of ageing—any differences between men and women?
- own image in 30 and 40?

Self Evaluation:

- self-esteem:
- is there anything that makes you feel invincible?
- do you sometimes feel that you are a ‘loser’?
- public self-consciousness:
- are you a self-conscious person?
- when do you feel embarrassed?
- are you worried about your appearance?
- are you worried about how your friend(s) see you?

About ‘enjo kôsai’:

- definition of ‘enjo kôsai’?
- high school students and ‘enjo kôsai’?
- Is there anyone around you who has experienced ‘enjo kôsai’?
- do you want to engage in ‘enjo kôsai’?—sense of guilt?
- reasons for engaging in ‘enjo kôsai’?
- means of engaging in ‘enjo kôsai’?
- adults seeking ‘enjo kôsai’?
- opinions about adults—view of *oyaji* (a disparaging term for middle-aged men), ‘*obasan*’ (middle-aged women)?
- opinions about men and women in general?
- establishment of ordinance by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government?
- regulations to punish adults?
- media coverage concerning ‘enjo kôsai’?
- especially expression such as ‘enjo kôsai’ by high school students
- ‘enjo kôsai’ and prostitution?
- is ‘enjo kôsai’ prostitution?
- sale of one’s own body in exchange for money (right or wrong)?
- why does prostitution persist?

Gender Equality:

- what is gender equality?
- do you consider the current society as the society where women and men are equal?

- how can you help to make this society more equal for men and women?’
- do you sometimes hate being a woman?’ If yes, when?
- if you can be reborn, do you want to become a girl/boy? Why?
- what are the good points about girls/boys?
- how do you perceive ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’?
- what is your idea of a feminine woman and a masculine man?
- what do you think about the idea that men work outside and women stay home?
- what do you think about the division of labour between genders?
- do you know the term ‘the commercialisation of sex?’
- what do you think about women objectified for commercial purposes?
- what do you think about beauty contests?
- The Relationship between ‘*enjo kô sai*’ and Gender Equality
- Reasons Why ‘*enjo kô sai*’ is Currently a Popular Social Issue

II—3 Characteristics of the Interviewees

Table 1 (following page) shows the characteristics, background, and general information of the interviewees. In the table, 1A indicates the high school student A in the first interview. Blank columns indicate that the answers were not obtained during the interview.

Table 1: Characteristics if the Interviewees

	1A	1B	1C	1D	2A	2B	3A	4A	4B	5A	7A	7B	7C	8A	8B	9A	10A	10B	11A	12A	12B	13A	13B	14A	14B	16A	17A	17B	18A	18B	
coed (1)/single sex(0)	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	
private(1)/ public(0)	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	
(1)/not (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
part-time job permitted(1)/prohibited(0)				1						1					0	0	1	1	1	0			1	1			1	0	0		
activities					1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1		0	0	
decided (1) /not yet (0)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Univ. or jr. college (1)/ not (0)	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	
professional school (1)/ not (0)	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
pursues a carrier (1) / (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
has both mother and father (1) / not (0)	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
has any siblings of opposite sex (1) /	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	
has any siblings of the same sex (1) /	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	
mother has a job (1)/ not (0)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	
has curfew (1) / not (0)				1	1					0	1	0	0			0													1	0	
does domestic duties (1) / not (0)				1	0	0	0	0	0	1														0	1			1	1	1	
father does domestic duties (1) / not				0						0	1	1											1	1						0	
has a boyfriend (1) / not (0)	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
has had a boyfriend before (1)/ never	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	
has a pager (1) / not (0)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	
has a PHS or a mobile phone (1) / not	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	
has allowance more than 8,000 yen (1)/	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1						0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	
less than 8,000 yen (0)	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	
has a part-time job (1) / not (0)	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	
(0)	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	
/ not (0)	1	1								1	1																			0	
school rules strict (1) / not strict (0)	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	
has a teacher who can talk to (1) / not	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1						0		1	1	
teachers harass students (1) / not (0)	1	1																				1	1	1							
classes are fun (1) / not (0)	0	0	0							0	0	0	0									1	1	0	1				1	0	
extracurricular activities are fun (1) /							1	1														0	0	0	1			1	1		
begin with friends is fun (1) / not (0)	1						1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1			0	0	1	1	
sees herself engage in some job (1) /	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0			0	
family see each other often (1) / not	0	1	0	0	0					0	1	1	0	0	0		1	0										0	1	1	
parents get along well (1) / not (0)	1						1	0	0	1	1	1	1				1						1				1		1	0	
parents discipline differently depending																															
on gender (1) / not (0)				0	1					0	0	0					1	0	0				1	1	1	1	1		0	1	
has ever experienced gender																															
discrimination (1) / not (0)							0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1						0	0	1	1			0	0	0	
girls around her do 'Enjo Kosai' (1) /	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	

III. Interview Results and Discussion

III—1 Summary of the Interview Results

Interview 1

Location: Hachioji, Tokyo

Interviewees:

A: an 11th grade female high school student; black hair; in uniform.

B: an 11th grade female high school student; hair dyed brown (*chapatsu*);
wearing ordinary clothes (a suit).

C: an 11th grade female high school student (18 years old); permed brown hair; in ordinary clothes.

D: a 9th grade female high school student; a friend of A's since early childhood.

School Environment:

- Co—educational; located on the Keio line.

Interviewees' Estimation of their School:

- 'school is fun, because my friends are there;' 'studying is not fun;' 'it's tiresome to study.'

School Regulations:

- Perms and piercing is permitted; Dying hair is not allowed (girls with dyed hair are not allowed to attend PE class, but they can attend other classes. When they are close to failing PE, they dye their hair back to its natural color, (which is why A's hair is black.)

Students' Opinion of the Teachers:

- they talk to their homeroom teachers about most matters, but they do not trust them because they think that the teachers discuss these topics with other people.

Family Background:

- A: lives with her parents and a younger brother; her mother works for a coffee shop which their relatives run; her father does not nag her, but her mother does; she is ambivalent towards her father, but thinks they are doing well; she thinks her parents' relationship is good; she does not eat meals with her family.
- B: lives with her parents and a younger brother; she thinks her parents treat her the same as her younger brother; she does not eat meals with her family.

- C: her parents are divorced; she lives with her father and a younger sister; she makes dinner on Sundays and Mondays and also prepares her sister's lunch box; she always eats meals with her family and sometime invites her boyfriend to the family dinner (At she always tries to make sure they all enjoy dinner.); she cleans up the house and does laundry; her father does not complains as long as she prepares the meals and goes to school.

Relationship with Friends:

- C says that she likes her school because she has friends there; when asked if they have 'close friends' or not the three of them thought in silence for a while. A said she has some friends whom she spends time with at school. It was difficult to determine their definition of close friends.
- they go shopping and to karaoke with their friends; when they have money, they go to Shibuya and Shinjuku (fashionable shopping districts in Tokyo) and buy clothes
- preferences in Men:
 - A: likes men similar to popular young actor Kimura Takuya.
 - B: likes kind men; she said she does not care about physical appearance
 - C: thinks that manliness means if the man can protect her or not
- Boyfriends:
 - A: 17 year old, no job (She first met him through a common acquaintance in her hometown.)
 - B: 17 year old high school student
 - C: 19 year old high school student; he was in a reformatory when he was a member of *bousouzoku* (biker gang); when he was 17 years old, he entered the school C goes to; C tends to stay at home when she is with her boyfriend

Attitudes toward Sex:

- sometimes has sex with men other than her boyfriend, but she is concerning stopping this; she is sometimes scared when her menstrual period is late; there are many girls at her school who become pregnant by their boyfriends, leave school, get married, and have children; they recognise the fact that they can get pregnant anytime, and so they are concerned about contraception, but they do not measure their basal body temperature; they obtain information about sex through their friends; there is sex education at their schools, but they do not understand it well.

Money—Pocket Money and Part-Time Jobs:

- A: 10,000 yen per month; the amount is not enough, so works for a convenient store (700 yen per hour) from 5:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. after school; earns about 40,000 yen a month; has worked as a party companion and earned 10,000 yen for 3 hours
- B: 10,000 yen per month.

- C: 30,000 yen per month; she is given more than others because she does household works; she does not work
- All of the three say that they spend their pocket money quickly, on clothing and cosmetics. They are interested in brand-name items.

Communication Tools:

- all of them have pagers; B also has a portable (mobile phone) phone; A wants to buy a mobile phone, but said she does not have enough money.

Future Plans:

- A: likes animals, so plans to go to a vocational school to be a trimmer for pets after her graduation
- B: wants to go to a vocational school to train to be a make-up artist; she plans to work after she is married (this causes arguments between her and her boyfriend because he wants her to be a housewife after their marriage. She, however, does not want to be tied to the house and wants to see many different worlds even after she get old. She does not like the idea of 'men at work, women at home').
- C: plans to go to a vocational school to be a beautician and wants to keep working after marriage and childbirth; she supposes that being trained for some trade means she will be recognised as an adult by her parents. As with B, she does not want to be tied to her house and wants to see the world outside her home; when her boyfriend says, 'I will be the breadwinner, you will be my wife,' she is pleased, but realistically she feels that she will be more restricted in that kind of situation. She answered that people can do whatever they want as long as they do not bother others to the question 'what do you think of a life like Matsuda Seiko's?'
- concerning marriage: both B and C say men want to marry. C said 'Men are preoccupied with the idea of feeding their wives,' (C was proposed to by her boyfriend the day before the interview, but C does not want to say yes. She said, 'just living together is better, isn't it? It's kind of troublesome to get married.' Her words seem to indicate that she does not want to marry because she will be tied to her house.)

'Enjo Kôsai':

- they do not have any close friends who are engaged in 'enjo kosai' now. None of them admitted having done it. A said that she can earn money by other means besides 'enjo kosai', and she does not do it because she said, 'I like myself a lot.' However, she also said that she does not mind having dinner with men. She feels 'enjo kosai' is fine for people if they want to do it. B also feels that 'enjo kosai' is fine if they want to do it, but she herself does not want to. C says that if one of

her friends were to get involved with it, she would stop her. Her rationale is that there is a possibility that the men involved might be gangsters, and be violent. But she thinks her friend may not stop, despite bad experiences

- they consider that it is the best to have sex with just their own boyfriends
- they do not think that selling and buying female high school students' sex in 'enjo kosai' is evidence of inequality between men and women, because nowadays high school boys also are being bought by adult women, known as *mamas*.
- all three of them have negative images of *oyaji* (middle-aged men) as 'greasy, dirty, and stinking'; *oyaji* who engage in 'enjo kosai' are considered disgusting, and they do not want to do 'enjo kosai' with such *oyaji*; they prefer younger men.
- now, 'enjo kosai' as a phenomenon is less common; in D's junior high school (A's younger friend) there are 2 girls who are involved in '*enjo kôsai*'.
- concerning media reports concerning female high school students: they sympathise with other female high school students because the news treats the activities of only a few female high school students as something all of them do. They do not want to be included in such a stereotypical view; they feel that they are stared at by *obasan* (middle-aged women) just because they are female high school students.
- concerning selling sex, A says, 'I don't care if people sell sex as long as they are not my friends,' 'I don't want to sell my body,' 'I don't want to waste my body,' 'people should take care of their bodies more,' and 'I don't want to catch any diseases.'

Gender Equality:

- If they were reborn, they would want to be girls again, because girls have an easier life than boys; boys have to work for living, but a girl can earn money by doing anything, for example, as a companion (escort).
- they have heard of the expression 'the commercialisation of sex'.
- the sex industry is similar to going to a convenience store—there are workers and customers; they consider the sex industry to be only one of many different business activities.
- judging women at beauty pageants is fine for them, because women have a good chance to use their gifts; they feel sorry for women who are not beautiful, though recently, men also are 'ranked' in magazines and so on, and so they do not feel that beauty pageants are a solely a women's issue.
- their definition of masculine is a man who will protect a woman
- they do not consider themselves as feminine (They sometime hit their boyfriends, etc.)

Interview 2

Location: Tokyo Gakugei Daigaku campus

Interviewees:

A: a 12th grade female high school student.

B: a 12th grade female high school student.

*They went to the same high school and graduated last spring. There is little to distinguish between them. Throughout the interview, they constantly agree with the each other's opinion. They dress and use make-up well.

School Environment:

- a girls' high school attached to a private junior college.
- they use Seibu-Shinjuku line from Fuchu (A), Kodaira(B); there are many farms, but no place to go out on the way home.
- they laughed at the question 'did you enjoy your school life?' and afterwards they became silent; and said they regret that they did not play more; they started to 'asobu' (engaging in restricted adult behaviors such as drinking, smoking, and sexual activity) when they were in the 12th grade.
- their school's regulations were strict, and they had to tie their hair in bunches or braids; dying hair was not allowed; skirts were to be knee-length (They usually shortened their skirts, but on the day of dress code inspection, they made the length longer. When they did not pass the inspection, their teachers continued to check the length and made them repair their skirts after school.); there were regulation school socks; earrings and makeup were not allowed, pierced ears were permitted as long as they did not wear earrings; they were not allowed to have part-time jobs.
- when they went out, they changed their school vests and socks.
- A belonged to the school *kado* (Japanese flower arrangement) club; B belonged to the personal computer club (although she only attended the club twice.); they were forced to join clubs when they were in the 10th grade, but in the 11th grade they could decide by themselves.
- when they were asked 'were there any good teachers?' they were silent
- the majority of the teachers were older men except for a few female home economics and English teachers.
- they did not talk to their teachers much; they felt the teachers were 'annoying'.

Family Background:

- A: father (office worker), mother (housewife) older brother
- (20 years old, does not live with them because he attends college), grandparents live in the same

house.

- B: father (owns a business), mother (housewife, has a side job),
- older sister (21 years old)
- both of them have curfews—A's is 9 o'clock, and B's is 11 o'clock; their sisters and brothers also have curfews, but they are later than A and B's; A perceives her parents discipline her more strictly than her brother; her mother tells her to do the dishes, but she does not do it; B also is told to do the dishes, but she does not do it, either.
- A's family does not gather together nor have dinner at the same time; A does not see her father frequently; B does not see her sister often.
- A's father does not do any housework.

Relationships with Friends:

- when they go out with their friends, they go to Kabukicho in Shinjuku (a famous entertainment and 'red-light district in Tokyo) and wander around and enjoy window-shopping; they rarely go to the movies.
- both A and B have boyfriends, but they are both close to breaking-up (the duration of their relationships—A: 2 months, B: 1 month; they met their boyfriends when they were picked-up by them on the street.; their boyfriends are older than them; they do not see each other frequently, and when they have dates, they do not talk much, but just go out in the car.)
- their ideal male type is a man who has a car (any kind of car), is older than them (because older men seem more 'adult', are reliable, and will take the lead), generous, cheerful, fun, and looks like a 'playboy' but is in fact faithful. It is better if the man lives near their home; the more good-looking he is, the better. They want to have boyfriends to show off; and they prefer domineering boyfriends; they want to marry men with large incomes; they cannot stand to be lied to about affairs; when they are dating somebody, they always seek excitement; when they are no longer find their boyfriends exciting, their relationships end.
- their relationships with men do not usually last a long time, and they believe the reason is because they are too concerned with finding an ideal man.
- they expect their boyfriends to be honest, but if they were picked-up by nice looking guys, they will go out with them.
- they use condoms for birth control; they can ask their boyfriends to use condoms, but they have sex without condoms if their boyfriends insist; they would not use birth control pills even if they were not banned in Japan, because they are afraid of the side-effects; they do not measure their basal body temperature.
- they would have an abortion if they became pregnant, because they feel that they do not have the financial means to raise a child, and also they want to go to junior college. If their partners have

enough money and ask them to have the baby, they would rethink this decision.

- they learnt about sex from health education and their friends.
- they dislike men who do housework.

Money:

- both A and B work as waitresses at a company (in-house) restaurant/bar.
- the wage is 900 yen an hour, and they work about three days a week (they will earn about 50,000 yen a month, but they just started to work there and have not been paid yet.)
- A does not receive any pocket money from her parents. B is given 7,000 yen a month. A was not given pocket money even before she started to work, and at that time she supported herself using her savings.
- A uses her money to buy clothes; B uses her money to buy clothes and to go out with friends (karaoke).
- when they are out of money, their parents give them some extra cash, but they prefer to earn it by themselves.

Communication Tools:

- both A and B have pagers and portable phone.
- they use these devices to contact their friends and boyfriends

Future Plans:

- they plan to go to junior colleges and study to be kindergarten teachers.
- they plan to quit their jobs and become housewives after they get married, but they will work part-time if they need the money.
- they love children, and A hopes to have 2 children (a boy and a girl) and B hopes to have 3 children (a boy, a girl, and a boy in that order). A plans to have babies during her early twenties; B wants to marry as soon as possible, but her current boyfriend is only for hanging-out with, and she does not think he is the one to be her future husband.
- A thinks marriage is the way to happiness for women.
- they hope not to be strict nor nag their children, but they want to get along well with them.
- A plans to work part-time.
- A named actress Yamaguchi Tomoko as a model for her future life. (She admires Yamaguchi for her way of life, frank personality, and popularity among both men and women. She is attracted by Yamaguchi Tomoko's attitude to life, not by her ability as an actress or housewife).
- men become *ojisan* (middle aged men) and women become *obasan* (middle aged women) after

they become 30 years old (This rule does not apply to TV stars, Yamaguchi Tomoko is not included in the category of *obasan*.)

- impressions of *obasan* are that they wear heavy make-up and are annoying; they do not want to be like *obasan*.
- society is not fair because there is job shortage for women, but they do not know a society which is not unfair.
- if they were reborn, they would want to be women again (since men have to work their whole lives, but women need only to take care of children and do housework, and can enjoy dressing themselves up.)
- concerning beauty pageants: they envy the winners but do not consider the events problematic.

Self Estimation:

- they feel happy when they go out, sing karaoke, and eat.
- they are not particularly proud of any of their characteristics (they suppose it might be nice to have strong points, but they also think it is all right not to have any good points.)

'Enjo Kosai':

- they are occasionally asked to go out by *oyaji*, but they refuse because they think they are disgusting.
- *oyaji* sometimes ask them 'why don't you do 'enjo kosai'?'
- the definition of 'enjo kosai' is vague, but they guess *oyaji* feel it includes having sex; they define 'enjo kosai' as doing 'something' with *oyaji*.
- they do not want to do 'enjo kosai', but if the only thing they need to do is having dinner with *oyaji*, and they can go with their friend and not alone, they will do it; (to go to see an *oyaji* alone is dangerous, because he might be violent if they refuse to have sex, and they might get in trouble for doing 'enjo kosai'.)
- among their friends, there are some girls who say, 'I want to do 'enjo kosai' for money,' but actually they do not do it.
- they believe that it is fine for people to do 'enjo kosai', if they want, and they would not stop their friends from doing it.
- they do not have any impressions concerning news reports about high school students.
- they are disgusted by *oyaji* who do 'enjo kosai'; it is gross to think that their fathers might do it or think about doing it (both of them feel sure that their fathers do not do 'enjo kosai' because they always come home early.)
- *oyaji* who try to pick them up on the streets 'wear glasses and look exactly like 'that certain (sleazy) type'.

- they will refuse to go out with an *ojisān* just because they are *ojisān*, but it would be OK if he were like a TV star.
- they do not think it is good to practice prostitution, but they do not think it is bad, either; they would choose to practice prostitution over a job like working as a traffic controller if the salary was the same, but they would both like to become kindergarten teachers. The difference between prostitution and other ordinary jobs is that people who do prostitution cannot be proud of the money they make.

Gender Equality:

- kindergarten teachers take care of children for working mothers, and they consider it is fine to leave children in daycare in order to work.
- they have called telephone clubs because it was popular when they were junior high school students; they made promises to see men they met through the telephone club but they usually did not show-up. When they were asked ‘what do you think about the idea that men who use telephone clubs see women purely as sex objects?’ they answered, ‘don’t know.’
- they have been sexually molested by strangers, and they have encountered exhibitionists.
- they think that a masculine man is one who can protect them.

Interview 3

Location: Fuchu

Interviewee: 2nd year female high school student, black hair, wearing ordinary clothes.

*She ties her hair in a ponytail and dresses neatly. She looks cheerful and answers the questions briskly. She says she values her life at present, but does not think concretely about her future.

School Environment:

- co-educational municipal high school
- school location: on the Keio line (takes Keio line from her home in Nakagawara, bikes from the station to school)
- interviewee’s estimation of the school: fun, she does not hate to study
- school regulations: almost none
- opinion of the teachers: most of the teachers are old and their lectures are boring; she named her PE coach (female) when she was asked if she had favorite teachers or not (A chose the coach

because A thinks she is 'cute', not because A trusts or particularly admires her.); her homeroom teacher (physical education teacher) is trusted by her classmates, but she does not confide in him.

Home Background:

- lives with her parents and older sister; her father works for the post office and her mother has a part-time job; her sister is a freshman at a junior college
- when A was a small child, her sister (who is bossy and rough) bullied her (A felt she was her sister's slave), but now they get along well
- A's parents disciplined her sister strictly, but she ended up 'like that', so they are not strict to A; her mother is still short-tempered
- her parents occasionally go out together, but usually her mother complains that her father drinks too much
- her family does not go out together, but she gets along with them well and talks with her mother and father

Relationships with Friends:

- Friends: she has many friends (both girls and boys); she knows all the people in her school; she insists there are no bad people and everyone gets along well; she has many friends who are boys, but she seldom falls in love with them; she usually goes out in girl-only groups or mixed groups, and does not go out with any boys outside of school; she enjoys talking about 'silly' topics and about her love life
- Close friends: she does not have a clear definition of close friends; she has five 'friends to whom she talks about everything' both in her homeroom class and her after-school club
- **boy friends:** she does not have a boyfriend; when she was in junior high school she did, but she has not often fallen in love in high school; when she loves someone, she usually likes him as a friend at first and then her feelings turn into love, although she does not tell him; she does not want to date a boy just because he loves her; she thinks boys tend to start dating girls who love them, then fall in love with these girls; her type of man is a fun person; she emphasizes that having something to enjoy is important

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- **pocket money:** 8,000 yen a month
- spends her money mainly on karaoke; she looks for and goes to inexpensive places; she goes shopping in Shibuya because there are many shops she likes; she buys big things when she has an extra money; her grandparents sometime give her money; she thinks she has enough money, although it is hard to manage it; she does not work because she does not have to work and it is too

much trouble for her to work, although she thinks it is good to earn money; when she needs money to buy lunch, her parents give her some extra money

Communication Tools:

- she has a pager; she thinks mobile phones are convenient, but she cannot afford one, and actually does not really want one; but she feels needs a pager, and she will be in trouble if she didn't have one because she would not be able to contact her friends

Future Plans:

- after Graduation: she wants to go to college and be a physical education teacher; she used to enjoy track and field sports when she was in primary school; when she was a junior high school student she started to think about her future realistically, and thought that she would like to teach, and would be able to earn decent money
- **college entrance examinations:** she has not started to prepare for entrance examinations yet, but plans to start soon
- **marriage:** she does not want to marry a man like her father, nor wants to be a wife and mother like her mother; she wants to continue working after marriage; she wants to return to the workplace after taking maternity leave and raising her children; however, she does not have any concrete ideas about her future besides being a P. E. teacher
- **aging:** she does not want to get older because she believes that now is the best time in her life; she recognizes that there may be interesting events at any stages of life and wants to enjoy getting older; she hates the thought of having a boring life

Self Evaluation:

- she thinks she is happy because she enjoys her school life and has many friends
- she does not think about anything in particular when she is alone; when she talks and writes to her friends, she realizes what she thinks;
- **what she finds embarrassing:** nothing; she is sometimes embarrassed when she falls down or when she farts while sleeping; she does not like to be embarrassed, so she makes embarrassing situations into jokes
- **faults:** she had not thought about her faults, but if anything, she is forgetful and irresponsible

Enjo Kô sai:

- she does not do 'enjo kô sai', nor does she know anyone who does it; when she was in her junior high school, there were some people who did, and they invited her to do it, but she did not think it was right; if her friends wanted to do 'enjo kô sai', she would stop them.

- she thinks that girls do '*enjo kô sai*' for money, but she will work if she needs money; she believes that money is compensation for labor; she does not consider '*enjo kô sai*' to be her problem, but she also says that, if something happened, I don't know.'
- she thinks men who use Fuzoku (sex industry) do not have girl friends; she also believes girls who do not have boyfriends do '*enjo kô sai*'
- '*enjo kô sai*' is a 'give and take' (there are workers who want to earn money by this system, and customers who want to satisfy their sexual desire.), so it is fine

Gender Equality:

- so far, she has never felt any inequality between men and women, but she thinks girls are more pampered than boys; she does not think she has any advantages as a girl, and sometimes she feels certain disadvantages of being woman such as when she is scared of rape or exhibitionists on the way home in the dark
- at school, male teachers are partial to girls and female teacher are partial to boys, so girls and boys are equal
- at home, her mother does household work, and she does not mind doing household work either; she does not mind cooking for her boyfriend, or husband, but she will shout 'you must help me sometimes,' if she always has to do it, or she is really tired

Interview 4

Location: Shinjuku

Interviewees: A: a 12th grade female high school student, wearing ordinary clothes and a black coat

B: 12th grade female high school student, wearing ordinary clothes and a beige coat

*(A and B are twins. Both of them have clear opinions and they were very positive about being interviewed.)

School Environment:

- co-educational public high school; they graduated last spring; they took the bus from the nearest bus stop to Oji station, then the Keihintohoku line and the Yamanote line
- few school regulations; A belonged to an after-school club (volleyball), and B went to *juku* (tutoring school)

- both of them went to China on a school trip
- both of them say that they greatly enjoyed their high school life
- they have stronger relationships with teachers with whom they worked with on school events than with their homeroom teachers

Home Background:

- a two-salary family; their father holds a managerial position in a school and their mother is a nurse; they have a younger brother
- A feels that their father 'is a model who we do not want to be', 'he is a person from whose bad acts one can learn', 'he is stubborn'; B says that, 'he is soft on himself, but severe with others'; they believe he changed when he became a manager
- A describes their mother as 'pitiful, because she has children like us', and 'what is the point of her life?'; B feels sorry for their mother
- A and B talk to each other a lot; they listen to each other's advice even though their ideas and values are different

Relationship with Friends:

- they often go out to Shinjuku with their friends to karaoke and bowling
- A sometimes sees the friends whom she met during the trip to China
- B goes out with her *Juku* friends
- **close friends** A: 'When I'm having fun, I don't need any close friends, but when I'm having trouble and want to rely on somebody, I need someone whom I can trust'; she thinks both men and women can be close friends; she has 'close friends'
- B: 'Someone who has similar thoughts as I do and I want to be with for a long time. Someone who I can enjoy chatting with and I can talk about anything I think with'; her close friend is a girl
- **boyfriends**: A: she had a boyfriend before, but she does not have one now; her last boyfriend was two years older than her; the reason why they broke up was that she was sick of his 'kind of abnormal behaviour to restrict me doing what I wanted'; now they are 'close friends'
- B: she does not have one now, and the relationships between her and her last boyfriend was like a friendship; they just stopped seeing each other at some point, and broke up
- both of them do not mind having sex with their boyfriends, but never fail to practice birth control; A says 'it is important protect myself' and B says 'it is important think about both myself and my boyfriend'
- **preferences in men**: least favorite type of men: B does not like men who 'try to stop me doing what I want'; A does not like to have her activities restricted either, but also thinks it is okay to be restricted at a certain level, if her boyfriend wants to

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- both A and B are given 8,000 yen a month; they do not think the amount is enough, but they are able to manage their daily life with this amount; their parents give them extra money for their clothes and stationery; they do not work

Communication Tools:

- A had a pager because her last boyfriend made her, but she returned it to him

Future Plans:

- **After Graduation:** A: she will go to a private four-year college; she wanted to be a medical doctor, but she realised it is too hard to be a doctor for her, so she chose to go to a school of human sciences to study sports medicine
- B: she is waiting for the results of her entrance exam for a national nursing school; if she fails, she will go to a vocational school; it seems natural for her to be a nurse because her mother is a nurse, too
- **marriage:** A: she does not want to marry because she hates the idea of being restricted by her husband; the reason why she will not marry is that, 'if I had a family, I may not be able to do everything I want to do'; she wants to keep working even if she gets married; she wants to marry a 'mentally strong' man; she likes the physical appearance of Inaba of B'z (a pop group); B: she wants to keep working after she gets married, because she does not want to be tied to her house; she wants to marry 'a kind man'; she likes the physical appearance of Sakurai of Mr. Children (a pop group)

Self Evaluation:

- A: she is sometimes embarrassed by her friends, not by her parents, brother, or teachers

'*enjo kô sai*':

- **definition:** A: to help girls financially; B: when a girl wants someone buy something for herself, to realise her expectations.
- **opinion of girls who do '*enjo kô sai*':** A: they have different values from her about what important things are; the difference is which is more important—money or themselves; the people who buy girls are worse than people who sell their sex, because the business is only able to exist when there are people who buy sex. B: she thinks doing '*enjo kô sai*' or not depends on the individual's values, and it is nothing to do with anybody else
- Neither of them do '*enjo kô sai*' because they 'respect themselves'
- A: she does not want her friends to do it, but she cannot do anything for them without their will to

change their minds, because it is not A's position to decide what her friends do

- B: she thinks it is not her business; if the person who does 'enjo kôsai' is her close friend, she will try to stop her by pleading with her; when she was asked 'what will you do if the person does not stop doing 'enjo kôsai' even after you begged?' she answered that, 'if the person is my close friend, she will definitely understand what I'm saying'
- **opinion of men who buy sex:** A: she said, 'I can't forgive them'; she cannot forgive the behavior of 'older, adult men' who date 'younger girls' by giving them money. B: 'real adults' should not do it
- **prostitution:** A does not feel angry about prostitution if the people who buy and sell sex are adults and equals, although she does not like it; she thinks that prostitution is fine if it is the case that people cannot live without doing it, but it is bad if people do it just for money when they live well; when she was asked what she thinks about prostitution where unpopular guys buy women to satisfy their sexual desires she answered that it is understandable

Gender Equality:

- A recognizes that there is a history of women being dominated by and relying on men, and thinks women have to become independent, but she thinks it is impossible to eliminate sex discrimination as long as there are women who try to depend on men; when she was asked what she thinks about women who must be prostitutes to live she answered 'it would be a good thing if there was a system to protect prostitutes.' B said that she agrees with A

Interview 5

Location: Fuchu, Tokyo

Interviewee: A: 12th grade (graduated last spring)

* She is tall and slender. She has trimmed hair and does not dye her hair. She wears 2 pierced earrings on her left ear and 1 on her right ear. She was very passive when she was interviewed.

School Environment:

- she went to a private girls' high school in Kanagawa prefecture; it took about an hour to get to school from her house; the school regulations were strict; there were school knee socks, but she changed her socks on the way to and from her school, and untied her hair; she dyed her hair back to its natural color when she was told to by her teacher
- there were many female teachers at her school; she did not like any of them; she was always bored

listening to their lectures, but she did not skip classes; she did not belong to any clubs

- students were not allowed to have part-time jobs, but she did anyway; if students were found working, they would be suspended or dismissed from school;
- her school was 'weird' because there was a mix of both outgoing and shy girls.
- none of her school friends were associated with '*enjo kôsei*'

Home Background:

- she has to call home after 10 o'clock p.m., but it is not a curfew
- she lives with her parents, an older sister (24 years old) and an older brother (21 years old); the relationship with her parents is good; she is the youngest among her siblings; she does not have her own room, but her sister and brother have their own rooms; she used to want to have her own room, but she is planning to live with her friend soon, so she now thinks, 'It is fine, I will leave here soon'; her parents do seem to have any opinion on her leaving home
- her parents are concerned about her having too much fun, because she goes out more often than her siblings
- she does not confide in her mother; her family rarely eats dinner together; she says that, 'my mom seems to work somewhere'; she does not appear to admire her mother's life
- her father is an ordinary business man, and she does not see nor talk to him often; he does household work, and she thinks it is fine for him to do so

Relationships with Friends:

- she has friends 'in the same way as other people'
- when she goes to karaoke she usually does so in her local area (Nakagawara), Kokubunji, and Fuchu, and when she goes shopping she usually goes to Shibuya, Harajuku, and Daikanyama; she only is able to go out on Saturdays and Sundays
- when she goes shopping she goes with her friends from high school; when she goes out with her friends who live nearby, she tends to come home late
- many of her friends have boyfriends; they tend to start dating through introductions by mutual friends, and only a few girls have been 'picked up' on the street
- she has a friend with whom she can talk about everything, she feels awkward to say the friend is her best friend; she has not thought about whether she is her best friend or not
- **boyfriends:** she does not have a boyfriend; she is not interested in parties; she liked a boy when she was a junior high school student, but now she is not interested in dating anyone
- she said her favorite type of man is 'ordinary'; she likes the physical appearance of actor Hakamada Yoshihiko; she likes 'fun and kind' men
- she sometimes sees her male friends from junior high school, but not particularly often; it is more

fun to go out with girls than boys

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- she used to work in a bar (*izakaya*) from Monday to Friday; she earned about 80,000 yen a month; her parents gave her 5,000 yen a month
- she spends her money going out with friends and buying clothes, and does not save money at all; she thinks she should have saved some money; she is not interested in brand-name items

Communication Tools:

- she has neither a pager nor a mobile phone; her friends have suggested that she get on of these, but she does not feel that she needs them

Future Plans:

- she wants to work if she can find an interesting job, and keep working after marriage; she does not have any concrete ideas about her future
- she is planning to go to a vocational school after high school
- she is planning to live with her friend from grade school
- when asked what kind of woman she wants to be, she said that she wants to be an independent woman
- she wants to marry a fun and kind man
- she would not mind being supported by her husband, but does not expect the man to earn big money; she does not want to marry someone whom she does not love just for the sake of getting married; she dislikes the idea of arranged marriage.

Self Evaluation:

- she does not particularly like herself, but she does not have any desire to make efforts to improve her personality; she seldom thinks about herself, she seems to want to live without being influenced by others
- she does not care about her physical appearance
- she is not proud of anything about herself, but she is not embarrassed either; she felt embarrassed once when she vomited after drinking too much and was photographed with her zipper open

'Enjo Kôsai':

- she thinks it is fine for people to date *oyaji* for money, but she does not want to do it herself
- her friend that she is planning to live with does '*enjo kôsai*', but she does not agree nor disagree with her, because her friend wants to do it; her friend started to do '*enjo kôsai*' through a telephone

club; she nodded when she was asked if her friend has sex through 'enjo kôsai'; A's friend has sex for 30,000 to 40,000 yen; she does not tell her boyfriend that she does 'enjo kôsai'; A has been treated to barbecue dinner, karaoke and drinks by her friend's *oyaji* (he is in his twenties); the man seems to be an ordinary man; A thinks she is worse than her friend because she is treated without doing 'enjo kôsai'; she thinks her friend will stop doing 'enjo kôsai', if she gets in trouble

- she described the *oyaji* as 'indecisive' and 'he should stop'; she feels sorry for him because her friend makes him treat her all the time
- A used a telephone club when she was in elementary school, but she does not do it now
- she described the image of *oyaji* as 'indecisive and fat', 'bald', and 'burned-out'; she thinks men in their forties and fifties are *oyaji*, and men in their thirties are *ojisan*
- the image of *obasan* is dull and overweight; she hopes to live like she does now even when she gets older

Gender Equality:

- she has not experienced any disadvantages as a woman; she is happy to be a woman; when she was asked what kind of advantages women have she answered that women do not have to work for their whole life; when she saw girls who do 'enjo kôsai' she has thought that women are lucky
- she does not want to be protected by men
- she seemed to have difficulty answering questions about Gender Equality because she has never really thought about this topic

Interview 6

Location: Hachioji

Interviewees: A and B: 2nd year high school students

* They are two of the four interviewees from the first interview. This time we could not ask them from the view point of gender equality which was the basic purpose of the interviews. However, we could see how high school students get involved in the sex industry.

School Environment:

- it might be less severe than sexual harassment, but a young teacher who is called M tries to tell his mobile phone number to his students
- when they went on a school excursion, M drank alcohol and entered the room of B; when B said

'you smell like alcohol', M said 'no, I don't. you should kiss me, then you will know I don't smell alcohol'; B took his words as a joke, but she wanted him behave himself

- when his students check their pager messages, M tries to read the messages
- B tries to tell M to stop it jokingly in order not to make their relationships worse

Financial Life and Daily Life

- when they 'run out of money', they work at a bar; 'run out' means when they only have 1,000 yen
- B's parents give her some money when she is out of money, but she says 'my parents are poor, so I feel bad when they give me money'; A agrees with B
- B serves alcohol as a bar hostess but does not do more than that (i.e. Does not engage in sexual activity with customers)
- A has worked for a 'pink salon'; she did not take any customers; usually, the wage is 2,500 yen a hour, but she earned 7,500 yen for 2 hours because the owner expected her to work there in the near future
- B engages in 'oyaji-gari' ('oyaji-hunting'—lure a man through promises of sex, and then rip him off); she and her friends (two strong boys; she is now dating one of them) call up a man through a telephone club; the first time A also joined, but the man did not show up; the second time, a man came, but he looked 'kind', 'poor' and 'like an agricultural labourer', they did not actually rip him off; she usually only plans 'oyaji-hunting', but does not carry it out

Relationships with Friends

- there is no line between friends and close friends; everyone is just a 'friend' to them
- B describes friends as 'people with whom I can relax', 'people I don't have to worry about', 'people I can talk about everything with', and 'people I get along with ell'
- they hate girls who change their attitude in front of boys
- she has felt embarrassed when she fell, for example, but if her friend was with her, she would not be embarrassed; she is never embarrassed in her friend's presence
- they use telephone clubs to meet new people; they sometimes see 'nice people', but sometimes are forced to have sex; 'nice people' means people who do not force them to have sex, but buy dinner for them

'Enjo Kôsai':

- 'enjo kôsai' means that a girl earns money by having sex with a man; it is not a 'one night stand' but the relationships lasts for a while; B explained 'enjo kôsai' as to have a 'papa'
- prostitution is just a one-night stand, and lovers means a sexual relationship with love
- A did 'enjo kôsai' in January; she finds a man with her friend through a telephone club and has

sex; she has charged 25,000 yen and 10,000 yen; when she had sex for 25,000 yen, the condom they used broke; when she earned 10,000 yen, first the man agreed to pay 20,000 to her, but he said he only was able to pay 10,000 after they went to a hotel; the man was a 'nice man', so she had sex with him for 10,000 yen after all; the man gave her his phone number, but she has not contacted him

- one of her friends, who has done '*enjo kôgai*', did it because she needed money to live after she left her home; she did '*enjo kôgai*' with a man who looked like a company president, and on the first date he gave her 10,000 yen without doing anything; but the next day, he forced her to have anal sex; she earned 30,000 yen for it
- A tries to persuade her friends to stop '*enjo kôgai*', but nobody listens to her
- A and B are planning to see a dentist who gives them some cash just for going out with him; B says 'we are really looking forward it'

Relationships with Boyfriends

- A has dated her boyfriend for a year; he is about the tenth boyfriend for her (including boyfriends whom she dated only once); her boyfriend lives with her family; he takes care of her younger brother, so her parents do not complain about him; she is sometimes tired of being with him all the time; she wants to be free
- B has dated her boyfriend for 1 month and 2 weeks; he checks what she is doing every hour by calling her pager; he is jealous when she talks with other boys; B herself wants to dominate the relationships, so she does not like to be dominated; he is her fifth boyfriend; she does not like to discuss breaking up with her boyfriend, so she tries to slowly end the relationships
- both of their boyfriends want to get married and hope the girls will be housewives; A and B, however, want to work as make-up artists and beauticians, so disagree with their boyfriends; A insists that as long as her boyfriend does not permit her to work, she will not marry him; B just decided to go to a vocational school, so she does not want to think about marriage
- both A and B complain about their boyfriends because they try to restrict their activities

Interview 7

Location: Hibarigaoka

Interviewees: A :2nd year high school student, B and C: 1st year high school student

* They are managers of a soccer team. The oldest answered most of the questions, and she seems lively and reliable. A and B enjoyed talking on the way to the interview location, but C was quiet and did not talk much. C's passive attitude was observed during the interview as well.

School Environment

- co-educational municipal high school
- school location: on the Seibu-Ikebukuro line (all of them live 30 minutes from the school by bike, and go to school by bike)
- interviewees' estimation of the school: studying is boring, but it is fun to talk with friends and to go to clubs; many students go to college; one third of the students take recommended exams for designated schools, and the rest of the students take regular recommended exams, ordinary entrance exams or spend one or two years preparing for the entrance examination (*ronin*); students choose to do *ronin* not because of failing the entrance exams but rather because they want to go to better colleges; there are only few students who start working right after graduation
- school regulations: they think the school regulations are loose; they do not have any trouble with the school regulations; they are guided to change the situation by themselves whenever they have troubles; teachers let the students decide what they should do
- teachers: they do not talk with their teachers very much; when they talk with teachers, they talk as managers and club counselors; the numbers of female teachers and male teachers are about the same, but the number of the female teachers is slightly fewer than male teachers; the lectures are boring

Family Environment:

- A: she lives with her parents and a younger sister (3rd year junior high school student); they moved recently and A finally obtained her own room; she does not get along with her sister well; her mother works for a temporary home service center on week days and when A first helped her mother, she started to think about studying welfare for the aged; her father is strict, but he goes shopping with the family on Sundays and cooks sometimes, so he is A's ideal husband; however, A also distrusts him because he makes A keep a portable mobile phone and gives her a strict curfew even though he treats her as an adult; the relationship between her mother and father is good, but they do not talk much; her family eats dinner together
- B: she lives with her parents and a younger brother (2nd year junior high school student); her mother has a part-time job 3 days a week; she comes home to prepare dinner, therefore her working does not change the division of household work; the relationship between her mother and father is good, but when her father comes home drunk, her mother is not amused; her family talks with each other a lot
- C: she lives with her mother and a younger brother (8th grade); her father is a business bachelor and comes home once a month; her mother has a part-time job 3 days a week; the relationship between her mother and father is good; C talks with her mother a lot, but does not talk with her father; it

does not mean that she hates him

- **curfews:** C does not have curfew, but she is scolded when she comes home late (after 10 o'clock p.m.); B does not have curfew either, and when she is going to be late, she only has to call home; A's curfew is 7 o'clock p.m., and she feels it is much more strict than her friends; when her father is not home, her mother overlooks her coming home late
- they do not feel there are any differences between men and women; they think their parents treat them the same as their brothers

Relationship with Friends:

- they are too busy with their clubs to go out with friends
- **boyfriends:** for co-educational school, boys and girls make friends first and then start dating after they get to know each other well; therefore relationships tend to last for long time
- A: she had a boyfriend before, but now they are just friends (he belongs to the same soccer club as her); she needs a lot of energy to date and break up with a boyfriend, and is scared to be hurt; therefore, she tends to think of dating and marriage as the same; she likes men who have the same values as her and enjoy the same things; she does not mind dating a younger man, if he is mature and she can rely on him
- B: she does not want to date a younger man as long as she goes to school, but once she starts working she would not care about the age
- C: she wants to date someone who is reliable because she is naive; she prefers the same age or older men
- **sex and contraception:** they have learned how to practice birth control; they are told that they should not depend only on their standard temperature, but they should use condoms when they have sex
- A: she does not have sex just because she loves a man; she knows people who have sex with many people and break-up easily, but she does not want to have such kinds of relationships or sex; she believes a man she loves is a person who does not date her for sex but loves her and use birth control with her; of course she needs to date to know what kind of the person he is, and when she understands the person, she may change her opinion about him; she wants to be a person who can say 'no', but she may not be able to say so
- B: she is scared to have sex because there is no perfect method of birth control; she hopes the person whom she dates will make her feel safe; she can keep saying no to her date until she feels safe
- C: she thinks that she will regret if she has sex easily, but she will have sex if she loves a man; she also wants to be a woman who can say no

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- all of them think that they go out with friends much less than other people because they go to clubs after school everyday except for Monday. They have to go to clubs on Saturday and Sunday, too.
- A: she is not given pocket money by her parents; she used to work, but she quit because she was too busy with her club; whenever she needs money, she can ask her parents, but she usually does not need money because she does not go out often
- B: her parents give her 5,000 yen a month; her parents sometimes give her extra money; she buy clothes with her New Year's gift money
- C: her parents give her 10,000 yen a month; she worked during her winter vacation; she spends money on worthless things, so she sometimes becomes broke

Communication Tools:

- A: she has a portable mobile phone; her father makes her have it to know what she does; because he pays for the expenses and it is useful for contacting her friends, she thinks it is okay to have it
- B: she has a pager; she only uses it for silly chatting not for important communication
- C: she does not have either a mobile phone or a pager, so she feels inconvenienced when she needs to contact her friends

Future Plans:

- **after graduation:** all of them plan to go to school
- A: she cannot decide which she should study: social welfare or nursing; she is planning to take an entrance exam for a vocational school where she can get licensed for either of them, but she cannot make up her mind because her older friend advised her to go to a junior college if she really wants to be a kindergarten teacher
- B: she wants to be a nurse or a dietitian, but since she is not good at mathematics, she is thinking about studying humanities
- C: she wants to go to college but is also thinking about going to a vocational school to be a beautician; she has been influenced by two aunts who are beauticians
- **marriage:** A: she wants to marry ultimately; she thinks happiness for her is not working hard but staying at home and taking care of her husband and children; she wants to be a mother who can understand her children's feelings and is wanted to be at home by her children; she thinks that for qualified professional jobs it is difficult to take days off for the people who need her, so she thinks it is good to do volunteer work after she has raised her children
- B: she wants to marry, and after staying at home and raising her children she wants to work again; her dream is to be family-oriented, and then, if she has extra energy, work outside of home; her

ideal husband is a man who cares about his family a lot and works hard for his family; if he has something he is devoted to and wants to master, she will not force him to be family-oriented

- C: if her job is interesting, she will keep working, although she will only know it is fun or not after she actually starts working
- **opinions of *obasan***: they call each other '*obasan*' in an attempt to distance themselves from prevalent images of female high school students; they feel that women do not necessarily become *obasan* as long as they are full of life doing whatever they want; whether women become *obasan* or not depends on their spirit not age

'*Enjo Kôσαι*':

- **opinions of girls who do '*enjo kôσαι*'**: she cannot understand why people do such things; she guesses that only girls who do '*enjo kôσαι*' think once they lost their virginity, it is the same to have sex once or millions of times; she thinks only people live in a different world from her do '*enjo kôσαι*'
- B: she thinks girls do '*enjo kôσαι*' for money, but they will regret it later
- C: she does not know anyone who actually does '*enjo kôσαι*', so she feels it happens in a different world
- **feelings if a close friend did it**: they will stop their friends from doing it, because close friends are people who have similar values to them, they will stop the friends before they regret it; if they stop people who are not their friends, the people will think 'it is not your business'
- A: girls who do '*enjo kôσαι*' get advantages at first, but their sensibility towards money will change, and they cannot keep doing it; they may not regret it, but if they fall in love with someone wholeheartedly, they may be going to regret having done it
- B: she guesses that the girls know it is bad to do '*enjo kôσαι*', so they may hate themselves later
- C: she thinks that even some girls are good at doing such kinds of things for money, but they may think they are impure later
- **opinions on *oyaji***: B thinks when female high school students who do '*enjo kôσαι*' use the word *oyaji*, they look down on the men and do not see them as human beings; *oyaji* are men who do everything for them
- the line between *oyaji* and *ojisan* depends on their physical appearance not on the age
- *oyaji* means men who are hated by everyone (for example, men who smell bad, bald, and fat and greasy) and approach high school students, although they do not try to touch the girls; A says that *ojisan* means men who are heart-warming and like fathers, or rich middle age men; A thinks the word *oyaji* is associated with a father (it may be because boys call their fathers *oyaji*)

Gender Equality:

- none of them have experienced inequality for being women; A says that she has not thought about the disadvantages of being a woman because she was appraised when she did her best without consideration for her sex
- B is concerned about her future job and says that nurses and dietitians are thought of as women's jobs and she will not feel any disadvantages to work in those fields
- **beauty pageants:** they think that beautiful women have advantages; they do not recognize the topic as their own issue; they do not have any opinions about women who are graded and shown at the pageants; the only thing they think is they envy these beautiful women

Interview 8

Location: Shinjuku

Interviewees: A and B are 3rd year high school students

* Both of them graduated last spring. They do not wear make-up and dress in simple clothes. They give an impression of being ordinary high school students. A has permed brown hair (*chapatsu*) that is kept up. B has her hair dyed a light brown. Both A and B care how other people think about them.

School Environment:

- A takes the Keio line from Chohu, where she lives, to Shinjuku, and B takes the Tobu-Tojo line from Itabashi, where she lives, to Ikebukuro and then takes the Yamanote line to Shinjuku; they take a bus or subway, or walk to their school from Shinjuku station; it takes about 50 minutes from their home to the school
- B explained when she went to her high school, she wanted to graduate as soon as possible, but at the time of her graduation, she did not want to leave the school
- they have a uniform, but they do not have wear it; neither A nor B like the uniform, so they sometimes borrow cute uniforms from friends at other schools and wear sweaters and cardigans instead of school blazers; they wear short skirts and loose socks
- the school regulations are not strict, but the school has conservative and serious atmosphere; they feel peer-pressure to not follow the high school fashion, therefore, trends are brought to their school slowly
- because they have only few school regulations, they do not feel that their activities have been restricted; they are allowed to work if their parents permit it ; they believe that because of loose

regulations, they have to decide how to dress by themselves and learn they do not have to be flashy now; one of the reasons they do not want to be flashy is peer pressure which goes against showy trends

- in their junior high schools, there was bullying and some students would ignore a certain students, and the teachers say they could not rely on their teachers; they do not trust teachers because they only think about themselves and favor students who obey them; students who do not obey teachers are hated by them; A and B do not consult their teachers about their future

Family Environment:

- A: lives with her parents (they run a soba noodle shop), younger sister (2nd year high school student) and younger brother (2nd year junior high school student); because of the shop, they usually do not eat meals at the same time, but they sometimes go out for dinner when the shop is closed; she wants to marry a man like her father (domestic type and likes do-it-yourself carpentry); she respects her mother, even though she does not like her so much
- B: her father died of a illness last January; her mother has a job; she lives with her brother (sophomore in college) and grandmother; she usually eats meals alone
- both of them recognize their parents are the people whom they ultimately rely on; but they trust their friends over their parents; A says her parents have different opinions than she does, so she does not talk with them
- they cannot talk about serious matters because they feel too embarrassed

Relationships with Friends:

- the number of students at the school is small, so they consider all of them to be their friends, but they are not close friends; A and B are close friends, and they can talk about everything; A, however, cannot talk about sexual matters with her boyfriend, because she is too embarrassed; they have friends who are boys, but they are not close enough to talk about their problems
- they have little money, so they go to inexpensive karaoke places in Shinjuku or go to fast food restaurants and drink juice when they go out with friends; they sometimes go to Shibuya
- they often go out together when they do not have any classes, but they do not spend very money
- A has a boyfriend who is younger; she was picked up by him on the street; they started to date last October; her current boyfriend is more generous than her last boyfriend, and she can talk about everything with him
- B likes boys who are good-looking like Morita Tsuyoshi of V6 (pop group); she likes kind men; a kind man is a man who is nice to everyone and generous and sweet only to her; the boy she likes now is always joking and makes people laugh but also has a very serious personality
- A agrees with the lyrics of a song by a group called 'globe':

- they like men who behave coldly to everyone including themselves but actually are very kind; A judges kindness as for example when a man helps her if she falls, and B recognizes kindness as when a man helps her to carry luggage; etc.
- they choose men by their personality, not their faces, although they pay attention to the faces when they first meet men
- they cannot imagine that students date adults; it may be because they are still students; they cannot picture dating men in their 40s and 50s, because they feel men in their 40s and 50s are like their fathers
- A is hurt when her friends say bad things about her personality, and both A and B are hurt when they are treated like children

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- A: worked at a restaurant at a swimming place as a waitress until she was 2nd grade; the wage was 700 yen an hour when she was in the 1st grade, and 850 yen an hour when she was in the 2nd grade; her pocket money from her parents: 1st grade-7,000 yen a month, 2nd grade-10,000yen, 3rd grade-12,000 yen; she buys her clothes and cosmetics on sale and asks her parents to pay when they go on trips abroad, because it is cheaper than in Japan; her parents do not give her extra money even if she is out of money and ask her to manage her budget with her limited pocket money
- B: worked at a supermarket near her home; she displayed items and was a cashier until the 2nd grade; the wages were; 1st grade-750 yen an hour, 2nd grade-800 yen an hour; she worked 3 day a week when not attending cram school; when she worked, her parents gave her 5,000 yen a month for pocket money, and after she quit working, they give her 10,000 yen a month; when she is out of money, her parents give her some extra money, but she feels bad and does not ask very often because her brother asks for money too often

Communication Tools:

- A has a mobile phone and B has a pager, but having these devices means following a trend, and their friends look down upon this behavior, so they have to hide the fact that they have them
- B has a pager in order to contact her friends from her hometown

Future Plans:

- after graduation, A will do *ronin* and plans to go to college in order to be a kindergarten teacher, which she has wanted to be since she was in a kindergarten; B will go to a junior college and major in Japanese literature
- A wants to marry as soon as possible, and because being a kindergarten teacher is a worthwhile job, she wants to keep working after childbirth (although she might take child-care leave); in case

that her husband wants her to stay home, she will try to persuade him to let her keep working; when she was a small child, she experienced loneliness because her mother did not have time to spend with her, but now she understands that her mother was working in order to support her and her siblings; when she was asked what she thinks about her children possibly feeling lonely like she did, she answered that she will definitely go to class visiting days and school events for her children, and supports women working; she admires women who do household work while having jobs

- B wants to marry as soon as possible because she is attracted to the idea of being a young mother; in case her husband does not earn enough money and after her children start school, she will work; if her husband earns enough money she will not work, but if she likes to work, she may work; she wants to be a woman who is loved by everyone without flirting

'Enjo Kôsai':

- 'enjo kôsai' helps both who buy and sell; girls earn money to sell their body and men pay money for having sex, and both of them are satisfied
- they do not want to earn money by 'enjo kôsai' nor are pleased by such kind of money; when they need money, they work part-time jobs; money is a reward for labor
- A thinks that female high school students and *oyaji* who do 'enjo kôsai' are 'dumb'
- if their friends were to do 'enjo kôsai', they would try to stop them; they are shocked by girls who do 'enjo kôsai' even if they are not their friends; they do not envy those girls
- they cannot imagine doing 'enjo kôsai' even if the men were in their 20s or 30s
- if they did 'enjo kôsai', they would hate themselves for doing it or being seen doing it by their friends; even if they themselves thought it was OK, they felt that they would regret it later
- when they are in Kabukicho, *ojisan* try to pick them up and say 'why don't you do 'enjo kôsai' with me?'; when they say no, they are often asked to introduce their friends to the men
- B knows a person who does 'enjo kôsai', and she is disgusted by the person for doing it
- when they were asked if being a high school student was valuable or not; they answered that 'youth is valuable'; they are propositioned on the street many more times when they wear their school uniforms than when they wear ordinary clothes.
- they believe that only few people actually do 'enjo kôsai', and the mass media exaggerates

Gender Equality:

- they are disgusted when they are told that, 'women should/shouldn't do this/that'; they assume that boys have an ideal women in mind and say such kinds of things when women do not follow their ideal behavior
- they feel lucky because they do not have to be involved in trouble and fight simply they are

women; on the contrary, they wanted to be boys when they were hurt by verbal violence from other girls

- they are not displeased by beauty pageants because the events exist for people who want to participate in; they say 'we envy beautiful women' when asked what they think about women's values of physical appearance; but they do not try to be beautiful because those beautiful women live in a different world than they do

Interview 9

Location: Kunitachi

Interviewee: A: a 2nd grade female high school student

* She dressed as a somewhat typical (but not showy) high school student. She wears one earring only in her left ear. She is cheerful, lively, and frank. She seems to strongly hold her own opinions regardless of what other people think. She likes winter sports very much. She did volunteer work when she was a junior high school student and a homestay in Denver during her high school days

School Environment:

- she goes to a private co-educational high school; it is famous for sports
- when she was in the 1st grade, she belonged to the basketball club, but she hurt her Achilles' tendon and became a manager of the boys' basketball team; she has already quit this activity
- when she was in the 1st grade, she did not feel she was a welcomed part of her homeroom class, but after she changed classes in the 2nd grade, she began to enjoy her high school life because everyone in her class is friendly
- at her school, working is not allowed; piercing and motor bikes are not allowed; there is a hair—style inspection every month, and teachers call the parents if students do not fix their hair; teachers reprimand students in the corridors because the length of skirts is too short as well
- many of the teachers are strict, but there are a couple of teachers who stand by students; there are total of 110 teachers, and it is a sufficient number of teachers to manage the students, and she feels that she can be watched anytime and anywhere by them
- the school has elective subjects

Family Environment:

- father (janitor), mother (housewife), older sister (A talks with her about serious matters), and older brother (A plays with him)

- she does not like her father because he is stubborn and conservative, but she trusts him because he does not likely do 'enjo kô sai' ; when she says something different from his opinion, he objects furiously; she can chat with him, but she cannot argue with him
- her mother seems happy taking lessons
- she was raised to make her own decisions by herself; her parents support her decisions and help when she is in trouble

with Friends:

- when she goes out with her friends, she goes to Hachioji; when she goes out with only girls, she goes to Shibuya or Shinjuku (to see movies and look at clothes); when she goes outside of Tokyo, she goes skiing, snow boarding and to an indoor ski place ZAWS
- she does not have a boyfriend now, but has more friends who are boys than girls; she does not like girls because they are half-hearted
- she does not go to parties, where it is not unusual to have sex afterwards, and she knows girls who have become pregnant; the girls could not admit they were pregnant to their parents, so their friends collected money for an abortion; the reason for A's not going to parties is that she cannot be just friends with boys; people who go to parties see the opposite sex as sexual objects; they have opposite sex friends for one-night stands
- she thinks it is okay for people in love to have sex, but selling sex is wrong

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- she does not work now, but has been a cashier; her wage was 780 yen an hour, and the most she earned 70,000 yen a month; she used the money for the homestay in Denver (she did not want to ask her parents to pay for all of the expenses)
- she uses her money for skiing and snow boarding

Communication Tools:

- she has a mobile phone; she is tired of pagers because she had to call people back when she got a message; she contacts her club counselor by mobile phone
- teachers confiscate mobile phones when they find students who have them

Future Plans

- she wants to live abroad in the future; she believes that people of foreign countries respect other people who have own opinions; she thinks that she can have frank relationships with others in foreign countries
- she is planning to go to a college where she can study international relations in order to live abroad

- she wants to marry by around age 32; she will be a housewife because she likes to do household work; her mother is her image of an ideal wife, but her father is not her ideal husband because he is stubborn; she would prefer a husband with whom she can go out together

Self Evaluation:

- she feels proud because she likes herself
- she makes decisions by herself because if someone makes her do something and it does not go well, she will have ill feelings towards the person; she does not have regrets these days

'Enjo Kôsai:

- because she is a high school girl, she feels she is seen as the same as female high school students who are on TV; she does not want to be like female high school students on TV; in the same way that people see her as a high school girl like on TV, she sees men around her as *ojisan* who do '*enjo kôsai*' like on TV
- according to her definition, '*enjo kôsai*' includes having sex
- she feels '*enjo kôsai*' is something from a different world
- she feels sorry for female high school students who do '*enjo kôsai*', because 'they are only able to do such kinds of things'
- she believes working and earning money makes money valuable
- she thinks her generation is numb to '*enjo kôsai*'; for example, she did not feel right when she first heard of people who have sex with others they first met at a party, but she does not think it is unusual anymore
- she said that, 'it is shameful that we have to create a regulation' concerning the plan to create a municipal regulation for '*enjo kôsai*'
- she sees '*enjo kôsai*' as just one of many trends, so the number of people who do '*enjo kôsai*' will eventually decrease; she thinks that young people these days are easily influenced by trends; the mass media is responsible because they broadcast trends and people follow them
- if her friends were to do '*enjo kôsai*', she would try to stop them; the reason why she does not do it herself is that she thinks it is wrong to sell her body
- when she was asked if being a high school student was valuable or not, she answered that it is convenient for people who buy high school students because high school students are available for one-night stands

Gender Equality:

- the number of sexual molesters has increased since '*enjo kôsai*' was featured in the media; she

thinks the reason is that people tend to think all high school students are open for sex.

- she thinks men cannot control their sexual desire (because of the increase of the number of sexual molesters with the increased broadcasting)
- the sex industry, including '*enjo kôsai*', is simply one kind of business now, but in other eras it would not be an ordinary job; she thinks the sex industry is bad

Interview 10

Location: Kunitachi

Interviewees: A and B: 1st year high school students

* A has a *chapatsu* and B has a trim haircut. Both of them wear blue contact lenses. Both A and B answered clearly and lively to the questions. They shared details of their school environment, relationships with boys, and their friends who do '*enjo kôsai*'.

School Environment:

- co-educational municipal high school; A goes to school by bike and B goes to school by train; A's home is in Kokubunji and B's home is in Tachikawa
- the school regulations are extremely strict, and the teachers confiscate earrings; working, permed hair and *chapatsu* (dyed hair) are not allowed and if students do not follow the regulations, teachers call their parents; loose socks are allowed
- teachers are inflexible even though they are young; all teachers are strict
- they enjoy school except for lectures
- A belongs to a basketball club, but her teammates are not enthusiastic
- B belonged to a tennis club, but her coach made her quit; she now belongs to a homemaking club; she does not go to the club because she is busy with other things

Family Environment:

- both of A's parents work; her mother works for an insurance company and is busy at the end of each month; she has a twin sister and a brother who is 2 years older than she; she gets along with her mother well and follows her direction because she thinks she should; she behaves harshly with her father because she thinks she 'should not be made light of' by him; her twin sister is spoiled; the relationship of her parents is good
- B's father is doing business on his own; her mother is a housewife and helps her father's business only when he wants her to deliver items; B has two older sisters; the curfew is loose and she can

come home anytime if she makes a phone call in advance; when she was asked about her parents' relationship, she answered 'I don't know' because she only comes home 'to sleep'

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- A works at a cake shop, and she also has a job distributing pocket tissues (900 yen an hour), but she does not tell her parents about this job
- B works at a Chinese restaurant as a waitress; she was fired from a pocket tissue distributing job after 2 days; she takes a dance lessons twice a week; her parents give her 20,000 yen a month, but now she is in debt with her parents and is not given any pocket money at all; she earns about 30,000 to 40,000 yen a month; she spends her money on dance lessons, mobile phone bills, and repayment of her debt to her parents

Communication Tools:

- both A and B have mobile phones; A also has a pager because her mobile phone sometimes does not work

Relationships with Friends:

- **boyfriends:** A started dating a new boyfriend just five days ago, he is the same age as her
- B has a boyfriend who is five years older than she; he quit high school, but started correspondence high school last spring; she prepares meals for him 'almost everyday'
- their ideal husbands: B; someone who is loved by everybody and kind, A; someone who is loved by everyone
- neither of them wants to have sex with men whom they do not love
- A is a virgin; B uses condoms as birth control; B experienced an accident when the condom she was using broke, but she never fails to practice birth control because she is afraid of getting pregnant

Future Plans:

- **after graduation:** A wants to be a grade school teacher now; but she heard there are few job openings for grade school teachers and was told by her mother to take the entrance exams of easy departments, such as the department of commercial science; her present goal is to go to a four-year college
- B wants to go to New York to be a dancer; if it is not possible, she wants to work in the beauty culture such as at a cosmetic company

(Marriage)

- A 'definitely' wants to marry and have children; when she was asked what her ideal marriage is,

she answered 'petticoat government'; if she is not a teacher at the time she gets married, she wants to quit her job

- B wants to have children; she is living a 'married life' now, because she goes to her boyfriend's home and does household work

(Ageing)

- A does not want to get older and thinks being a teenager is the best; B wants to be in her twenties as soon as possible because she can do more fun things
- A thinks Wada Akiko is cool as a TV star because Wada is respected by many people and put herself in a good positions
- B wants to be a woman who is loved by everyone; she has been bullied, so is scared of being hated

Self Evaluation:

- when B was asked if she has ever had a really terrible experience, she said that, 'when a guy got me drunk and took me to his house'; A answered that she has been followed and verbally harassed by a man on a motor bike on her way to school, but it was not a scary experience but rather irritating
- B has been on a diet because she wanted to be slimmer and more beautiful; A is interested in dieting, but has never done it
- A said she does not like her thighs
- B feels embarrassed when she 'falls down the stairs'

'Enjo Kôsai':

- neither of them have done 'enjo kôsai' with strangers; A has been asked to do it by strangers; they usually say 'why don't you go out with me?'; A says the men who ask her to do 'enjo kôsai' are around twenty years old, and B says around eighteen years old; when they were asked if they had been picked up on the street or not, both of them answered yes; they give their phone numbers to the men and sometimes go out with them
- A has a friend who does 'enjo kôsai' and has a friend who urinated on a man for 40,000 yen and sold him her underwear; the man was the father of an older friend who is a boy and went to her junior high school; they could sell used underwear for 5,000 yen; A did not sell her underwear because she would feel sorry when she saw her parents; when she was asked which is worse to sell sex or underwear, she answered 'sex', because she does not want to be touched
- B does not have any friends who do 'enjo kôsai', but she recognizes people who likely do it by their appearance
- B thinks she will be a loser if she sells her underwear; when A and B heard about people getting money and buying clothes by doing 'enjo kôsai', they think 'how great' at first, but after a while B thinks 'what are they doing?' and A thinks that 'I have to work'

- A does not care if other people do '*enjo kô sai*', and B thinks 'they will regret it someday' and if her friend was to do it she would try to stop her; about A's friend who does '*enjo kô sai*', A thinks it cannot be helped because many of that girl's friends are also involved in it.
- when they were asked what they think about the way the mass media treats '*enjo kô sai*', A answered that, 'I don't want people think that all high school students do it', and B answered that 'not all girls do it'
- B wonders if 'it is that good to have sex with a high school girl?' for men who buy the girls; they think these men are 'sorry' and 'desperate'
- according to B, *oyaji* are 'obscene'; both A and B think their fathers are not *oyaji* ; A says the image of *obasan* is 'strong'; A thinks women become *obasan* after the age of 30, but B thinks women become *obasan* after becoming 35 years old

Equality Between Women and Men:

- A thinks that, 'high school students are looked down upon' and all female high school students are thought to have lost their virginity already, do '*enjo kô sai*', and have used telephone clubs
- neither A nor B have opinions about beauty pageants
- A feels her parents treat her differently than her brother; they allow her brother to go on to trips more readily than her and make her do more household work
- B thinks Yamaguchi Tomoko is womanly; she also sees Yamaguchi's image as cool; B likes direct and manly attitudes; she does not like men who say 'do what I say'
- A thinks Watari Tetsuya is manly because he is described as manly in magazines; she likes men who are respected by others

Interview 11

Location: Kiyose

Interviewee: A: 3rd grade female high school student

- * She was on her way back from after school extracurricular activity. She is taking *Shorinji Kenpo* lessons, and also plays volley ball. Thinking carefully over the questions, she answered each question seriously.

School Environment:

- public coed high school, 40 minutes bike ride to school
- belongs to the basketball team, and the vice-captain of the team

- no school regulations
- expected to be in the 'free environment' of the school, but there are many people who are 'selfish' in class and the after-school clubs, so she complains about school life in general
- no strict teachers, no academic/career counseling, students were only required to submit a list of colleges of choice

Family Environment:

- father, mother, sister, total of four people in the family
- her parents never object to her decision
- no one brings in the problems complaints outside of the home into the family. They do not interfere with each other, since they have their own world. She talks to her parents about her future plans.
- her sister is 'weird'; she does not have serious conversations with her sister.

Relationships with Friends:

- does not have many friends with whom she can talk frankly
- takes *Shorinji Kenpo* lessons, and through this knows women and men of all ages
- no boyfriend
- considers people around her as her 'competitors'

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- does not have any part time job, gets money from parents when needed

Communication Tools:

- does not have a pager or a mobile phone

Future Plans:

- thinks of attending university after high school; is interested in the ecology of gorillas, and wants to engage in a job related to animal conservation

Self-Evaluation:

- she thinks self-accomplishment means liking herself
- is not sure if she likes herself or not
- tries to think about others, but tends to think, 'even if I tried to explain, no one will understand me,' and she feels that this is her weak point

'Enjo Kôsai':

- no one around her engages in 'enjo kôsai', and nor does she
- it is not good to automatically associate female high school students with 'enjo kôsai'
- media coverage is excessive
- not much information regarding 'enjo kôsai' is available to her, only what she sees on TV
- thinks that the girls who engage in 'enjo kôsai', the men who use 'enjo kôsai' and the media that cover such issues are 'dumb'
- thinks that the reason why people engage in 'enjo kôsai' is to earn money to buy clothes and accessories, and such things are valueless to her; does not want to go so far in order to have money
- toward the girls who engage in 'enjo kôsai', 'If they can take responsibility for their actions without bothering other people, I think it is fine'
- giving her parents trouble means disappointing her parents who have hopes for her
- toward the adults who use 'enjo kôsai', 'they have a very self-centered idea that if things go well for them everything is fine, and this is why the people pay money to do what they consider to be fun.'
- 'enjo kôsai' and prostitution are similar, since in both cases women are for sale

Gender Equality:

- regarding men buying women, 'I think the girls who are tricked are the bad ones.'
- has never been treated differently from boys
- 'I think (women) should try differently to be equal to men.'

Interview 12

Location: Tachikawa

Interviewees: A and B: 3rd year high school students

*class-mates; A spoke mainly; B did not speak much, since the topics are not what she thinks about in her daily life; after finishing the tape recording session, they made some interesting comments, and these are also included in this summary.

School Environment:

- private girls' high school (commute by train; A lives in Hachioji and B lives in Hamura)
- when they were in the first grade (of high school,) they did a lot of things that were 'outrageous'.

In the beginning of the second grade, they were assigned to a class with different people, and formed a group of ten with whom they feel comfortable. They feel more comfortable in the current home room class.

- the classes are boring, and no one listens to the lectures, but they enjoy talking to their friends, so they think school is fun.
- the teachers are old, but there are some teachers who are very understanding and who are like friends.
- school regulations are very strict, and they have a period for discipline; teachers give guidance to those who do not follow the regulations; the regulation regarding piercing has become less strict.

Family Environment:

- A: lives with parents and sisters (21 and 13 years old); mother has a part-time job as a subcontractor for a clothing company; feels bad for her father because he is the only man in the family, but has conversation with him; talks with the older sister mostly in the family
- B: lives with parents and a sister (19 years old); mother has a part-time job at a meat-processing factory; has no conversation with her father; talks with her sister, but talks more with her friends about love

Relationships with Friends:

- The two have been in the same group, since they were assigned to the same class; there are ten people in the same group and they are always together. They talk to each other about whatever they want to talk about; even when they are not happy with each other, they do not interfere with each other's business; they have never had any serious conversations and once they started some conversation they have never become serious; they don't seem to associate with each other deeply, but they feel very comfortable being friends with each other.
- A: is interested in many things; is in a band and a brass band, sometimes participates in soccer, and jogs; knows many people, but most of them are very serious and 'uptight', so does not go out socially with them; thinks it is more fun to hang out with her friends.
- **boyfriends:** A and B do not have boy friends; Some of the girls in the same group go to parties, but no one in the group has met a boyfriend at such parties. Even when A and B were invited, they did not go, they would rather have fun with the girls in the same group.

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- **sources of income:** both used to have part-time jobs (A had a long-term one and B had a short-term one.), but neither have a job now; they get allowances when they need money; B spends (rather than saves) all the money she earns from casual part-time jobs, because this way she can

get more money from her parents.

- their parents give them food money and buy them clothes when they go shopping together; they usually try to save, and spend their money on special occasions; A does not feel that she is short of money, but B does.

Future Plans:

- **course:** neither have clear future plans
- **A:** wants to engage in a job related to music, so wants to attend a school (occupational or university/college) where she can study acoustics; however is interested in many things, and so has not firmly decided yet.
- **B:** wants to attend a vocational college or junior college where she can get some qualification; she will go to any place that will accept her; her parents tell her to go to the same school as her sister, but she does not want to go there; does not want to leave home; thinks of working at a nursing home close to her house; thinks that if she is qualified she can work near her house, does not necessarily have an interest in welfare.
- **marriage:** in the past A thought she wanted to get married as soon as possible, but now thinks that she wants to do what she wants before getting married; her friends think it is unlikely for her to get married, because she doesn't have any staying power; wants to quit her job after getting married (she thinks her way of thinking is a bit old-fashioned.); may continue to work before having a baby but after she has a baby she will definitely stay home
- **B:** has never thought of getting married; feels that she will not find anyone to marry, does not want to work part-time like her mother, so wants to have some qualifications
- **preferences in men:** **A:** her type of man is one who has enough income so that she does not have to work when they get married, who takes his family out often, does not nag, is kind, and nice looking; her friends think that she is asking for too much
- **B:** has never thought about such things; does not talk about it with her friends
- **female role model:** **A:** one who has her own life and is independent after marriage; has her mother as a model
- **B:** admires a cousin who has left home and became a designer; however, her mother discourages her from doing the same thing, since her mother thinks that B does not have the talent and skills.

Communication Tools:

- **A:** has both a mobile phone and a pager; according to B, A is not home, so it is very convenient to contact A through such media
- **B:** has a pager

Self-Evaluation:

- A feels embarrassed, when asked about current issues; in a group they talk about sex, but feels embarrassed to talk about personal stories; however talking in a group is mostly just fun.
- they feel that they are behind other high school students, judging from the coverage of the media. (after stopping the tape, they asked the interviewers if they are normal or not.)
- B wonders if she looks old or not because some of her friends are attached to her as if she is a 'mother'; sometimes, people tell her 'you grew bigger' and she is worried about that, too.

'Enjo Kôsai'

- some students are rumored to have engaged in 'enjo kôsai'; they live in a different world; the people accused have never said that they are doing it, so A and B can not really believe the rumor
- used to think that in 'enjo kôsai' a man and a girl go to karaoke together and a girl receive some money and that it is a relationship that does not involve sex; now they are not sure what is the difference between 'enjo kôsai' and 'prostitution'; 'enjo kôsai'-users are expecting to have sex with the girls now
- **differences between those who engage in 'enjo kôsai' and those who don't:** think that money is power; they would spend the money they earn from part time jobs more carefully; regard such money as being of greater value
- consider the environment (friends) as a trigger for joining in 'enjo kôsai'; when they are first grade students, their friends like to go out at night and hang out in the entertainment centers, and think that was not what they really wanted to do, but they did it because friends around them are doing it
- **perception of 'enjo kôsai':** scary; would regret; girls can earn money quite easily; would lose a sense of money; back in the first grade, a girl who was said to engage in 'enjo kôsai' said to other people, 'don't do it if you are going to regret it.'
- A: In Shinjuku, a Yakuza-looking guy came up to her friend and her with 50,000 yen and asked them to go to karaoke with him; ran away; thinks that this was a scary experience.
- B: had an experience where four men in a car spoke to her friend and her and offered a ride, the men chased them, and the girls ran away and hid.
- A: would never go with any stranger; feels that she has to do more than karaoke; faces of her crying parents come to mind; toward the men who engage in 'enjo kôsai': 'get a life'; if her father bought a high school girl, she would be disgusted
- **influence of the coverage of the media concerning 'enjo kôsai':** she is never touched by perverts when she is wearing ordinary clothes, but it often happens when she wears her school uniform; she feels sickened by the fact that some people think that all the female high school

students engage in '*enjo kôsai*'

Gender Equality:

- have never experienced discrimination as women
- **concerning sexual harassment:** there are many older male teachers who make lewd remarks—they consider this to be verbal sexual harassment, and they are trying to make them resign; there is a female P.E. teacher who complains that the female student's cry too easily; she is very determined and it is natural for the teacher to consider the students frivolous.
- '*enjo kôsai*' and gender equality: rather than view '*enjo kôsai*' in terms of gender equality, they regard it as a relationship between one who has money and one does not.

Interview 13

Location: Kokubunji

Interviewees: A: 2nd grade high school student: has short hair and red cardigan

B: 2nd grade high school student: long shoulder length hair and black pants

*They are class-mates from junior high school. They do not wear make-up and dress ordinarily. They both answer the questions quietly. It seems that they have never thought about their future.

School Environment:

- A: private girls' high school in Suginami-ward; takes Seibu line from Takanodai station to school; belongs to a brass band: school is fun but teachers nag; school regulations are not strict, but teachers sometimes 'inspect students without notice'; when goes out, she goes to Kichijoji, but does not go out after school often because of band practice
- B: private girls' high school; takes Seibu line from Takanodai station to school; school regulations are strict; school is fun because she 'is with her friends'; too lazy to wear 'loose socks'; belongs to the tea ceremony club 'for now'; does not go out after school; considers herself as 'serious' and 'not gutsy'

Family Environment:

- A: lives with parents, a grandfather, and two younger brothers; mother (housewife) nags, but father does not; parents get along 'fairly' well
- B: lives with parents, a sister, and a brother; sister is studying abroad; father comes home late and is not home usually; mother helps at the community center and does not stay home during the day;

B sometimes does household chores.

Relationships with Friends:

- **boyfriends:** neither have ever been out with a boy; A answered 'yes' to the question 'do you want a boyfriend?'
- favorite TV personalities: Miyake Ken (of V6) (A) and Brad Pitt (B)
- A likes boys who are kind, considerable, and not extreme; 'extreme' means those who have dyed hair
- B: also does not like dyed hair or long hair especially when they do not match; when she sees such people, she thinks they are 'stupid'
- standards for judging boys: 'personality' (A); 'I don't like uptight men or stylish men' and 'I like those who can express their opinion'; both are skeptical about the concept of platonic friendship

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- neither have part-time jobs; A wants to get a part-time job, but her parents object; allowances will be raised from 5,000 to 8,000 yen; A spends money to 'buy sweets at convenience stores'; can receive money for clothes; sometimes wears make-up

Communication Tools:

- both have pagers

Future Plans:

- A: plans to attend the university to which her high school is associated; has not yet decided what she will major in
- B: wants to attend university, but does not want to attend the university to which the high school is attached; has not yet decided what she will major in
- have no plans after university; answers the question 'do you want to do what you are best at or what you like to do?,' was absorbed in thought about her favorite things to do
- **marriage:** A: does not think about marriage; B: does not want to get married because she does not like the idea of 'the same person coming home everyday,' and of 'someone having control over me'; wants 'to be free'

Self-Evaluation:

- answered to the question 'what do you think about high school students you see on the street?'; 'they can do whatever they want' (B) and 'yeah, they are great' (A); they do not want to dress as these students do;

- A tries to express that 'she is a bit loud' so that she can be close to other people
- both answered 'we are too fat' to the question 'what do you not like about yourself?'; A wants to lose weight because so many boys are skinny; they both feel ashamed of eating too much'; B thinks she is too negative; B does not talk to her friends and parents about her personality issues and gets depressed
- B feels embarrassed if she is seen to trip over or fall; they don't want other people to see them doing something embarrassing

'Enjo Kô sai'

- both two lead lives which have no connection with '*enjo kô sai*'; and no friends who do it; at B's school, some girls seem to do it; they feel that people see the coverage by the media, and think 'wow, high school girls!' (A) and then view them from a totally different stand point; but the girls who are portrayed in the media are very extreme, and B does not want people to focus too much on them
- in answer to the question 'what if one of your friends were to engage in '*enjo kô sai*'?'; 'consult other good friends without giving the person's name'; they would want to stop her, but would not know how.
- concerning the morality of selling one's body: A and B gave negative answers 'we can earn money by doing a normal part-time job' (A), 'they should not use their own body as a commodity' (B); B thinks that our bodies are our means of living; she believes that it is not right to have dinner with a man for money, but she has not thought about this very much (and did not have much to say on the subject)
- A said she would not engage in '*enjo kô sai*' because she is not that desperate for money; she said she has not paid much attention to the issue of '*enjo kô sai*'

Gender Equality:

- B's parents treat her (younger) brother differently from her sister and her, but she thinks it is because of the age difference
- with friends, B sometimes talks about the fact that 'discrimination against women'; she does not recall any experiences of being discriminated against, but 'does not remember very well'; she thinks that discrimination against women exists everywhere in society and in the family; when she faces such discrimination, she thinks 'what is a woman?'
- at A's school, there are some teachers who are soft toward students of the opposite sex, and A thinks that this is wrong; at B's school there are some teachers whom B thinks are strange.
- at A's school, a teacher told a student 'to die,' and it became a big issue; when she heard the story, she was surprised to hear that there was such a teacher in the school

- B does not think that discrimination against women is only attributable to men, because she thinks women often have to take responsibility for it; A agreed with the idea
- A gets irritated when her grandfather tells her 'you are a girl, so you must do such and such'; she has also experienced gender discrimination at work

Interview 14

Location: Kokubunji

Interviewees: A: 1st grade high school student

B: 1st grade high school student

*A and B were classmates at junior high school. They commute to high school together, but otherwise they don't often go out together these days. They looked very young, and the interviewer mistook them for junior high school students. During the interview, they were quiet much of the time, and the interviewer had a hard time obtaining an answer from them. They seemed quite similar to each other.

School Environment:

- private girls' high school (the school has a general course and an English course), on the Seibu line from Koigakubo
- do not participate in extracurricular activities
- school regulations are strict, especially regarding uniforms, 'loose socks' are prohibited; if hair gets to the shoulder, they have to put it up; perms are also prohibited, but many students 'subtly' get perms; they are prohibited to stop by anywhere on their way home; on Saturdays, except for the second and fourth Saturdays, their teachers inspect whether or not the students are following the dress code and moral code of the school; A and B are used to the strict regulations; they do not follow most the rules since as long as the teachers do not find out about the violations of such regulations, things are fine.
- school life is not as fun as junior high school, but it's 'OK'; in junior high, they had more fun because school regulations were not as strict as they are now.
- A and B do not feel strange attending a girls' high school; they feel comfortable, but, at the same time, they think that sports meetings and choral competitions would be more fun with boys.
- A feels that the classes are fun as long as she understands, and she says she 'generally' does; A is on good terms with one of the music teachers; the students in her class get along well with each other

- B's class is a large one; the students are gathered into groups.

Family Environment:

- A: mother has been working part-time as a cashier since A entered junior high; she has a twenty year old brother; she does not get along with the brother, quarrels often with him; differences in discipline: when she goes out, her parents persistently ask her where she is going but when her brother does the same thing they don't.
- B: parents are farmers; she has a brother (3rd grade at junior high school) and a sister.

Relationships with Friends:

- go to Tanashi or Kokubunji for karaoke with friends; besides karaoke, go shopping in Kokubunji; don't go shopping in Tanashi: 'take' other friends to go out, rather than go together with new friends;
- too 'lazy' to take the train as far as Shinjuku.
- on weekends go to Shibuya rather than Shinjuku
- A thinks that 'best friends' are friends 'to whom she can say anything she wants,' and B thinks best friend refers to 'someone with whom she can talk about anything.'

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- A and B receive 3,000 yen and 8,000 yen respectively as an allowance every month; neither have part-time jobs, and both feel the allowance is not enough but are 'trying hard' (A); when A needs more money, she tells her parents that she needs some money to buy books
- A: for fun chooses to go to karaoke centers that are not too expensive; she decides what she will buy before she goes shopping, and does not buy anything else
- A and B: are not going out with specific boys; A's type of boy is 'nice' and 'kind to anyone'; B's type is 'kind' and 'has a lot in common with me'; she doesn't like boys who are 'melancholy,' 'geeks,' 'ones who only hang out with the same kind of people as themselves,' and 'surfers (with long hair and low pants)'; favorite media personalities are Kashiwabara Takashi (A), and Takeuchi Hiroyuki (B)

Communication Tools:

- A has a mobile phone and B has a pager; they use them to communicate with friends

Future Plans:

- A wants to become a writer for magazines, or a radio DJ; B wants to become a fashion advisor; both want to attend vocational college or university

- A wants to get married if possible, before she is 30; she wants to ‘continue her career, if possible’
- no role modes for the future; A wants to become an adult with a job she really wants to do; B wants to get married but wants to continue working till she has a baby; if her husband and she both work, she thinks they may have to get divorced, but B still wants to work

Self-Evaluation:

- have never thought about what they like about themselves
- A doesn’t like herself being ‘lazy’; B doesn’t like herself for saying ‘I’m fine,’ when she is not really fine (e.g. before exams)
- A feels embarrassed, when she is seen making mistakes; B feels embarrassed when people tell her that she is ‘out of it’
- A says she is ‘carefree’ and B says she ‘takes it easy’

‘Enjo Kôsai’:

- in ‘*enjo kôsai*’, ‘girls receive money’ (A); the difference between ‘being picked up’ and ‘*enjo kôsai*’ is that there is a transfer of money, and the age gap between the man and the women; they cannot imagine relationships between female high school students and middle-aged men. Because of the age difference; they also think that if the man considers a relationship as ‘*enjo kôsai*’, it is ‘*enjo kôsai*’ ; no difference between ‘*enjo kôsai*’ and prostitution; girls who do ‘*enjo kôsai*’ are doing it for money
- friends at school consider them flamboyant, but, compared to those who are at other schools, they do not think that they are that flamboyant
- they think ‘wow’ when they see female high school students in Shibuya
- they react in the same way to media coverage about female high school students, but they don’t feel it has any connection to them
- some *obasan* (middle-aged women) seem to stare at them just because they are female high school students
- B was called out to by a ‘dirty *ojisan*’ around forty in front of a karaoke center when she was waiting for her friends, but she refused to go with him
- comments on *ojisan* who try to pick up female high school students—‘unbelievable’ (B), ‘I can see why they are like that’ (A); on female high school students who agree to go with *ojisan*,—‘stupid’
- they would never go with an *ojisan*, because they assume that there might be a danger that these men might take them to a hotel (to have sex); they do not want to sell their bodies as a ‘tool’ to earn money
- they feel that the difference between them and those who do ‘*enjo kôsai*’ is ‘the whole way of thinking’

Gender Equality:

- it is hard for women to keep their careers, because women have to do household work in addition to her job outside the home; A would like to share housework with her partner; if a woman has more ability than a man, the woman would be able to overcome the obstacles of being a woman; the current power relationship will not cease because men have more power
- if then were to be reborn, A wants to be a male, while B thinks that 'I will be fine being a woman again'; A does not like the fussy quarrels or the nastiness of women, and likes men because they are more frank
- B thinks women are more beautiful than men in general; B likes dressing up and wearing make-up, so she wouldn't like to be a man
- have never heard of the term 'commercialization of sex'
- feminine women are good at domestic duties such as 'sewing'; B does not consider herself 'feminine' because she is not well-mannered; she does not want to be feminine; she thinks she will be fine as long as she can do housework to some degree.
- A thinks a 'masculine' man is 'strong' and B thinks that it is a man who can 'concentrate his energies on one thing'
- they have occasionally come across 'exhibitionists'

Interview 15

Location: Kunitachi

Interviewee: A: third year high school student

*The interviewee was interviewed for a second time. In this interview, she was asked how she decides what to do by herself and about the relationship with her parents; therefore, the issues of '*enjo kôsai*' was not mentioned during the interview. Now A has a trusting relationship with her mother, and she sees her mother as an individual woman. She does not have the same kind of relationship with her father, but she is thankful that he is there in the family. She does not attribute her weak points to the way she was brought up.

Her Mother:

- prohibits anything dangerous; e.g. snow boarding (she actually does this, and her mother knows about it) and motorcycling
- prohibits anything which she feels A cannot take responsibility for; e.g. when A's brother went on a trip with his girl friend, she told him that he can have sex with her but they have to use

contraception because they cannot handle the responsibility of her becoming pregnant

- lets her experience whatever she wants if that is not prohibited, then wait until A has figured out the situation she is in; however, if A gets out of control, her mother would stop her; she feels she is different from her sister, who thinks carefully and stops herself before she goes to far, and also from her brother, who gets out of control to some extent but does not go completely wild; A is the kind of person who does not understand the nature of the situation unless she is told by someone else, she has to feel pain in order to understand the actual situation; her mother knows that
- her mother provides her with choices, but leaves it up to her to make the actual decision; e.g. her mother checked the high school A is currently attending, and told A that there was such a school, but she let A to decide which school she would apply for
- thinks that though they are part of the same family, each member should be respected as an individual

Her Father:

- is strict concerning money
- e.g. thinks high school students should not buy cars because they are too expensive to run

Relationship between A and Her Mother:

- views her mother as an individual and trusts her
- tells her everything as a friend; mother says that among A's siblings, she feels most comfortable being with A
- within the trusting relationship A and her mother have built, A would never betray her mother; even when A tells her a lie, she discloses everything to her mother
- her mother tells A about her life experiences
- her mother once told A tearfully that A's sister said to her, 'the way you raised me was wrong'; A listened to her mother, because she thought that children have places to complain about their parents but her mother does not have anyone to talk to about family issues
- they have had tough time building their relationship; at times, A felt she could not trust her mother and so she behaved badly on purpose, but her mother did not get mad even then, she only waited until her daughter realised what she was doing; the two talked a lot about the gap between them, sometimes tearfully.

in junior high school:

- she did not feel comfortable being home, and did not want to come home; sometimes talked to her mother about a friend who bullied her, but did not really talk with her
- attended a private junior high school; her friends' mothers took care of their children too much (e.g. making snacks when the children are studying, telling them to study, pushing the children to

go to more competitive high school), but though she thought of A a lot, A's mother let her do what she wanted to do; A felt that she was deserted and could not trust her mother because her mother did not say anything to her; she felt jealous to hear that her mothers of her friends scolded them, etc., so tried to do what A thought would make her mother mad, but her mother never got angry

- A once asked her mother to tell her what she really is thinking of; however, her mother told her that A is the one who would go to high school and study, so A should choose by herself; her mother did not want interfere with A, have A regret making such decision, and have A tell mother that her mother is responsible for what happened. It took for a while for A to understand mother regarding this.
- When A asked her mother why she does not get mad at her, her mother answered that she would wait till A realizes what she did, family members are individuals.; at that time, A, crying, asked her mother why she can only spoke to A in such a harsh way; now A can understand that her mother believes that the family members belong to the family but at the same time they are individuals.

in high school:

- A became very unstable; she went to the United States and stayed with a family there, not having anyone to stop her, A got her body pierced; when she came home, her mother only said, 'what have you done?' but did not particularly scold her, but after a while, A started feeling silly; when A told her mother that she decided not to wear many earrings, her mother said, 'you finally realized that it is ridiculous, didn't you?', ' and this made her realize that her mother realised what she was thinking.

Differences between Children Who 'Get Out of Control' and Children Who Don't:

- if a person has a serious nature, s/he will never get out of control; though she does not like this part of her personality, she thinks she is serious; (She does not like it, because if a person is too serious, no one wants to hang around with them and become friends with them; she tries not to be too serious, but such relation with her friends seemed superficial.)
- she has a lot of chance to relate to adults and feels she can learn a lot from them
- she thinks that the parents of young people who are rebellious are probably too nagging
- she thinks that mentally they are still children; they cannot control themselves; they do not think about many things by themselves; they cannot stop themselves because they escape from what seems to be hard, go with the flow, and try to do only what seems to be fun and easy. (when people have a hard time, they can appreciate the good times more; however, those who go with the flow tend to be hedonistic; they always try to look for something more fun because they do not know how to enjoy what they have.
- those young people who behave well seem to have their own plans and goals for the future; they think about themselves, so that even when they began to get out of control, they can stop by

themselves

Gender Equality:

- **concerning job discrimination against women:** girls of her generation are 'frivolous'; so it is appropriate for other people to regard them as such
- for a long time men have worked very hard to maintain their families; on the other hand, women choose simple jobs and quit when they have a baby; this is why we have the current situation
- if men could also take maternity leave as they can in the United States, more women can work; in Japan there is no such system, and so many women waste their skills, and others (who choose a career) feel that they cannot get married

Interview 16

Location: Musashi-Koganei

Interviewee: A: first year student at a vocational college

*She has just finished high school in March and is currently attending a vocational college for English. She has short hair and appeared to be very bright. She answered the questions clearly and sharply. She likes to watch foreign movies.

School Environment

- attended a metropolitan coed high school, 15 minutes by bike from home
- school regulations were not very strict; part-time jobs were prohibited; many students had part-time jobs but teachers pretended not to know; students wore earrings to school, they had to take them off during P.E. classes
- she was the captain of the school handball team
- did not talk with teachers after classes; liked the teacher in charge of the club, and still has contact with her/him
- during the first year, people around her thought she was 'scary', so she could not make friends easily and did not have much fun; in the second year, the club was more fun

Family Environment:

- lives with parents, two older brothers, and a grandmother
- the older brother (23 years old) is working; younger brother (21 years old) he quit university and entered art school, he wants to take a year off; she says she doesn't understand what he is doing; they do not really talk to each other

- parents sometimes have quarrels but get along pretty well
- the family do not have dinner together; they prepare their own food and do dishes by themselves
- no 'family love'; she and her two brothers do not think the family is very important; she does not like herself for thinking in that way; in the future she doesn't want to have the same kind of family
- she feels that mother, in general, likes her sons more than her daughter; A's mother is always worried about her younger brother, and A sometimes feels jealous of this
- A does not want to be like her mother

Relationship with Friends:

- since they finished high school A feels most comfortable talking to her old friends from the handball team; when she was at school she got along with her classmates
- did not really go out with her friends; sometimes went to see a movie or shopping alone
- use to have a boyfriend, but they broke up about 2 months ago; he was at the same school and she went to his house almost everyday
- has had sexual experiences; used contraception, because someone in her high school got pregnant and she was scared of getting pregnant
- **preferences in men:** 'interesting—someone I can respect—intelligent'; likes entertainer Takada Junji
- does not like men who are too self-conscious
- ex-boyfriend was not her ideal type, but she got to like him after started going out

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- started a part-time job after she was accepted to the English school last December (an early decision based on the recommendation from the high school)
- her allowance was 5,000 yen back in high school, and she got more money when she needed more; her mother put money in her bank account every six months, and she spent that money
- spends most of her money on clothes, pays for her mobile phone by herself

Communication Tools:

- did not have a pager or a mobile phone when she was in high school, because none of her friends did; got a mobile phone when she started working part-time

Future Plans:

- does not have any clear image of her future
- one of her ambitions is to watch foreign movies without looking at the subtitles
- she says she does not want to 'go out in the world'; may take a year off; thinks about transferring to

- a four year university related to her English school or applying for different schools
- her family have been farmers for generations; her parents marriage was for political reasons; when her mother had quarrels with father, she said 'I had a man who I really liked, but I couldn't marry him.'; A wants to marry a man she likes
- does not have any role models for her future, but wants to remain young
- may get married some time
- does not want to stay home after marriage, but she does not know how she will think when she has a baby

Self-Evaluation:

- she does not like it when she does not feel appreciated by her parents

'Enjo Kôsai':

- the girls who appear on television are only a small segment of high school students; many of them go to private schools in urban areas
- she says she cannot under the world of '*enjo kôsai*'
- she says she has not been influenced by the media; at high school she did not take trains; she was not concerned with being stylish
- she says she does not really care if other girls do it, if they really want to
- thinks that 'if you only have coffee with a man, it's not '*enjo kôsai*'
- she thinks that girls who do '*enjo kôsai*' must be feeling peer pressure
- concerning the ordinance by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, she thinks it is right to punish those men who buy girls; women sell themselves only because there are men who buy them
- she thinks that selling your body for sex is the same as being a masseuse

Equality of men and women

- does not think prostitution dehumanizes women
- she thinks there is a supply and demand relationship; there are more demand on men's side
- Japan is a society in which 'men work outside and women stay home'; she thinks it is quite natural

Interview 17

Location: Kunitachi

Interviewees: A and B: 2nd year female high school students

They were about an hour late for the appointment. A and B both wore their school uniform and no make-up. They talk very fast and a lot, as if they are doing a comedy routine. Sometimes they try to make the interviewers laugh. The interview topics become just material for their dialogues. What they told us sometimes sounded inconsistent. A talks a lot about whether or not someone is smart and the academic level of other people. A is the twin sister of A in the tenth interview.

School Environment:

- metropolitan coed; takes about 50 minutes to commute to school; get to school barely in time; chose the high school because they thought the uniform that was designed by Japanese designer Hanae Mori was very cute, but now they don't like it anymore.
- belongs to the school handball team, (which has only three members); A first wanted to try hard to do something special while in high school; in the end however she said that high school was fun because she was absorbed in the club; now school is not fun but she goes because she can chat with her friends in the clubroom.
- A said at first that school is fun, but when B said it is not, A and B together said the homeroom class they are currently in is not really fun, because some people are melancholy and quiet; there are many students who are serious; A heard from a student who entered the school before her that it was 'boring' and she wishes that she had listened; junior high school was fun
- the school regulation have become stricter; the dress code is not strict, but going off campus during the day has become prohibited; teachers object to the students getting part-time jobs because they want the students to participate in extracurricular activities after school, but they rarely comment when students ask for permission to skip practice to work part-time
- A likes strict school better, so she thinks that it was good that the regulations have been tightened
- B is upset because her chemistry grade was reduced because she was late for class and sometimes she skipped the class, though she did well on the exam
- A is not content with the fact that no one listens to the presentation by the president of the school and that fact that when teachers talk to students in the class, students do not respond
- B wants to finish high school as soon as possible; when she was a first year student, she did not come to school because she was too lazy to commute

Family Environment:

- A: lives with father, mother (housewife), a brother (preparing for entrance examinations), and a twin sister; the family gets along well, but father seems to have become rather scruffy lately and A does not like him very much at the moment; however when he comes home she always hugs him; her sister thinks this is weird, but A thinks that her father is probably very happy to have a daughter who treats him in such a way. Her father seems to be jealous of A's boyfriend; A sometimes gets

annoyed with her sister, but she knows that her sister likes her; her parents distinguish between people who are intelligent and those who are not; her mother, sister, and A discuss all kinds of issues together; A does not like her brother because he is too bossy

- B: lives with father, mother (housewife), one older sister (attends a national nursing school), younger sister (3rd year in elementary school); when B gets a phone call from a boy, her parents tell her to bring him home; parents set curfew (seven or eight o'clock), because recently they have been a little worried about her attitude; after her father goes to bed, the women in the family talk to each other for a long time; when she hits her younger sister her sister listens to her.

Relationships with Friends

- A and B have been good friends since junior high school
- A: she met her boyfriend (one year older than her) through her part-time job; they have been going out for eight months; he is kind and looks cute; she does not want to have sex while in high school, because she imagines it will be very painful, but agreed to have sex with him when he finishes high school; she just wanted to be with him; they have promised to get married by 25; she does not like her friends who are only interested in whether or not she has sex
- B: she does not have a boyfriend
- they think 80 % of all the high school students have had some experience of sex
- A thinks women should go out with various kind of people, but she does not want to go to joint parties because all she can see now is her boyfriend.
- A does not believe that men and women with different levels cannot get married, so she is worried that her boyfriend might go for a girl smarter than her

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- A: she has a part-time job at McDonald's and earns 700 yen an hour; she earns about 22,000 yen every month; she receives an allowance of 3,500 yen a month
- B: she used to work at Jonathan's (a 'family restaurant') and earned 740 an hour; B was didn't like her manager and quit, but takes some shifts when they are short of staff

Communication Tools:

- A has a pager and B has a mobile phone because her pager was broken
- A wants a mobile phone and B wants a pager
- B talks with her friend who has the same kind of mobile phone during classes

Future Plans:

- A: A plans to attend nursing school; she used to wan

flights, but gave it up because she is not good at English and her father told her 'there is no way you could be a flight attendant'

- B: wants to be a hairdresser
- Marriage: when they get married, A wants to dominate the family; B does not want to be demanding, she wants to be 'normal'; neither of them want domineering husbands like their fathers; their mothers tell them 'you should not get married with someone like your father' (B) and 'I should not have gotten married.' (A)
- A: wants to have a girl first then a boy, because girls are easier to raise
- B: wants a boy first

Self-Evaluation:

- A: she said she cannot express her thoughts clearly

'Enjo Kôsai':

- A: if it does not involve sex, she thinks it is fine; if it is just having dinner with a man, it is fine
- B: if it is just having dinner with them, it is fine; you just go out with *ojisan*
- **prostitution:** A: it is not right to sell your body, but it depends on who does it; B: she couldn't do such a thing because she thinks it is dirty, but if the women who do it think it's fine, she thinks it's okay.
- B: toward *ojisan* who buy female high school students: as long as they are not 'dirty' and 'weird' they are fine; she does not understand why people who wish to sell themselves have to be punished under the Metropolitan Ordinance; she does not understand why people are making it into such a big deal, though she understands why parents of those who do 'enjo kôsai' get mad at their daughters.
- **on the relationship between prostitution and gender discrimination:** 'If there is agreement on the part of the people involved, I do not really care (B)
- B has had an experience a kind of 'enjo kôsai' in which she had a dinner with a young man
- they have a friend who meets a man once in a while and gets him to buy her things
- A: when she was in junior high, she took a 'print club' picture with her father, and some people thought she was doing 'enjo kôsai' with him
- they felt very offended by the media coverage of female high school students; when they enter a store wearing school uniform, sometimes they are followed by the staff to make sure they are not shoplifting; female high school students do not have good images in general, and they want to get out of this situation, but at the same time they want to be able to tell other people 'I am a high school student'
- they are popular among customer at the places they have part-time jobs; A is asked out on dates,

but she does not go when her boyfriend is at work; she says she only needs her boyfriend

Equality between Women and Men:

- they have never experienced discrimination, girls seem to have more power in class at school
- once when A's father was driving his car, a woman on a motorcycle shouted 'get your but out', so she thinks women may in fact have more power than men these days
- **on job discrimination against women:** 'annoyed'—'there are women who can do better than men,' and 'men think women are stupid' (B)

Interview 18

Location: Nishi-Hachioji

Interviewees: A and B: third grade female high school students

* They arrived together, both in school uniforms. The way they wear their uniform and hair was very similar. They were often quiet and mostly answered the questions together.

School Environment:

- go to a metropolitan coed high school; both ride bikes to school
- school regulations are 'supposedly very strict' but they 'do not care'; piercing is prohibited, but if you do not wear earrings at school, it is fine
- school is fun and interesting; B thinks classes are boring, but A thinks they are 'fun' because she talks with her friends during the classes
- teachers are like friends and sometimes A and B borrow and lend CDs to some teachers
- both belongs to a band, but do not go to practice these days; B belonged to a volleyball team when she was in the first grade
- the students representative of their school is a 'serious' girl

Family environment:

- A: lives with grandparents, parents, and a sister; father has a job related to electricity, mother is a house wife; the family get along very well, and sometimes go to *pachinko* (a kind of pinball game) together; A started going to *pachinko* when she was three
- B: lives with a grandmother, parents, and two older sister; her father is 'a clerk at a public hall' and her mother is a housewife; her grandmother is very strict and nagging; her father is very quiet and does not talk a lot with the family; does not do house duties; B does not usually talk with father,

because 'he has a sharp tongue and makes me mad'; she gets along with mother and sisters very well; the second sister helps mother the most, and B is second

Relationships with Friends:

- **boyfriends:** neither of them has ever had a boyfriend; they have 'briefly thought that they want boyfriends, but they say that they don't need them now because they can have fun anyway; they talk with boys in the same school often; when A does not have money, boys who have part-time jobs sometimes buy her a snack
- they like men who have strong hands; also men with mustaches; they are not interested in a specific 'type'
- **best friends:** (A said that B is her best friend, but B did not agree with the statement.); in answer to the question 'what is your idea of a best friend?' A: 'someone from whom I don't have any secrets' 'someone who doesn't spread gossip', 'someone who lives close,' and 'someone I see all the time'.

Financial Life and Daily Life:

- neither have part-time jobs
- A: receives 10,000 as allowance every month, but has not received that money lately because her father only gives her money when he wins some money at *pachinko*
- B: receives 7,000 as an allowance every month,
- they go to buy CDs or go to concerts; they usually hang out at A's home because they don't have money

Communication Tools:

- both 'are extremely crazy' about music, and never miss information about their favorite artists' concerts
- both have pagers to contact their friends, to send messages such as 'good morning!' and 'good night!' to their friends, they think it is 'convenient' to have pagers; B pays the bill for the pager by herself, but A has only paid it once, when she had enough money

Future Plans:

- **jobs:** A: wants to have a job related to music, such as a concert organizer, so is now deciding whether or not she should go to a vocational college
- B: has not decided what she will do, but, if possible, she wants to pursue a career in music
- **marriage:** A: 'never thinks of marriage'
- B: 'will not get married,' but has 'no reason'; wants to stay with her family for good
- **aging:** A: she says she only thinks about today, so does not have any opinion about it; thinks that she will become an old woman like her grandmother who 'talks fast and is quick-minded'; B: 'will

not be different' and become a person who does not interfere with other people but 'not serious'; to the question, 'how old is your grandmother?', she said 'age does not matter, her personality matters'

Self-Evaluation:

- to the question 'what don't you like about you?', 'I am loud' and 'I talk too fast' (A); 'shy' (B); they don't like themselves, but they don't force anyone else to like them.
- they have experience with dieting, but gave up; they both want to loose weight, because 'I eat too much' (A) and 'I don't do any exercise' (B)

'Enjo Kôsai':

- 'it is bad to do *'enjo kôsai'*, and 'those people live in a different world,'
- some girls around them are doing *'enjo kôsai'*; feel that 'it's fine'; they themselves don't want to do it because they feel 'scared' and 'it's creepy'; they want more money but they can manage, so feel that they don't have to go so far for money
- they would not try to stop those who are involved in *'enjo kôsai'* because 'if they think it is fine to do *'enjo kôsai'*, then it is fine'
- A was propositioned by a guy when she was shopping in her school uniform, but refused because she thought it was 'disgusting'
- 'prostitution' is also 'totally fine', as long as the women agree; they don't see any difference between *'enjo kôsai'* and prostitution
- regarding girls involved in prostitution they wonder 'what are they going to do about marriage?' 'it's scary to think of what could happen in the future', but also 'It's an individual choice, so I don't care'.

Equality between Women and Men

- to the question regarding the relation between prostitution and gender discrimination, 'don't want you to say anything about it;' 'don't want people think like that;' and 'feel annoyed'
- experiences of gender discrimination; 'have some experience, but I don't remember' (A); 'don't care' (B)
- if they have a chance to be reborn, want to be males, because men are more 'frank' (A) and 'free' (B); do not like women because, they 'have quarrels,' 'are moody,' and 'fussy'
- both have experiences of someone nagging them, saying 'you have to do such-and-such, because you are a girl,' so they have felt that they wanted to become men; B will not want to say things like that to her children when she is older. If she was a man she would want to become a musician-type.
- **definition of a feminine women:** there is a girl in their class who is 'quiet,' 'looks cute,' and

gentle; however, A does not want to be like her, because the person does not talk with any boys.

- not feminine women: mentioned that there is a friend in the same class 'who eats Chinese noodles during class', and they think she is not feminine, but they think she is interesting
- **definition of a masculine:** men 'who don't try too hard to look attractive, but are'; A and B think that men who try to hard are 'making a big mistake.'

III—2 Discussion

III—2—1 Perceptions of 'Enjo Kô sai'

(1) What is 'Enjo Kô sai'?—Definitions

Questions were asked to see what kind of activities they associate with the term '*enjo kô sai*'. To the question, 'what is '*enjo kô sai*'?' they did not give consistent answers in terms of the actual activities involved, though they agreed on the point that '*enjo kô sai*' is money related. Their images are as follow; .in '*enjo kô sai*', someone called *oyaji* buys you brand-name items; you go to karaoke with him' (12B); . some girls said that they were 'treated' and (the men) bought them clothes. (4B); 'it depends on the men—sometimes they just want to have tea or coffee—if it is just a case of having coffee or tea together, it may help the guy—you are doing something good for them, I think that is fine...' (16A). The other qualified '*enjo kô sai*' as a relationship which involves sexual relations and describe it as follows; 'some of my friends say that having dinner in exchange for money is also considered '*enjo kô sai*' but, since most of the guys have their goal in mind, if their goal is not realised, it is not considered '*enjo kô sai*'(9A); 'I think '*enjo kô sai*' is having sex for money' (6B). However there seems to be no clear definition of '*enjo kô sai*' among female high school students; ..'you don't have to have sex, right? some people can receive money without having sex, but others do have sex to get money... my friend said she only had dinner with them' (1A)

However, the image that is reported by the media is a relationship which includes sexual activities. Some girls are confused by the definition given by the media; 'At first, I thought '*enjo kô sai*' is a relationship in which a couple go to karaoke and do not have a sexual relationship...but, if such relationships included sexual activities (as the media says), I am not sure how far people go when they engage in '*enjo kô sai*'(12A)

However, to the question 'what is '*enjo kô sai*'?' some girls defined it as 'a relationship in which a girl has dinner with a man, they go to karaoke together, and in return he gives her money and gets him to buy her clothes,' she continued, 'but the person may be bad underneath' (1C); '...going for coffee is fine with me, but not one-to-one—maybe with my friends' (2A). This indicates that they recognise the potential dangers involved.

Whether '*enjo kô sai*' involves sex or not is not essential. Even if it does not, it divides the relationship between the man and the women into that of buyers' and 'sellers', and is the reproduction of a traditional formula that 'the value of women lies in their youthfulness.' This is symbolised by female high school students (in recent years, junior high school students have been also targeted.). In this context, the issue of

'*enjo kô sai*' can be said to be a result of the 'commercialisation of sex.'

(2) '*Enjo Kô sai*' and Prostitution:

Regardless of its name '*enjo kô sai*' which involves sex is a new form of prostitution. How do the female high school student perceive 'prostitution'? [In general, the Japanese term '*baishun*' (literally 'selling sex') is frequently used; however, using this term may ignore the fact that there exist problems on the prostitute-users' side, so in the original Japanese report the term '*baibaishun*' (literally 'selling and buying sex') is used. Sometimes, during the interviews, the term '*baishun*' was used, however, in these cases, the students were later taught the term '*baibaishun*'] There was a student who did not know the meaning of the word '*baishun*' (17A), but most of the students know the term.

Typical answers to the question 'what do you think about 'prostitution?'' were 'I Don't want to do it, though I think it's fine', 'dirty...filthy..., but they are doing it because they want to do it, so I think it's OK.' (17B); 'I think it is OK, there are some people who want to be involved in such things—for some people, there may be no other choice...there is nothing I can do about it, that's how I feel sometimes.'; '*enjo kô sai*' exists here because there are girls who want to engage in such activities and, at the same time, there are men who want to use it.' (3A) The interviewees mentioned that they did not want to get involved in '*enjo kô sai*' instinctively; however, they have not thought too much about it, since they feel that it is nothing to do with them.

Some however stated rather specifically that it is not good to utilise one's body as a 'tools' or a 'weapon'. Their opinions are 'I don't necessarily think it is bad to have sex, but it is not OK to use one's body to make money'. I don't think it is dirty to have sex with someone you really like, but if you have sex to get money, I think it is wrong (9A); 'It is not right—your body does not exist to be used as a weapon...people should not do such things recklessly... your body is not here to be traded...it is your means of living...in the future you need it to have babies.' (13B); '...you should get money by working, using own brain—this means that you somehow do something good for other people by working...but selling your body only benefits yourself and those who use prostitution' (13A).

Among all the students interviewed, one, referring to the relation of self and society, and of women and men, and also the discrimination of women, considered the problem of prostitution very seriously, and this was a peculiar case. She said 'women have made great efforts to be liberated from oppression, but throughout the course of the history, some women have depended on men, and this is one of the reasons that women are looked down upon. Women and men are both human beings—human beings are dirty and they have to have sex occasionally. Women and men should help each other as human beings, but women should

be independent. All women are discriminated because some women sell their body to get money...not everyone is the same...on one hand some career women try really hard to get better positions; and on the other hand, some women wave their hands on the street and depend on men...this may be a cause for discrimination against women...if women do not stop depending on men, discrimination will not stop.'

(4A)

Finally, regarding the differences between '*enjo kô sai*' and prostitution, some students thought that adult women engage in 'prostitution' while high school students engage in '*enjo kô sai*'. Others mentioned that in prostitution, you have sex to receive money, but '*enjo kô sai*' is like having a 'sugar daddy'. In '*enjo kô sai*', you continue having contact with the person, not only once, and you continue to receive some kind of 'assistance'. In answer to the question of the difference between doing '*enjo kô sai*' and having a lover, some girls pointed out that '*enjo kô sai*' involves an ongoing relationship. but there is no 'love' in '*enjo kô sai*'.

(3) Female High School Students and '*Enjo Kô sai*'

How do they, as high school students perceive their peers who engage in '*enjo kô sai*' and how they deal with friends who engage in such activities. The replies to these questions are discussed below.

Basically most of the girls consider themselves as 'bystanders'. 'If other girls want to do it, they should just do it.' (2AB) 'They are doing it because they want to do it, I wouldn't necessarily encourage them, though.' (5A) 'I sometimes wonder if they may change after having sex once, but at the same time I think those who won't change are the kind of people who are doing it. I don't think 'why are they doing that?'—I only think they live in a different world...they have a different way of thinking...I don't feel like pushing my opinions on them, or to say 'you had better not do it' (7A). 'If the person were a good friend of mine, I might tell her not to do it, but if the person is not my close friend, or the person does not think I am very important to her, I wouldn't tell her to stop' (8A) 'I feel sorry for them, because that is the only thing they can do.'(8A). 'I don't care, because that's the way they are.' (10A). 'They are nothing to do with me.'(10B). 'Amazing! They live in a different world!' (12A). 'If someone I know is doing it ,I think it is fine.....I may say, 'wait! what are you doing?'' (16A) 'If it's OK with her, then that's fine with me' (18A).

The attitude of being on the sidelines does not directly mean that they feel that '*enjo kô sai*' is nothing to do with them. During the interviews, the interviewers did not directly ask if the students themselves have engaged in '*enjo kô sai*'. Judging from the content of the conversations some interviewees seemed to have experienced '*enjo kô sai*'. These interviewees talk about the issues as if it were somebody else's business—as if they themselves were bystanders—making such comments as; 'if those girls want to do it, they can,' or 'I don't care if they want to do it.'

Many of the interviewees were not satisfied with the way the media portray *'enjo kô sai'* expressed in such comments as 'I feel that those who are featured in the media are really extreme. I don't want to people to think that all of us are like that. Most students aren't like that' (13B). 'I Don't want people to simply connect high school students with *'enjo kô sai'*; 'Most high school students wear very short skirt and 'loose socks', and it is very obvious, but it is not right to connect all of them who have 'loose socks' with *'enjo kô sai'* because not all of us are involved. The media is making too much fuss about us.' (11A)

Furthermore, she added 'If those girls who do it can be responsible for their own actions without causing trouble for other people, and if they are prepared to bear the consequences, (whether she does *'enjo kô sai'* ' or not) is up to her. But just because a small number of girls do it, all of the female high school students have been labelled , and I don't think this is right'.

Some interviewees pointed out that they have become desensitised because of the excessive coverage by the media; 'the feelings of our generation have been numbed, I think. There is too much coverage of such issues—it begins to seem normal. Back in junior high, when we heard about something like *'enjo kô sai'*, we were disgusted. Now, people around us are doing it calmly and I see it. Many girls have complaints; 'When I talk to *obasan* (middle-aged women), I get the feeling that they look at me like the girls who appear on television. People on television are just people on television, and I think they are fine in their own way. But I really want other people to know there are 'normal' people. People look at us with very strange looks, so I don't really want those girls to appear on television so often.'

The interviewed student who referred to the issues of prostitution and discrimination against women points out the difficulty of persuading her friends who have different values. As for the question what she would do if a friend of her engages in *'enjo kô sai'* she said, 'if I have some relationship with them, I don't want the person to stop it just because I think that *'enjo kô sai'* is not a right thing to do. But I think they have the right to make their own decisions, and I can't criticise it...I really can't say stop... If I said something to them, it will only be as advice, but if I can't really chose the appropriate words to persuade them to stop , they'll only see me as 'nosy'. If I am not confident enough that I can change the person's value, I should not tell her to stop.'

III—2—2 Reasons for Engaging in 'Enjo Kô sai'

Most of the students who were interviewed for this study were determined not to have actual experience of *'enjo kô sai'*. Therefore, the reasons for doing *'enjo kô sai'* could not be provided by them as they do not have firsthand experience; however, interviewees expressed what they think is behind the reasoning of

their peers.

Most of the female high school students said that they thought girls did '*enjo kôσαι*' 'for money.' Certainly, in '*enjo kôσαι*' women offer their bodies (whether or not it involves sex, their bodies are under control for a certain amount of time) and receive money or presents in return. However, it would seem rather simplistic to assume that money is the only motivation.

Many of the interviewees regard money as the motivation for '*enjo kôσαι*', though, at the same time they felt confused as to why some people would do that for money; 'girls sell their bodies to get money, and men pay money to have sex with the girls...why money? Sometimes, I think it might be nice to get money in that way, but it would be really embarrassing if my friend were to find out. I would rather work part-time.' (8A). 'Why are they doing it? Maybe they want money, I would rather work part-time. Money is something you can get when you work. If you get money without having a challenge, you will not be able to do other jobs... you will not be able to do ordinary jobs.' (3A). 'I would be happier to get money from part-time jobs than getting the money from an *ojisan*.' (12B). 'If I was in their position, I would work part-time, but those girls are too lazy to work, they do '*enjo kôσαι*' because they want money. That's the difference between me and those girls.' (14B).

Others pointed out the trend to have brand-named goods. Many girls don't want to be behind in what is fashionable; 'The kind of people who do '*enjo kôσαι*' always have brand-named goods, you know? But if you start buying them you only want to get more... like, if you have a purse, next, you want a bag.' (13A). In answer to the question 'what are the differences between girls who do '*enjo kôσαι*' and those who don't, one mentioned peer pressure; 'I am not really sure what the differences are, but I think most of them are doing it because people around them are doing it. If I was in such a position, I mean, the circumstance in which all of my friends are doing it, I might do it. But I am not in that situation, so I won't do it. I don't know how and why they start doing it, but I feel that social pressure is powerful. (16A)

Certainly, the media is saturated with coverage of female high school students. Some female high school students are manipulated by such coverage, and the influence by the media should not be ignored. This connects with the comment by one interviewee that 'the sense (of high school students) has been numbed by the media' (9A). She further added that the influence of the media is so strong that she feels she cannot trust adults; 'when I was little, I did not know what was going on, and I had respect for all people who were working. Now, the media portrays the behaviour of some female high school students and it makes many people think all the female high school students are like the girls in the media. At the same time, the media has it as if all the *ojisan* are involved with '*enjo kôσαι*' and such reports make us think that all the men in our society are like that'. She continued, 'I have a feeling that the number of the perverts has increased as the

coverage in the media increased.’

Leaving aside the question of whether or not there is a causal relationship between the coverage of ‘*enjo kôsai*’ and the increase in ‘the number of perverts,’ if the way the media covers the issues of ‘*enjo kôsai*’ do lead to suspicion not only of adults but also toward males in general, this would be a serious problem that should not be ignored. Some interviewees observed, ‘when I hear the news about ‘*enjo kôsai*’ I think, ‘wow, they really are doing that!’ In the beginning, I was disgusted and critical, but as the media repeatedly reports the same news, it became pretty natural and now I feel like ‘Oh, they are talking about that again’. In response to the question of how she felt about the fact that the Tokyo Metropolitan Government is legislating an ordinance to regulate ‘*enjo kôsai*’ she added, ‘I think the fact that they are working on legislation is shameful. I mean the legislation itself. There wasn’t any regulation or ordinances three years ago, nothing was happening, there was no news about it. Only for the past several years, ‘*enjo kôsai*’ has been ‘in’. It’s kind of weird that such a thing became in I mean, ‘*enjo kôsai*’ started to appear in the media, so (it seemed as if) it became popular. Some girls began to think that doing ‘*enjo kôsai*’ is cool and started doing it. If the media didn’t report that much about ‘*enjo kôsai*’ I think, the number of the girls who do it would decrease.’

The idea that girls do ‘*enjo kôsai*’ only for money seems inadequate. We could say that for fashion-conscious female high school students who are surrounded by the overflow of gorgeous brand names in the media, the desire for material goods could expand infinitely, and the need for money always be on the increase. But this does not mean that these girls engage in ‘*enjo kôsai*’—only because they want more money. In reality, many female high school students observed, ‘I would rather work part-time.’ So, what prompts some girls to be involved in ‘*enjo kôsai*’?

Hypothetically, one reason may be a certain glamour in being involved ‘*enjo kôsai*’. As we have said there is no substantial difference between ‘*enjo kôsai*’ and ‘prostitution.’ However, the connotations of ‘new,’ ‘youthful,’ and ‘trendy’ have been attached to the term ‘*enjo kôsai*’ by the media. It is therefore quite different from the connotations of ‘prostitution.’ Some of the interviewees actually distinguish ‘*enjo kôsai*’ as being for female high school students and prostitution as being for adults. Some are trying to justify the phenomenon by explaining that ‘*enjo kôsai*’ may ‘*enjo*’ (assist, aid, give help); ‘if they only have tea/coffee together, that may ‘help’ the man, and I think that is fine.’ (16A). The more adults (and the media) deplore ‘*enjo kôsai*’, stating ‘female high school students of today,’ the more female high school students think this is the way ‘modern’ people are. ‘*Enjo kôsai*’ has become fashionable. Knowing implicitly that they need to do more than having tea or going to karaoke with men, the girls tend to associate themselves with the positive aspects of ‘*enjo kôsai*’. Some interviewees who talked about the experiences of their friends who ‘went to dinner with the guy, but ran away later on,’ or who ‘were taken into a hotel but

escaped when the guy was taking a shower' had the feeling that 'it is dangerous so I don't want to do it.' However, at the same time, they have a kind of admiration for those actually engaging in such act; 'Wow! You actually do something like that!' If those who are actually doing '*enjo kô sai*' sensed their admiration, they might feel a certain satisfaction that they are taking a 'fashionable' role.

To stop this vicious cycle, the problems of '*enjo kô sai*' need to be brought up without regarding '*enjo kô sai*' merely as a 'contemporary' social phenomenon. The fact that '*enjo kô sai*' is a form of prostitution needs to be clarified, and '*enjo kô sai*' needs to be thought of as problematic from the view-point that 'prostitution' including '*enjo kô sai*' dishonours women and prevents the realisation of gender equality.

III—2—3 Attitudes/Awareness toward Gender Equality

Some interviewees responded to questions about gender discrimination with some sensitivity; 'It is not fair (that women have a harder time in getting job positions.)' (2B), 'I feel annoyed, whenever my boyfriend says, "you are just a girl"'. (8A). 'It is very hard for women to work, because they also have to do housework.' (14A). 'I feel angry (because some company do not hire any girls).' However, there are some female high school students who had difficulty making the connection between '*enjo kô sai*' and inequality between men and women. One interviewee said, 'there is discrimination against women over thirty, but not against female high school students. The term gender discrimination does not exist any more.' (17A)

Some did not have any idea that there might be a connection between 'beauty contests' and gender discrimination; '(in those contests) the participants are beautiful by nature, and it is good that they make use of their beauty. If a woman is not beautiful, I feel sorry for her, but if you have it, you should make good use of it. Their beauty is God-given' (1B). 'I feel jealous' (10B). 'I've never thought much about it.' (13B). 'I think the participants of such contests really want to show themselves off. 'I feel jealous of beautiful women' (8A).

It might be very hard to view '*enjo kô sai*' and prostitution from the point of view of gender inequality/equality. As for the question of whether or not 'prostitution' dishonours women and contributes to their having a lower social status, one interviewee answered that men also sell themselves, so it is reasonable for women to do the same; "there are places where men sell themselves, right? It's like supply and demand. But there is more demand for sex on men's side. I mean, more men want women, and so women sell themselves. This is why it looks like more women engage in 'prostitution.' 'I don't think of things like the dignity of women. I think women and men both have equal opportunity to do prostitution.' (16A). In response to the question of how she felt about the fact that the Tokyo Metropolitan Government is legislating an ordinance to regulate '*enjo kô sai*', she answered, 'such an ordinance is legislated to change

the adults who think it is OK to do *'enjo kôsai'*, isn't it? They should punish those men who use *'enjo kôsai'*. It's because there are men who buy women, that women sell themselves. And gradually, female high school students who want money started doing it.' Regarding the idea that 'men work and women stay home,' she mentioned; 'I don't think about that., but in Japan, that looks like the way things are now. For me, it depends on who I marry. I feel that, if anything, I will probably stay home and my husband will work.'

Another interviewee pointed out, in regard to questions about whether or not she had experienced gender discrimination, that women are responsible for current situations; 'I Don't remember if I have experienced such discrimination, maybe I have, but I really don't remember.' Some people are always talking about discrimination, but, in some cases I feel it is women are also responsible. Particularly, in *'enjo kôsai'* most of the women take the initiative in starting the relationship, so there is no discrimination in such a relationship. Men are not the only ones who should be responsible.' However even this student expressed dissatisfaction she had experienced in real life; 'when other people tell me that I am only a girl or they wouldn't have expected a girl to do whatever, I feel that this has nothing do with gender, so I get mad when people try to separate men and women when it's unnecessary.'

One student pointed out that the inequality can be attributed to the action of individuals, and if the person makes an effort, she can solve the problem by herself; 'in any situation, I think, it is up to you. I think I am fortunate not to have a lot of problems, so I can't really say much about it. But when I hear the news stories about *'enjo kôsai'* I feel that we decide by ourselves how we think and live and we are not victims of our surroundings.' (11A). The same student indicated that the disadvantage of *'enjo kôsai'* is the risk of disappointing or troubling parents. While she regarded *'enjo kôsai'* as an individual problem she said, I think people who will do anything for money are bad—girls doing *'enjo kôsai'* are attracted to it in order to get money—no one forces them to do it. If that is the case, it is the women who are in the wrong.' In response to the question concerning how she feels about the situation in which other people tell her that she is only a girl or that they wouldn't have expected a girl to do whatever she did, she answered;

'I don't feel anything about it, I don't live in the real (adult) world, so I don't know much about that. I play *Shorinji-Kenpo*, and I feel, in many sports, women are not as strong as men. Women need to look for other ways to defeat men, because women are not as physically strong as men. The women who work at companies would get mad at me, if they hear what I am talking about, but I feel that women should seek other ways of becoming equal to men. I am not sure how we should do this, but I always feel that we had better look for other means to raise our own status, without going on about inequality too much.

The case of the student (4A) who perceived the issues of prostitution in relation to the relationship between self and society, women and men, and furthermore, with discrimination against women was very unusual. Despite this, that fact that, among the same generation, there is a high school girl who viewed the current situation in such a way should not be ignored. Further analysis is needed on such cases to better evaluate the opinions of female high school students in the future.

IV. Conclusion and Discussion

By interviewing thirty female high school students on how they viewed '*enjo kô sai*' and some of the reasons why girls engage in '*enjo kô sai*' were observed.

First, perceptions of '*enjo kô sai*' varied. Most interviewees thought that it involved receiving money or presents. Some consider it, however, as an act that does not involve sex, but for example going to karaoke or having dinner together. Others think that '*enjo kô sai*' involves sex; girls sell themselves in exchange for money. The former group, in particular, consider that '*enjo kô sai*' is different from 'prostitution.' Such an opinion is a justification for their involvement in '*enjo kô sai*'. The statement 'having tea together would help him' is the clear indication of justification. The word '*enjo*' (assist, aid, give help) itself encourages these girls to justify the phenomenon.

To understand the relationship between female high school students and '*enjo kô sai*' these problems should not be ignored. Apart from the female high school students' perception of '*enjo kô sai*', the image of '*enjo kô sai*' that is portrayed by the media often includes sex. However, whether or not '*enjo kô sai*' involves sex is not a crucial point. Even if it does not, it divides the relationship between men and women into that of buyers' and sellers.' This phenomenon reproduces the traditional view that 'the value of a woman equals to her youthfulness,' and female high school students symbolise this. From this context, again, the issue of '*enjo kô sai*' arises from the 'commercialisation of sex, and '*enjo kô sai*' dishonours women and prevents the realisation of gender equal society. By looking just at the positive connotation that the word '*enjo*' has, without looking at such problematic features, '*enjo kô sai*' could be viewed superficially as a legitimate social phenomenon.

The explanation that girls engage in '*enjo kô sai*' 'only for money' seems inadequate. In this affluent age young people are surrounded by expensive brand names, and the desire for material goods could be endless. For many young women money may be extremely attractive. There are justifications based on this: 'I am only doing this for money' and 'there are not many other easier ways to earn money.'

By engaging in '*enjo kô sai*' a girl may earn a certain 'fashionability' or kudos. '*Enjo kô sai*' and prostitution are not substantially different. However, a 'new,' 'youthful,' and 'trendy' image have been attached to '*enjo kô sai*' by the media, and these connotations are quite different from those associated with prostitution. The more the media portrays '*enjo kô sai*' as 'a new kind of entertainment business,' typical behaviour of the 'youth of today,' or 'today's high school girls' the more such images have become attached to the term '*enjo kô sai*'. The more adults (and the media) deplore '*enjo kô sai*' and the morals of

contemporary high school students, the more female high school students will think that this is the way 'contemporary' people are. '*Enjo kôsai*' has become one arena in which to play a 'stylish' and contemporary role.

Some interviewees who shared the experiences of their friends—who 'went to dinner together, but disappeared later on,' or who 'were taken into a hotel but escaped when the guy was taking a shower' had, of course, apprehensive feelings about '*enjo kôsai*'. However, at the same time, they admire those who had actually experienced such things. If girls who have actually experienced '*enjo kôsai*' sense their admiration, they might feel 'satisfied' with the roles they are 'currently' playing.

To stop this vicious cycle, the issue of '*enjo kôsai*' needs to be examined without merely regarding '*enjo kôsai*' as social phenomena of the day. Whether or not '*enjo kôsai*' involves sex, the following have to be made clear; '*enjo kôsai*' is a form of women's sexuality commercialised, it distorts the relationship between men and women, and it dishonours the dignity of women.

It seemed to be very hard for the students to understand '*enjo kôsai*' and prostitution from the point of view of gender inequality/equality. However there was one exceptional case in which a student perceived the issues of '*enjo kôsai*' and prostitution in relation to the relationship between self and society, the relationship between women and men, and furthermore, with discrimination against women. Adults should think about how a high school student like her has come to acquire such a point of view, and in that sense, it is hoped that this study gives a direction for future investigation. In the future, individual interviews need to be repeated and the psycho-social development of the interviewees needs to be analysed. Furthermore, the correlation and causal relation of various factors need to be analysed by using a larger quantity of data collected from subjects chosen by random sampling. Not only female high school students but also adults (including parents, teachers, and, most importantly, men who buy these girls) need to be analysed in future studies.

Postscript

In this study we have learnt something about the problems and the complications of the problems that female high school students face. Regarding the issues of '*enjo kôgai*' which was the topic for this study, we found out that their definition of '*enjo kôgai*' varied. To conduct further analyses in the future, the definition of '*enjo kôgai*' itself needs to be clarified, but for the time-being the term remains a concept which needs to set in quotes.

As the number of women who are active in the society has increased women's social status has of course also risen; however, on closer examination, it seems that it will take much more time to realise a gender equal society. One of the problems encountered in this study is that 'prostitution', with a different name, presents itself as 'modern.' So-called '*enjo kôgai*' is typical of this. The task for those who live in the modern world is to tackle the questions that lie behind such a social phenomenon. For female high school students, in particular, this is very important.

Reviewing the record of the interviews, I am embarrassed to see the usage of 'youth language,' such as 'do stuff'; 'I don't really know... but...'; and 'maybe....' etc. Certainly they avoid making conclusive statements, and are purposely ambiguous. This may be because they are not trained to express their opinions clearly, and may actually be afraid of coming into conflict with others by expressing themselves clearly. They might be trying to think over other's opinion. They may not be able to organise their thought, but there is no doubt that the these statements are vague.

Putting the causes of such obscure statements aside (these could be a theme for a future study), if a person is not able to clearly tell others about her/his opinion it is difficult to get at the problematic aspects of any social phenomenon. If a person is rather buried in his or her individual life, he or she will not be able to see the connections between the social phenomenon and her/himself, much less, clarify the problematic issues behind the social phenomenon. To look at the social phenomenon, people need to be able to discuss openly and freely with one another, and obscure expressions are not appropriate in such discussion. In this sense, the way in which female high school students speak is extremely problematic.

Those problems need to be overcome so that female high school students will be able to participate in the realisation of a better society in the future, and adults need to make an effort in solving such problems. The interviews of the thirty high school students made me realise the magnitude of the issues that adults will have to deal with and the significance of these issues. A female college student who carried out the actual interviews commented, 'in the interview process, I thought deeply about the significance of education.'

Adults provide young people with knowledge, but not with advice and skills for living. Knowledge can be obtained from text books, if you read them. Young people need to learn how to use the knowledge from the adults around them. The mistake that school education commits, nowadays, is the separation of knowledge and education, and such mistake make young people feel passive about their lives.' (Ui Miyoko) This research has certainly made us think deeply about the role of education.

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