

PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES ON BOSozOKU
— AN INTERIM REPORT —

IATSS 003 Project Team

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A fact-finding survey about hot rodders or the so-called bosozoku has been conducted by a survey group of the International Association of Traffic and Safety Sciences. In the present project, we carried out an analytical survey from the following standpoints to further clarify what the bosozoku really are. First, we tried to bring to light the deep mental structure and disposition of the bosozoku through mental tests, studies, interviews and questionnaires conducted on both the bosozoku and ordinary youths. Secondly, a consciousness survey was conducted on ordinary people for analysis of relations between the bosozoku and the social environment. The results were put to depth-psychological, psychiatric and socio-pathological analyses in an attempt to examine today's social structure and the mental structure of the Japanese people in order to clarify what the bosozoku are and why some youths become bosozoku.

INTRODUCTION

The rapid growth of Japan's economy has not only raised the people's standard of living and spread higher education, but it has also caused diversification of values, urbanization and nuclearization of the family which, in turn, have produced various social ills. Youths, in particular, have come to face an extremely serious choice between joining a rat race to get into a university or dropping out, without in either case being given any opportunity or trial in dealing with youthful dilemmas or troubles. This is a critical situation for the young.

Amid such a situation, some of the youths have been attracted by freedom of action, friends and speed to become known as bosozoku. And their presence, along with various social perversions in today's Japan, has cast a very serious social and psychological problem. The Kobe incident in May, 1976*¹ caused police to launch a crackdown on them and the public to become increasingly critical of them. While the situation is fluid and changing constantly, it appears to remain unchanged at its roots.

*¹ The Kobe Incident: at a port festival held in front of the Kobe Municipal Office in May, 1976, bosozoku demonstrated their reckless driving timed with the dispersion of the large crowd and this instigated a riot among the people there.

Various studies have been made of bosozoku youths by police, investigators of the Family Court, psychologists, educators and others, and an analysis is being made of reasons why they have become bosozoku. Their activities have been accounted for from socio-pathological standpoints as being rooted in a social structure which places too much emphasis on an academic career or explained as a characteristic of adolescence or attributed to mental factors of individuals.

Bosozoku youths have been found in one study to be closely related to the "Y group"*² of high school students

born of the overly competitive entrance examination system. Some knowledge about why some youths become bosozoku, therefore, has been acquired, but it is still necessary to clarify exactly how various views about the factors that make some youths become bosozoku—attributing them to the adolescence, perversions in the social structure itself or inner factors of individual—relate themselves to bosozoku activities.

The present study has been conducted by a group of four researchers to clarify, with such views in mind as discussed above, the attitudes of the general public toward bosozoku, the psychological background of the youths, youths in bosozoku groups in particular, and other characteristics of the bosozoku that have not been delved into thus far. The following is a summary of their interim report.

*² The Y group refers to those youths who, in the course of their school education, have dropped out of an elite course.

The X group refers to those youths who still maintain their aspirations to become elites and still keep their competitive spirit alive.

The groups are not necessarily fixed; the Y group refers merely to those whose characteristics are dominantly those of the Y group and the X group to those whose characteristics are dominantly those of the X group.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD THE BOSOZOKU

Let us first examine how the bosozoku and their activities are looked upon by the people around them.

Attitudes toward the bosozoku seem to differ among various groups of people depending on their respective standpoints: between high school students and adults, between superior students and inferior students in the competition for university entrance among the youths of the same generation as the bosozoku, between journalists and housewives, and among those who are not interested in the bosozoku, members of the families who have bosozoku youths, bosozoku themselves and their friends.

And how do individual people see the “world”—the world which is sometimes warm-hearted and sometimes cold-hearted? What assumption do they have of the public attitudes toward the bosozoku? Although it may not be possible to regard the assumed models as social norms or social standards themselves, we decided to study the relations between the public attitudes as assumed by individual people and their own attitudes.

1. Method

a. Survey population

High School S—second-year male students of S High School in downtown Tokyo.....	46
High School H—second-year male students of H High School in Tokyo	102

University C—38 male students and 17 female students in the liberal arts course of C National University.....	55
University MI—159 male students and 74 female students in the full-time liberal arts course of M University.....	233
University MII—59 male students and 1 female student in the night-time liberal arts course of M University.....	60
Women’s Junior College—274 students of a women’s junior college in Yokohama.....	274
Journalists—35 males and 5 females	40
Housewives	53
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Total: 863 (439 males, 424 females)	

Table 1 Statements and Their Degrees of Liking Toward Bosozoku:
Average Values and Standard Deviations

Item No.	*	Statements	Average values	Standard deviations
1	U	Parents of bosozoku are too lenient toward their children.	2.09	1.12
2	F	Bosozoku are targets of admiration for youths between 15 and 17 years old.	3.95	1.02
3	U	I think those who become bosozoku have a weak will and easily get carried away.	2.01	1.15
4	U	Bosozoku are groups of people who have only dark prospects in the present society which overemphasizes academic careers.	2.04	1.09
5	U	Bosozoku should be rigidly controlled by police.	1.49	0.96
6	U	I think bosozoku are a kind of people who cannot do anything unless in groups.	1.72	0.91
7	F	To look at them as a special group of people isolates them from the ordinary society all the more.	3.67	1.05
8	F	The home, the school, and the place of work are not very comfortable places for bosozoku.	3.68	0.96
9	N	Bosozoku are always conscious of other people’s eyes.	2.62	0.92
10	U	Bosozoku are unskillful in driving and are daredevil fools.	1.23	0.57
11	U	I think bosozoku are groups of people who get into fights easily and engage in immoral activities.	1.18	0.52
12	U	Bosozoku are groups of drop-outs from the competition for entrance examinations.	1.89	1.04
13	N	Activities of bosozoku result from their overstretching, a characteristic of adolescence.	3.12	1.11
14	N	Bosozoku are only a handful of people among the youths of the same generation; it is not necessary to make a fuss about them.	2.75	1.14
15	N	I think bosozoku find thrills and sensation in violating traffic regulations.	2.81	1.07
16	U	When youths join bosozoku, they tend to have relations with hoodlums and gangsters.	1.76	0.84
17	F	Without friends at school or at places of work, bosozoku are lonely.	3.79	1.02
18	U	Those who become bosozoku find pleasure in nothing but riding or playing with vehicles.	2.42	1.10
19	F	Bosozoku have the same feelings as those who are fascinated by rock music.	3.68	0.96
20	F	We should leave bosozoku alone as they will soon get bored with what they are doing.	3.86	1.19
21	U	Activities of bosozoku ignore the social order.	1.57	0.82
22	N	Bosozoku either do not have a father or have a father who has lost his paternal authority.	2.85	1.02
23	U	Bosozoku are self-centered and they think nothing of causing trouble to other people.	1.48	0.85
24	F	Activities of bosozoku are an escape from the monotonous or suppressed daily life.	4.21	0.71
25	N	Parents and children cannot communicate well at the homes of bosozoku.	3.33	1.08

* The degrees of liking are converted into following three values on a five-grade scale:

U = unfavorable, with values less than 2.5.

N = neutral, with values more than 2.5 and less than 3.5.

F = favorable, with values more than 3.5.

b. Survey items

Statements showing various views about bosozoku were collected from compositions and reports written about bosozoku by students of M University and C University and arranged into 25 different statements as shown in Table 1. The statements include 1) those who try to see the bosozoku as a phenomenon of the adolescent period, 2) those who try to attribute the factors leading some youths to bosozoku to the family environment, school, place of work or the social structure itself, 3) those who try to attribute it to personal factors, 4) those who address general impressions about the bosozoku and 5) those who express themselves to measures to be taken about the bosozoku. The respondents were asked to mark one of the following four choices on each of the 25 statements: "I do not agree at all," "I do not necessarily agree," "I agree to an extent," and "I agree completely."

In addition, 107 students (26 males and 81 females) of M University were asked to rate the statements on a five-grade scale (1. greatly unfavorable, 2. somewhat unfavorable, 3. neither favorable nor unfavorable, 4. somewhat favorable and 5. greatly favorable). Average values and standard deviations in degrees of favor were measured on the basis of the ratings, as shown in Table 1. The statements are classified into the following categories according to their average values: (F)—the statements which have average values more than 3.5 and are favorable toward bosozoku, (U)—the statements which have average values less than 2.5 and are unfavorable toward bosozoku, and (N)—the statements which have average values more than 2.5 but less than 3.5 and are neutral. As it turned out, there were seven statements in the F category, 12 in the U category and six in the N category, suggesting that, as far as students of M University are concerned many of the statements are unfavorable toward bosozoku.

2. Findings

a. Attitudes of different groups toward bosozoku

To get a collective view of the attitudes, two of the four choices—"I do not agree at all" and "I do not necessarily agree"—were grouped as negative replies and the other two—"I agree completely" and "I agree to an extent"—as positive replies and percentages of positive and negative replies were calculated for the 26 statements to be categorized in Table 2 and Table 3.

(1) People's own attitudes toward bosozoku

Table 4 shows average values of different groups of people of their degrees of affirmativeness regarding the seven favorable statements and 12 unfavorable statements among the total of 25 statements. The table suggests that, with all of the groups other than the professional group of journalists showing higher rates of approval of unfavorable statements about bosozoku than of favorable statements about them, people have unfavorable attitudes toward bosozoku.

Concerning the statements which ascribe the bosozoku to adolescence, none of the groups thought that the activities of the bosozoku are a target of admiration among youths and they all considered the activities as a "showing-off" syndrome characteristic of the adolescent period (Fig. 1). It was a common belief of the groups that, while the bosozoku comprise only a small percentage of the youths and they will outgrow the bosozoku activities sometime in the future, they cannot be left unquestioned or watched over passively. Journalists alone had more moderate views (Fig. 2).

Among the statements attributing the origin of the bosozoku to a breakdown in paternal authority (Fig. 4) or places of work, four statements—bosozoku are only escaping from the monotonous and oppressive daily life (Fig. 3), parents are too lenient, there is a lack of communication between parents and children, and they are not very comfortable at home, at school or at the place of work—received approval from all groups. They are not as approving of a statement attributing the origin of the bosozoku to a breakdown in parental authority (Fig. 4).

While relations between those who have dropped out of the competition for university entrance and bosozoku are discussed often, there is only a low rate of approval of a statement saying that bosozoku are bands of drop-outs although students of the national university and housewives show a relatively high rate of approval of this statement (Fig. 5). People are generally disapproving of a statement which sees bosozoku as people with little prospect for advancement or in a society which has an over-emphasis on academic careers, although students of the national university and housewives again show a strong tendency to approve, suggesting how the students of the national university—winners in the competition for university entrance—look at the bosozoku.

Table 2 Own Attitudes Toward Bosozoku

The figures are percentages of positive and negative statements for different groups of subjects. They do not add up to 100 per cent as some people did not reply.

Item	Negative									Positive							
No.	S high school students	H high school students	C university students	MI students	MI students	Junior college students	Journalists	Housewives		S high school students	H high school students	C university students	MI students	MI students	Junior college students	Journalists	Housewives
Adolescents																	
2 Admiration	80.4	67.6	85.5	76.0	61.7	45.6	67.5	60.4		19.6	32.4	14.5	24.0	38.3	53.3	32.5	37.7
13 Over-stretching	19.6	7.8	20.0	13.7	25.0	9.9	15.0	15.1		78.3	92.2	80.0	85.8	75.0	88.3	85.0	81.1
14 A handful	71.7	79.4	80.0	81.1	83.3	78.8	60.0	67.9		26.1	20.6	20.0	18.0	16.7	20.4	40.0	26.4
20 Bored	69.6	77.5	89.1	81.1	73.3	71.2	52.5	77.4		30.4	22.5	10.9	18.5	26.7	26.6	47.5	18.9
Society and home																	
1 Lenient parents	30.4	26.5	21.8	32.6	23.3	25.9	27.5	3.8		67.4	72.5	78.2	66.5	75.0	74.1	72.5	94.3
4 Over-emphasis on academic careers	67.4	54.9	38.2	60.5	68.3	65.0	57.5	39.6		32.6	45.1	61.8	38.6	31.7	34.7	40.0	58.5
8 Not comfortable	41.3	29.4	23.6	31.3	40.0	27.0	35.0	24.5		58.7	69.6	76.4	68.2	60.0	73.0	65.0	73.6
12 Competitive entrance system	63.0	58.8	54.5	63.5	71.7	71.2	60.0	52.8		37.0	41.2	45.5	36.5	28.3	27.7	40.0	45.3
22 No father	52.2	48.0	56.4	58.4	61.7	41.2	52.5	39.6		47.8	52.0	43.6	41.6	38.3	57.3	47.5	58.5
24 Monotonous life	19.6	12.7	12.7	21.5	20.0	16.4	22.5	18.9		78.3	87.3	87.3	78.5	80.0	81.8	77.5	77.4
25 Parents-children communication	26.1	9.8	16.4	15.5	25.0	17.2	30.0	11.3		71.7	90.2	83.6	84.5	75.0	81.8	70.0	86.8
Individuals																	
3 Weak will power	47.8	34.3	27.3	36.5	53.3	34.7	42.5	24.5		52.2	65.7	72.7	62.2	45.0	64.6	57.5	73.6
6 Unless in groups	39.1	17.6	27.3	18.0	23.3	20.1	35.0	9.4		60.9	82.4	72.7	81.5	76.7	79.6	65.0	88.7
9 Conscious of other people's eyes	23.9	29.4	20.0	22.7	31.7	24.5	25.0	26.4		76.1	69.6	78.2	77.3	68.3	74.8	75.0	69.8
17 No friends	71.7	69.6	52.7	57.5	73.3	55.5	45.0	39.6		28.3	29.4	47.3	42.1	26.7	43.1	55.0	58.5
23 Self-centered	17.4	16.7	10.9	17.6	13.3	14.2	27.5	0.0		82.6	83.3	89.1	82.0	86.7	84.3	72.5	96.2
General impressions																	
10 Daredevils	50.0	58.8	65.5	61.8	61.7	45.3	70.0	30.2		50.0	41.2	34.5	37.8	38.3	52.2	30.0	67.9
11 Fights	50.0	41.2	45.5	43.5	55.0	49.6	67.5	35.8		50.0	58.8	54.5	56.7	45.0	49.6	32.5	62.3
15 Violations	41.3	23.5	25.5	29.2	33.3	17.9	22.5	18.9		58.7	75.5	74.5	70.4	66.7	81.4	77.5	79.2
16 Gangs	23.9	34.3	18.2	24.0	35.0	27.7	37.5	20.8		76.1	64.7	81.8	74.7	63.3	71.2	62.5	75.5
18 No other pleasure	60.9	63.7	65.5	65.7	76.7	62.4	62.5	39.6		39.1	36.3	32.7	34.3	23.3	36.5	37.5	58.5
19 Rock music	45.7	49.0	41.8	57.5	51.7	37.2	25.0	22.6		54.3	51.0	54.5	41.6	48.3	61.7	75.0	73.6
21 Ignore social order	28.3	8.8	5.5	12.9	13.3	16.1	25.0	3.8		71.7	90.2	94.5	86.7	86.7	82.5	75.0	92.5
Countermeasures																	
5 Tighter controls	34.8	16.7	25.5	25.3	11.7	17.2	40.0	5.7		65.2	83.3	74.5	74.2	86.7	82.8	60.0	92.5
7 Special group	34.8	23.5	41.8	38.6	25.0	23.7	27.5	26.4		65.2	76.5	58.2	60.1	75.0	76.3	72.5	67.9
14 A handful	71.7	79.4	80.0	81.1	83.3	78.8	60.0	67.9		26.1	20.6	20.0	18.0	16.7	20.4	40.0	26.4
20 Will be bored	69.6	77.5	89.1	81.1	73.3	71.2	52.5	77.4		30.4	22.5	10.9	18.5	26.7	26.6	47.5	18.9

PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES ON BOSOZOKU

Table 3 Assumed Attitudes of Other People Toward Bosozoku

The figures are percentages of positive and negative statements for different groups of subjects. They do not add up to 100 per cent as some people did not reply.

Item	Negative								Positive							
No.	S high school students	H high school students	C university students	MI students	MI students	Junior college students	Journalists	Housewives	S high school students	H high school students	C university students	MI students	MI students	Junior college students	Journalists	Housewives
Adolescents																
2 Admiration	34.8	33.3	45.5	47.2	40.0	27.4	60.0	39.6	65.2	66.7	50.9	52.8	60.0	72.6	37.5	58.5
13 Over-stretching	6.5	3.9	3.6	3.9	5.0	5.1	5.0	3.8	93.5	96.1	90.9	96.1	91.7	94.5	95.0	96.2
14 A handful	69.6	92.2	81.8	84.5	83.3	84.3	75.0	77.4	28.3	7.8	12.7	15.0	13.3	15.0	25.0	22.6
20 Bored	71.7	93.1	85.5	88.4	88.3	86.1	70.0	73.6	21.7	5.9	10.9	10.7	10.0	13.1	30.0	22.6
Society and home																
1 Lenient parents	15.2	2.9	5.5	3.4	5.0	4.7	5.0	1.9	82.6	97.1	89.1	95.7	95.0	95.3	95.0	98.1
4 Over-emphasis on academic careers	15.2	4.9	3.6	14.2	25.0	11.3	22.5	28.3	82.6	95.1	92.7	85.4	75.0	88.3	72.5	69.8
8 Not comfortable	23.9	11.8	3.6	11.6	16.7	12.8	17.5	28.3	76.1	88.2	90.9	88.0	83.3	86.5	80.0	71.7
12 Competitive entrance system	15.2	11.8	3.6	16.3	28.3	15.7	25.0	34.0	84.8	88.2	92.7	83.3	70.0	83.2	75.0	66.0
22 Monotonous life	23.9	10.8	5.5	14.6	30.0	11.7	22.5	32.1	76.1	89.2	90.9	84.5	68.3	88.0	75.0	67.9
24 Parents-children communication	21.7	15.7	9.1	17.6	18.3	13.9	20.0	11.3	78.3	84.3	87.3	82.0	80.0	85.4	77.5	86.8
25 No father	8.7	2.9	3.6	6.4	5.0	6.6	17.5	11.3	89.1	97.1	92.7	93.1	91.7	93.4	82.5	88.7
Individuals																
3 Weak will power	17.4	6.9	5.5	6.4	11.7	5.1	17.5	13.2	80.4	93.1	90.9	93.1	88.3	93.8	82.5	86.8
6 Unless in group	4.3	1.0	3.6	4.3	6.7	2.2	7.5	7.5	95.7	98.0	92.7	94.8	91.7	97.4	92.5	92.5
9 Conscious of other people's eyes	13.0	11.8	21.8	16.7	21.7	20.4	17.5	20.8	87.0	88.2	72.7	82.4	78.3	79.6	82.5	73.6
17 No friends	34.8	25.5	18.2	25.8	38.3	24.5	35.0	28.3	60.9	72.5	78.2	73.8	60.0	74.8	65.0	71.7
23 Self-centered	10.9	0.0	0.0	1.7	6.7	0.7	12.5	0.0	89.1	100.0	96.4	97.9	91.7	99.3	87.5	98.1
General impressions																
10 Daredevils	19.6	7.8	7.3	9.4	20.0	5.1	35.0	18.9	80.4	92.2	89.1	90.1	78.3	94.5	65.0	81.1
11 Fights	6.5	3.9	3.6	3.9	11.7	3.6	17.5	22.6	91.3	96.1	92.7	96.1	86.7	96.4	80.0	77.4
15 Violations	8.7	6.9	3.6	6.4	15.0	4.7	17.5	9.4	91.3	92.2	92.7	93.6	83.3	95.3	82.5	90.6
16 Gangs	4.3	10.8	0.0	6.9	11.7	4.7	27.5	15.1	95.7	89.2	96.4	92.7	86.7	95.3	72.5	83.0
18 No other pleasure	21.7	20.6	29.1	25.3	38.3	20.4	42.5	26.4	78.3	78.4	67.3	74.2	60.0	79.6	55.0	73.6
19 Rock music	13.0	26.5	12.7	22.3	28.3	25.2	17.5	7.5	84.8	73.5	83.6	77.3	70.0	74.1	82.5	88.7
21 Ignore social order	10.9	2.9	5.5	3.9	8.3	4.7	7.5	7.5	89.1	97.1	90.9	95.7	90.0	94.9	92.5	90.6
Countermeasures																
5 Tighter controls	6.5	1.0	1.8	2.6	5.0	0.7	10.0	5.7	93.5	99.0	94.5	97.4	95.0	99.3	90.0	94.3
7 Special group	39.1	38.2	47.3	54.5	35.0	38.3	25.0	34.0	58.7	61.8	49.1	45.5	65.0	61.7	72.5	64.2
14 A handful	69.6	92.2	81.8	84.5	83.3	84.3	75.0	77.4	28.3	7.8	12.7	15.0	13.3	15.0	25.0	22.6
20 Bored	71.7	93.1	85.5	88.4	88.3	86.1	70.0	73.6	21.7	5.9	10.9	10.7	10.0	13.1	30.0	22.6

Table 4 Group-by-group averages of percentages approving of favorable comments about bosozoku and percentages approving of unfavorable statements about them.

Degrees of liking toward bosozoku expressed by statements	No. of Items	Groups							
		S high school students	H high school students	C university students	MI students	MII students	Junior college students	Journalists	Housewives
Unfavorable (values 1.18-2.42)	12	57.1	63.7	66.0	61.0	57.2	61.7	53.8	75.5
Favorable (values 3.67-4.21)	7	47.8	52.7	49.9	47.6	50.7	59.4	60.7	58.2

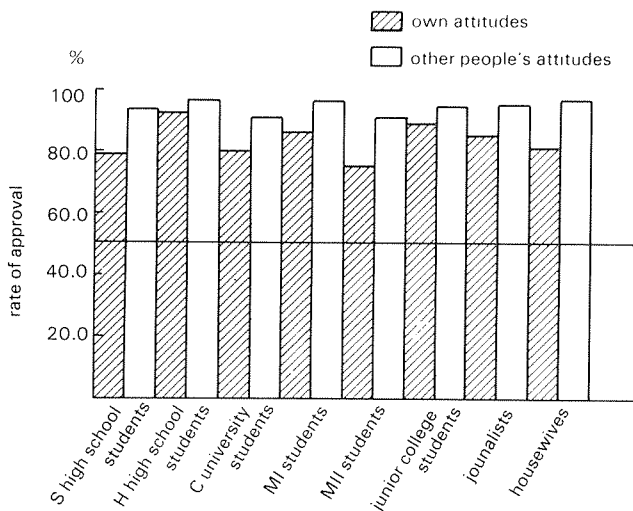


Fig. 1
No.13: Activities of bosozoku result from their overstretching, a characteristic of adolescence.

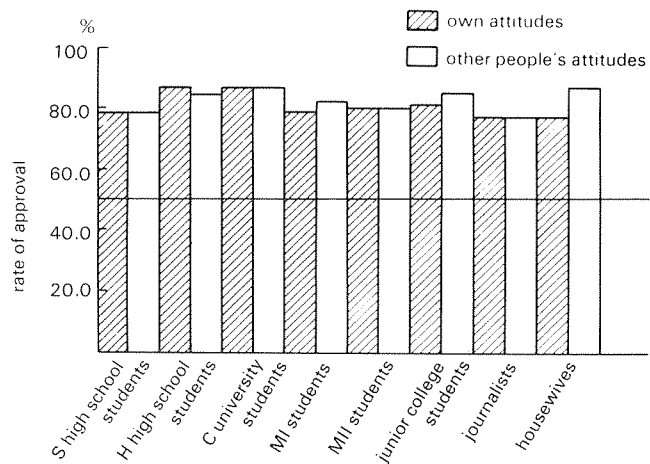


Fig. 3
No.24: Activities of bosozoku are an escape from the monotonous or suppressed daily life.

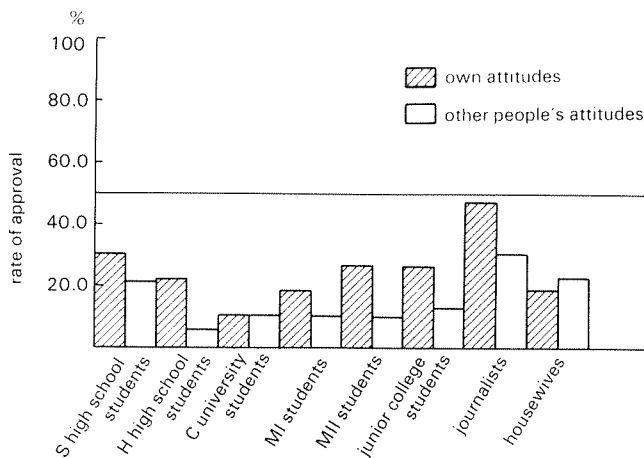


Fig. 2
No.20: We should leave bosozoku alone as they will soon get bored with what they are doing.

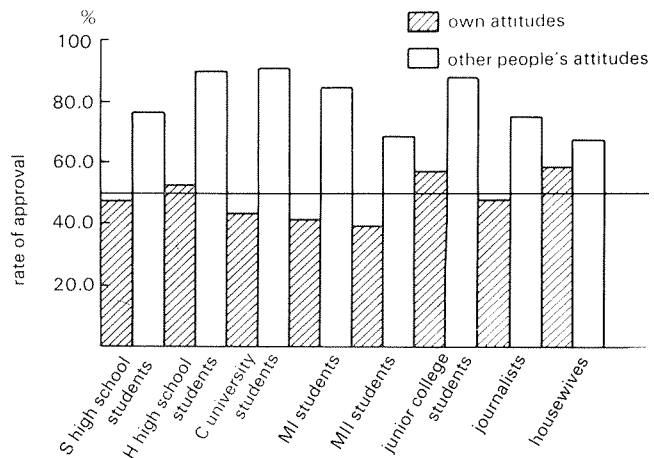


Fig. 4
No.22: Bosozoku either do not have a father or have a father who has lost his paternal authority.

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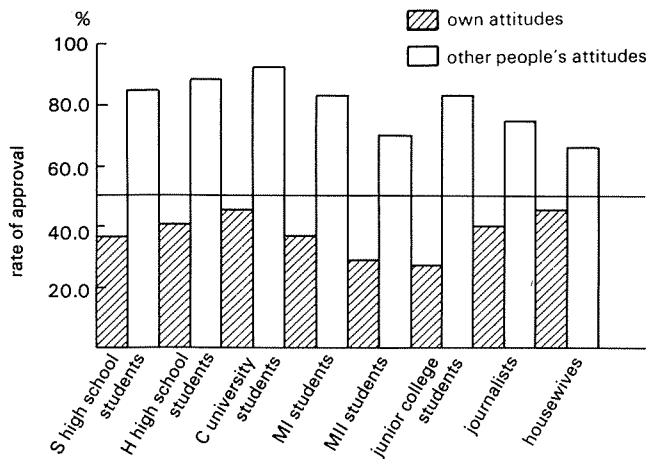


Fig. 5
No.12: Bosozoku are groups of drop-outs from the competition for entrance examinations.

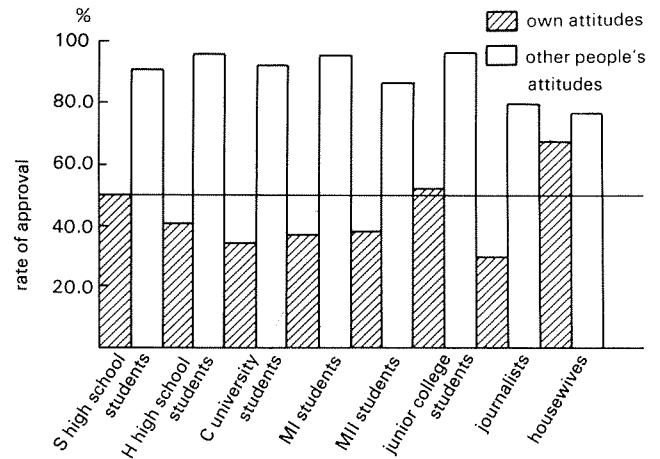


Fig. 8
No.11: I think bosozoku are groups of people who get into fights easily and engage immoral activities.

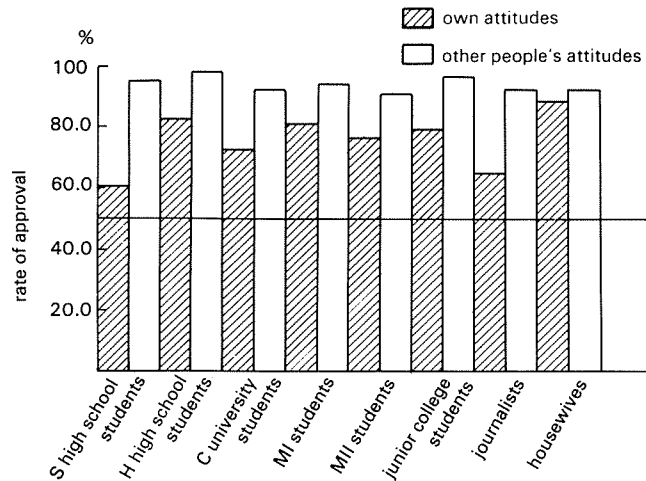


Fig. 6
No.6: I think bosozoku are a kind of people who cannot do anything unless in groups.

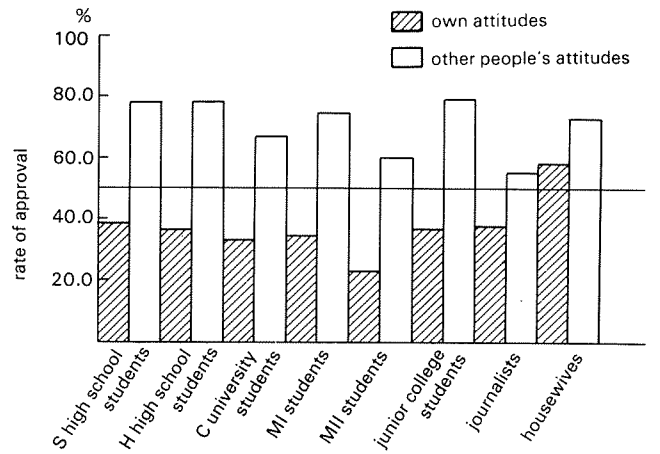


Fig. 9
No.18: Those who become bosozoku find pleasure in nothing but riding or playing with vehicles.

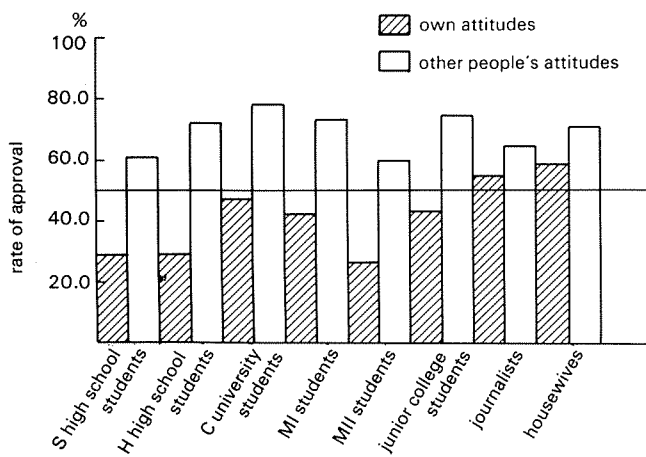


Fig. 7
No.17: Without friends at school or at places of work, bosozoku are lonely.

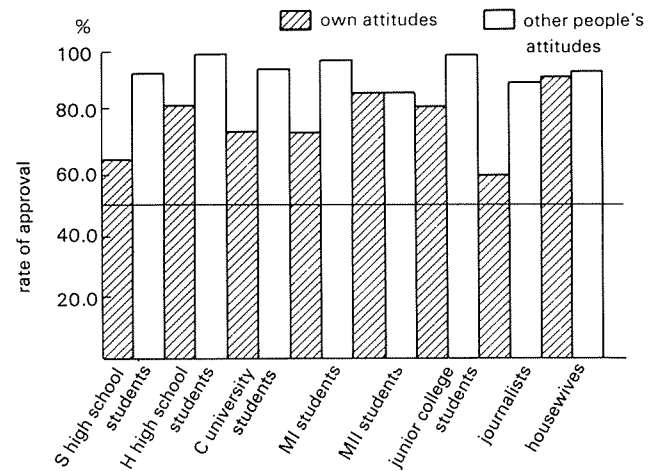


Fig. 10
No.5: Bosozoku should be rigidly controlled by police.

Concerning the statements about personal factors of bosozoku, many people think that bosozoku are those who cannot do anything without being in groups (Fig. 6), and that they are selfish and think nothing of annoying other people. More than a half of housewives and journalists approve of a statement that bosozoku may be just lonely without any friends, while only 30 per cent of high school students and night-time university students approve of it (Fig. 7).

Concerning general impressions about bosozoku, all groups think that bosozoku get pleasure and thrills from violating the traffic regulations. They feel the bosozoku ignore the social order and tend to become associated with gangsters when they join bosozoku groups while they do not regard them as bands of youths who are prone to fight at any time or to engage in immoral sexual activities (Fig. 8). All groups other than housewives do not approve of a statement that bosozoku have no joy except to ride and play with automobiles (Fig. 9).

In terms of measures to be taken about bosozoku, all groups—more than 90 per cent in the case of housewives—approve of a police control on bosozoku while nearly 40 per cent of students of S High School and journalists conspicuously disapprove of it (Fig. 10). All groups approve of a statement that to regard bosozoku as peculiar has resulted in their isolation from society as a whole, but the statement is ambiguous in that it apparently includes two attitudes—one that it is better to regard them as peculiar as it isolates them and the other is that it is better not to regard them as such as their isolation will make the situation worse.

The groups were paired to see the distribution differences of approval and disapproval percentages for the 25 statements. It was noteworthy that in as many as six statements there were significant differences between students of H High School in downtown Tokyo and those of H High School elsewhere in Tokyo, both of them in the same high school system, and between day-time students and night-time students of M University. The attitudes of students of C National University and those of MI University were similar. Students of S High School had significant differences from journalists in the fewest statements. Students of the women's junior college and housewives had many statements that differed significantly between themselves and from other groups.

(2) Assumed public attitudes

Table 3 shows that the different groups make very similar assumptions. When significant differences in what the groups assumed about the 25 statements are measured, however, it is found that there are many sta-

tements of significant differences between what journalists and housewives assumed and what students of H High School, C National University, MI University and the junior college assumed. There are only a few statements of significant differences, i.e., assumption are similar, among two groups—students of H High School, C National University, MI University and the women's junior college in one group and students of S High School and MI University, journalists and housewives in the other.

The difference between students of H High School and those of S High School is that the former has a higher rate of approval of the 25 statements and that, notably, it has a particularly high rate of disapproval of statements 14 and 20. This suggests that students of H High School are more uniformly assuming attitudes of the people in general than those of S High School, themselves thinking that the public has negative attitudes toward bosozoku.

(3) Comparison between own attitudes and assumed public attitudes

Measurement of significant differences among the various groups in approval and disapproval percentages, shown in Table 2 and Table 3, finds that there are very many statements with significant differences among most of the youth groups and that the number is only a few among journalists and housewives. Members of youth groups assume that the people in general have negative attitudes toward bosozoku, themselves thinking that they are not that negative.

Table 5 Degrees of Involvement with Bosozoku

Numbers and percentages of people who circled one of the six choices*

Sex	Choice Frequency	1	2	3	4	5	6
M	Actual number	151	277	24	105	12	24
	Percentage	34.4	63.1	5.5	23.9	2.7	5.5
F	Actual number	219	235	6	49	1	9
	Percentage	51.7	55.4	1.4	11.6	0.2	2.1
Total	Actual number	370	512	30	154	13	33
	Percentage	42.9	59.3	3.5	17.8	1.5	3.8

Choices:

1. I have only read about them in the newspaper, seen them on television or heard about them from other people.
2. I have actually seen them in action.
3. I have actually suffered from them.
4. I have a bosozoku member in my family or among my friends.
5. I belong or have belonged to a bosozoku group.
6. I have driven with bosozoku.

* The percentage figures add up to over 100 because some marked more than one choice.

PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES ON BOSOZOKU

b. Degree of involvement with bosozoku and attitudes toward them

The respondents were asked to circle one of the following six choices to indicate their degree of involvement with bosozoku: 1. I have only read about them in the newspaper, seen them on television or heard about them from other people, 2. I have actually seen them in action, 3. I have actually suffered from them, 4. I have a bosozoku member in my family or among my friends, 5. I belong (have belonged) to a bosozoku group, or 6. I have driven with the bosozoku. A total of 863 persons—439 males and 424 females—were questioned (Table 5).

Here again, percentages of approval and disapproval on the 25 statements were calculated for the people who made different choices and they were categorized in Table 6 and Table 7.

Here again, percentages of approval and disapproval on the 25 statements were calculated for the people who made different choices and they were categorized in Table 6 and Table 7.

Table 6 Degrees of Involvement with Bosozoku and Own Attitudes Toward Them

	NEGATIVE						POSITIVE					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
Adolescents												
2 Admiration	63.8	64.1	80.0	55.8	53.8	57.6	35.7	35.5	20.0	44.2	46.2	39.4
13 Over-stretching	14.1	12.9	20.0	16.2	15.4	21.2	84.6	85.9	80.0	82.5	84.6	78.8
14 A handful	78.6	78.9	83.3	68.2	30.8	54.5	20.3	20.7	16.7	29.9	69.2	42.4
20 Bored	78.4	74.2	83.3	66.9	15.4	36.4	20.3	24.8	16.7	31.8	84.6	60.6
Society and home												
1 Lenient parents	24.1	25.8	20.0	36.4	69.2	57.6	75.4	73.8	80.0	62.3	30.8	39.4
4 Over-emphasis on academic careers	55.7	60.2	50.0	71.4	46.2	60.6	43.5	39.3	50.0	27.9	53.8	36.4
8 Not comfortable	26.8	31.8	33.3	42.9	53.8	42.4	73.0	67.8	66.7	55.8	46.2	57.6
12 Competitive entrance system	63.5	63.1	53.3	68.8	76.9	78.8	35.9	36.5	46.7	31.2	23.1	21.2
22 Monotonous life	47.8	50.0	36.7	23.4	46.2	60.6	51.4	49.4	63.3	76.0	53.8	39.4
24 Parents-children communication	17.0	18.6	26.7	20.8	7.7	18.2	81.4	80.7	73.3	79.2	92.3	81.8
25 No father	13.0	18.9	13.3	24.0	38.5	21.2	86.2	80.7	86.7	75.3	61.5	78.8
Individuals												
3 Weak will power	34.3	36.1	30.0	50.0	69.2	54.5	64.9	63.1	70.0	49.4	30.8	42.4
6 Unless in groups	19.7	20.7	3.3	33.8	53.8	54.5	80.0	79.1	96.7	65.6	46.2	42.4
9 Conscious of other people's eyes	28.1	24.6	20.0	27.3	30.8	33.3	70.8	75.0	80.0	72.7	69.2	66.7
17 No friends	51.1	59.6	83.3	88.3	92.3	87.9	47.8	39.5	16.7	11.0	7.7	12.1
23 Self-centered	13.0	14.8	6.7	25.3	30.8	39.4	85.7	84.4	93.3	74.0	69.2	60.6
General impressions												
10 Daredevils	52.2	54.5	46.7	68.8	69.2	63.6	47.0	44.3	53.3	30.5	30.8	36.4
11 Fights	43.2	47.1	36.7	57.8	61.5	72.7	56.2	52.7	63.3	42.2	38.5	27.3
15 Violations	22.7	25.2	23.3	28.6	46.2	42.4	76.8	74.4	76.7	70.1	53.8	54.5
16 Gangs	28.4	26.8	33.3	34.4	61.5	42.4	70.5	72.3	66.7	63.6	38.5	54.5
18 No other pleasure	58.4	64.5	56.7	76.0	76.9	69.7	40.8	35.0	43.3	24.0	23.1	30.3
19 Rock music	41.9	45.7	50.0	45.5	7.7	36.4	56.8	53.1	46.7	53.9	84.6	60.6
21 Ignore social order	11.9	12.9	3.3	23.4	46.2	36.4	86.5	86.1	96.7	76.0	53.8	63.6
Countermeasures												
5 Tighter controls	16.2	21.1	13.3	37.0	46.2	48.5	83.5	78.5	83.3	63.0	53.8	51.5
7 Special group	28.1	29.3	23.3	26.6	15.4	27.3	71.4	70.1	76.7	72.1	84.6	69.7
14 A handful	78.6	78.9	83.3	68.2	30.8	54.5	20.3	20.7	16.7	29.9	69.2	42.4
20 Will be bored	78.4	74.2	83.3	66.9	15.4	36.4	20.3	24.8	16.7	31.8	84.6	60.6

Table 7 Degrees of Involvement with Bosozoku and Assumed Public Attitudes

	NEGATIVE						POSITIVE					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
Adolescents												
2 Admiration	37.6	37.5	46.7	29.2	38.5	36.4	61.9	62.1	53.3	69.5	61.5	60.6
13 Over-stretching	3.8	4.3	3.3	7.1	7.7	9.1	95.9	94.9	96.7	92.2	92.3	87.9
14 A handful	83.2	84.0	76.7	81.2	76.9	75.8	15.7	15.0	23.3	16.9	23.1	21.2
20 Bored	84.3	86.3	90.0	84.4	84.6	78.8	14.3	12.3	10.0	14.3	15.4	21.2
Society and home												
1 Lenient parents	3.8	4.5	0.0	3.9	23.1	15.2	95.9	94.9	100.0	94.2	76.9	81.8
4 Over-emphasis on academic careers	15.1	12.5	13.3	12.3	7.7	15.2	83.8	86.7	86.7	85.7	92.3	81.8
8 Not comfortable	13.8	12.5	3.3	12.3	23.1	12.1	85.1	86.5	93.3	85.1	76.9	87.9
12 Competitive entrance system	16.8	16.0	20.0	14.9	15.4	27.3	82.7	83.2	80.0	83.8	84.6	69.7
22 Monotonous life	15.1	15.6	13.3	14.3	23.1	24.2	84.6	83.8	86.7	83.1	76.9	72.7
24 Parents-children communication	16.5	15.6	16.7	12.3	23.1	12.1	82.4	83.8	83.3	87.0	76.9	87.9
25 No father	5.1	7.2	3.3	3.2	7.7	6.1	94.6	92.2	96.7	95.5	84.6	90.9
Individuals												
3 Weak will power	7.3	7.8	6.7	8.4	7.7	15.2	91.9	91.4	93.3	89.0	84.6	78.8
6 Unless in groups	3.5	3.5	0.0	1.9	7.7	6.1	95.9	95.7	100.0	96.8	92.3	90.9
9 Conscious of other people's eyes	19.5	17.8	13.3	9.1	0.0	15.2	79.2	82.0	86.7	89.6	100.0	81.8
17 No friends	25.1	25.8	16.7	29.2	46.2	39.4	73.5	73.2	83.3	68.2	53.8	60.6
23 Self-centered	1.1	2.1	0.0	3.9	7.7	12.1	98.4	97.3	100.0	95.5	92.3	87.9
General impressions												
10 Daredevils	13.0	8.0	10.0	8.4	7.7	12.1	86.5	91.2	86.7	90.3	92.3	87.9
11 Fights	5.7	4.9	3.3	3.9	7.7	9.1	93.8	94.7	96.7	94.8	92.3	90.9
15 Violations	7.6	6.6	3.3	9.1	7.7	21.2	92.2	93.0	96.7	89.6	92.3	75.8
16 Gangs	8.1	7.2	10.0	8.4	15.4	24.2	91.6	92.2	90.0	90.3	84.6	72.7
18 No other pleasure	24.3	24.4	23.3	21.4	15.4	21.2	74.9	74.8	76.7	77.3	84.6	75.8
19 Rock music	21.1	23.6	13.3	23.4	30.8	27.3	77.6	75.6	86.7	75.3	69.2	72.7
21 Ignore social order	3.8	5.1	3.3	6.5	7.7	12.1	95.7	94.3	96.7	92.9	92.3	87.9
Countermeasures												
5 Tighter controls	2.2	2.0	0.0	3.2	7.7	12.1	97.6	97.9	100.0	96.1	92.3	87.9
7 Special group	44.1	39.1	36.7	40.9	15.4	33.3	55.1	60.5	63.3	58.4	84.6	66.7
14 A handful	83.2	84.0	76.7	81.2	76.9	75.8	15.7	15.0	23.3	16.9	23.1	21.2
20 Bored	84.3	86.3	90.0	84.4	84.6	78.8	14.3	12.3	10.0	14.3	15.4	21.2

(1) Own attitudes

Those who circled 1, 2 or 3, the choices that are considered to indicate low degrees of involvement with bosozoku, tend to approve of unfavorable statements strongly while they are not as approving of favorable statements. Those who circled 5 or 6, the choices that are considered to indicate high degrees of involvement, show attitudes opposite to those of the former group. Those who circled 4 show attitudes relatively similar to those of the latter group, although their attitudes fluctuate.

Of all the statements relating the bosozoku to an adolescent phenomenon (Fig. 11), significant differences in attitudes, as caused by different degrees of involvement, appear only in the statements that since the bosozoku are only a handful of people there is no need to fuss about them and that they are just as well watched over passively. Significant differences are observed in the statement that parents are too pampering, among the statements that ascribe the origin of bosozoku to the society, the family, and the place of work. Among the statements attributing the origin to personal factors, the statement that bosozoku members cannot do anything without being in groups showed a significant difference (Fig. 12), as did the statement among general impressions that bosozoku are prone to associate with gangsters (Fig. 13) and the statement among countermeasures that concerns police controls.

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Comparison of Positive Replies Regarding Own and Assumed Public Attitudes
By Degrees of Involvement with Bosozoku

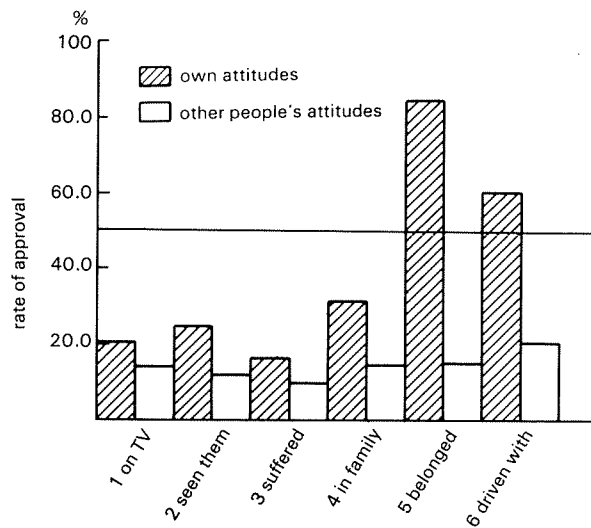


Fig. 11

No.20: We should leave bosozoku alone as they will soon get bored with what they are doing.

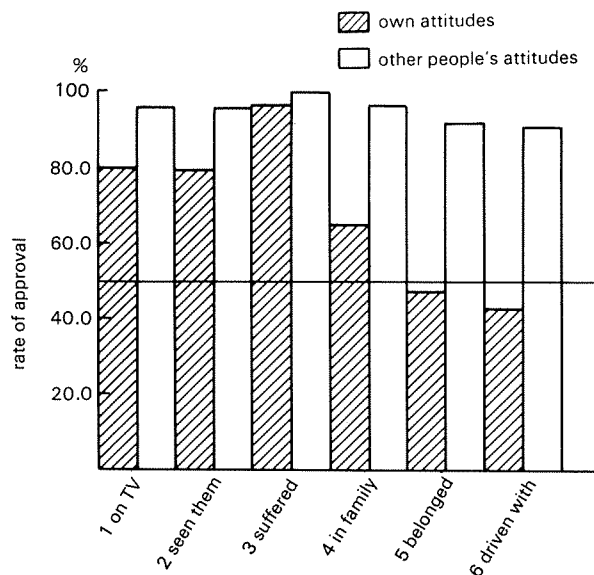


Fig. 12

No.6: I think bosozoku are a kind of people who cannot do anything unless in groups.

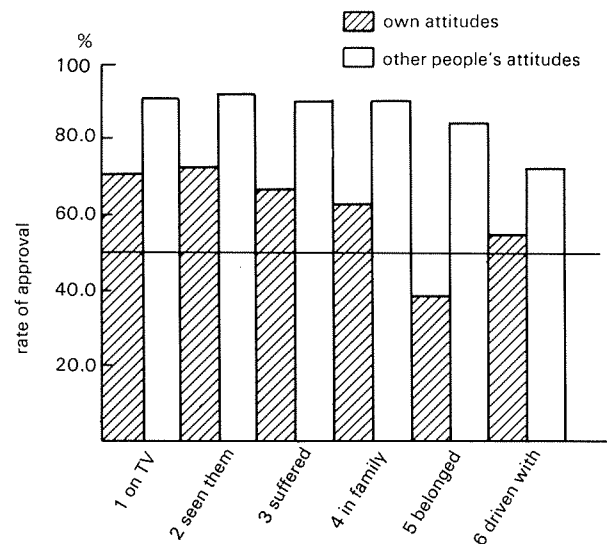


Fig. 13

No.16: When youths join bosozoku, they tend to have relations with hoodlums and gangsters.

(2) Assumed public attitudes

Comparison of public attitudes as assumed by people grouped according to different degrees of their involvement with bosozoku shows that there are a very few statements with significant differences, indicating little likelihood that the degree of involvement with bosozoku bears any significance here.

(3) Relationship between own attitudes and assumed public attitudes

Measurement of significant differences in approval and disapproval percentages of attitudes toward the 25 statements by people with different degrees of involvement with bosozoku, shown in Table 6 and Table 7, indicates that there are many statements with significant differences in most of the groups.

The above findings suggest, most notably, that, concerning own attitudes toward bosozoku, students of the women's junior college and housewives tend to differ from the other groups and journalists are negative about police controls and approve of an opinion that bosozoku should be watched over quietly. Concerning public views of the bosozoku, there appears to be an agreed view among the groups in the present study that the people in general will express some sort of opinions about bosozoku. Also notably, there are differences between the attitudes of most of the youth groups and what they assume to be public attitudes toward bosozoku while there are no differences between the attitudes of the grown-ups and what they assume to be public attitudes. In terms of relations between the degree of involvement with

bosozoku and attitudes toward them, it was found out that there are significant differences in attitudes between those who are highly involved with bosozoku and those who are only remotely involved.

CLINICO-PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF BOSOZOKU YOUTHS

Various reports have been made, in the form of fact-finding surveys, on the characteristics of youths belonging to the bosozoku groups. But there have been only a few reports analyzing very deep mental structure or psychological disposition by depth-psychological and socio-psychiatric methods.

This study, therefore, attempted to analyze characteristics of youths in bosozoku groups by depth-psychological and socio-psychiatric methods, with the following hypotheses: namely, 1. isn't the origin of the bosozoku youths attributable to the developmental process of their moral normative consciousness, that is, to their childhood experience and ways in which they were nursed? 2. to clearly understand the adolescent mentality will give clues to the origin of the bosozoku and to the

measures to be taken, and 3. isn't there a conspicuous "folie à deux", which characterizes the inside of a group, in bosozoku groups?

For experimental analysis, the following tests and surveys were carried out: 1. the Swiss version of the Rorschach Test, 2. the Picture Frustration Study (P.F. study), 3. the Speed Anticipatory Test, 4. the Motorcycle Driving Test (a pilot test), and 5. the Sentence Completion Test (SCT, a pilot test) for students of two public technical high schools and one private high school in the Kyoto-Osaka area (including those who were recognized by teachers as members of bosozoku groups) and 1. interviews, 2. SCT and 3. questionnaires for members of a bosozoku group in Tochigi Prefecture. In the Kyoto-Osaka area, a comparative study was made of the students who were called bosozoku in a broad sense of the word (Group B), the students who ride motorcycles but have not caused problems (the controlled group or Group C), the students who have not caused accidents or violated the laws (Group A: the standard adults or excellent group).

(1) Rorschach Test (Table 8)

Table 8 Results of Rorschach Test

(Figures in upper row \bar{X} , figures in lower row SD)

	Revised BRS	R	Rej	T	T/R	T/R1	Non color	Color	Delayed	Dislike	W:D	Dm	S	W-D-Dd-S	W:M	$\Sigma C:M$
A) Standard value	Adaptation 15~35 Conflict 0~15 Deficiency -15~0 Loss of reality -40~-15	20~45	0			Below 30									3:1	
															M=over 3	
B) Bosozoku (n = 8)	-15.75 7.01	22.62 6.59	0	953.62 540.72	82.57 51.77	17.88 15.56	13.70 10.85	20.72 21.61	50.75 54.18	0	16.00:6.00 6.28:3.31	2.62 3.42	0.50 1.32	W=7 D=1	16.12:1.37 6.22:1.87	2.25:1.37 1.53:1.87
C) Comparative groups(n=7)	- 5.00 9.78	39.57 12.80	0	1315.28 596.10	131.71 59.35	16.77 9.84	15.20 8.90	18.08 11.24	38.85 21.68	0	25.00:12.21 11.85:5.95	2.62 2.76	1.57 1.84	W=6 D=1	25.42:2.00 12.13:1.87	4.17:1.92 1.85:1.83
D) B-C t value	5.510**	3.055**		1.147	1.594 ⁺	0.151	0.270	0.271	0.507		(W) 1.740 ⁺ (D) 2.362*	0	1.215		(W)1.770 ⁺ (M)0.606	(ΣC)2.047 ⁺ (M) 0.534

Table 8-2

Fc+c+C' :FM+m	VIII+IX+X R	(H+A): (Hd+Ad)	F: (FK+Fc)	FC: (CF+C)	FC+CF+C Fc+c+C'	FM:M	F%/new F%	F+%/new F+%	A %	P (%)	Content Range
				FC>CF+C	2:1		25~55/ over 80	Over 70	25~45	Over 4 or 5	
2.12:1.12 1.52:1.05	30.37 5.00	10.00:4.87 3.08:1.91	15.87:0.43 7.48:0.46	0.50:1.37 0.50:0.74	1.87:1.75 0.90:1.61	0.62:1.37 0.86:1.87	64.00/82.25 14.64/15.40	81.62/85.25 11.10/12.44	40.50 10.82	5.25 (25.62) 1.58 (11.96)	7.37 1.88
1.42:3.42 1.30:3.01	36.14 7.84	16.57:4.42 7.19:3.70	25.71:2.00 10.25:1.50	0.85:3.64 0.83:2.12	4.50:1.85 1.83:1.81	2.42:1.92 2.63:1.83	63.00/82.57 11.52/13.98	84.42/77.14 13.91/25.32	38.57 9.49	6.85 (18.85) 1.58 (5.10)	9.00 2.61
(Fc+c+C') 0.885 (FM+m) 1.885 ⁺	1.601 ⁺	(H+A) 2.188* (Hd+Ad) 0.280	(F) 1.993 ⁺ (FK+Fc) 2.621*	(FC) 0.933 (CF+C) 2.489*	FC+CF+C 3.350* Fc+c+C' 0.105	(FM) 1.701 ⁺ (M) 0.534	(F%) 0.136 (new F%) 0.039	(F+%) 2.480* (new F+%) 0.747	0.349	1.820 ⁺ (1.295)	1.303

** Significantly different at 1% level

* Significantly different at 5% level

⁺ Suggestive inclination (0.05 < P < 0.2)

The test was conducted on eight students chosen at random from among the 20 in Group B and seven chosen similarly from among the 25 students in the controlled group (Group C).

Comparatively speaking, the test shows the bosozoku psychologically oppressed, somewhat inactive and intellectually low.

The difference between the bosozoku and its comparative groups is more obvious when its BRS (Basic Rorschach Score) is examined. The Bosozoku's BRS is -15.75, a value indicating that they are mentally susceptible to abnormal activities—worse than a neurosis.

The C reaction and CF reaction show that the controlled group has a stronger tendency to express a far more fertile sensitivity compared with the bosozoku group which shows only dull sensitivity reaction and a neurotic tendency.

There is no great difference between the two groups in their M reaction. In the FM+m reaction, however, the bosozoku shows a high rate of appearance, clearly indicating its characteristics of tension, conflict and apprehension and presumably having the making of being delinquent as shown by its qualitatively bad fancies. Despite these characteristics, however, the fact that there is little difference in A percentage between the bosozoku and the controlled group, it is not considered that they will directly lead to abnormal activities.

It has been also observed, through their H reaction, that bosozoku groups are essentially directing their interest toward things other than human beings.

Bosozoku groups have a high rate of appearing in the Aa reaction, leading to an assumption that they are psychoanalytically regressive; problems of contact they

have apparently had with their mother during childhood are presumably showing up in their activities in a distorted manner.

(2) P.F. (Picture Frustration) Study

The Japanese version (Sankyobo) of the P.F. Study for adults was applied to 18 of the B group (bosozoku) and 14 of the controlled (C) group (Table 9).

It was found out that both B and C groups had group conformity ratings (GCR) lower than the standard. The standard being the average value for all from high school students to adults, it was perhaps inevitable that high school students had low ratings. It is noteworthy that comparison shows the B group having a higher rating, i.e., a higher rate of conformity, than the C group.

When the E, I, M, O—D, E—D and N—P values of B and C groups in the profile column were compared with the standard values, it was found that both B and C groups had a tendency to be intransigent, blame their environment or other people for their frustrations, direct their hostility toward the outside and stress their ego.

The \bar{E} , \bar{I} , $\bar{E}+\bar{I}$, $\bar{E}-\bar{E}$, $\bar{M}+\bar{I}$ values in the super-ego factor column show that both B and C groups are immature in their social and mental development in that they assert their ego but cannot actively protect themselves and are equipped with childish aggressiveness.

The P.F. Study has found in general that while significant differences were observed between the standard value (of the adults) and the value of the B and C groups (high school students), they were not observed between the B group and the C group except for a suggestive tendency that the B group had a higher GCR than the C group.

Table 9 P.F. Study

(Figures in upper row \bar{X} , those in lower row SD, all in percentages)

	GCR	Profile column						Superego factor column.					
		E	I	M	O—D	E—D	N—P	\bar{E}	\bar{I}	$\bar{E}+\bar{I}$	$\bar{E}-\bar{E}$	$\bar{I}-\bar{I}$	$\bar{M}+\bar{I}$
A. Standard value	58.2	40.3	27.0	33.1	24.8	51.3	23.1	4.7	7.0	11.7	18.6	7.5	40.6
(n = 1100)	12.3	13.1	7.92	9.7	9.6	10.0	11.3	3.2	4.8	5.3	11.7	4.7	9.87
B. Bosozoku	53.33	44.00	28.88	27.16	14.11	58.66	27.27	1.33	3.83	5.22	27.16	8.88	31.00
(n = 18)	13.82	15.70	12.15	8.49	5.42	13.89	11.91	2.60	3.13	4.27	17.10	5.98	8.57
C. Comparative groups	45.42	47.71	27.21	25.14	14.42	57.35	28.35	1.07	3.28	4.42	31.57	6.71	28.28
(n = 14)	14.23	20.69	10.60	11.33	7.69	12.56	10.78	1.79	2.87	3.00	16.78	2.69	11.35
(A — B) t value	1.662 ⁺	1.184	0.987	2.579*	4.707**	3.072**	1.550 ⁺	4.440**	2.790**	5.155**	3.048**	1.229	4.097**
(B — C) t value	1.535 ⁺	0.558	0.394	0.558	0.129	0.267	0.257	0.310	0.495	0.577	0.707	1.222	0.748

** Significantly different at 1% level. * Significantly different at 5% level. ⁺ Suggestive inclination (0.05 < P < 0.2).

(3) Speed Anticipatory Test (Takei and Machinery)

This is a test in which the subject is asked to follow with his eyes a light moving from right to left at a certain speed along a horizontal line and, with the light shut off at some point, to guess when the light is passing. An accident-prone man is said to have a tendency to be faster than the speed of the light. Significant differences were not observed in this test between the B group and the C group.

(4) Motorcycle Operating Test (a pilot test)

The results of the test conducted on 29 members of the A group, 20 of the B group and 25 of the C group are shown in Table 10.

There were significant differences between the A group and the B and C groups in terms of agility and preciseness (1A, 1B), with the A group being superior to the B and C groups in the speed and quality of action. There

Table 10 Motorcycle Driving Test
(Scores on various questions below)

(Figures in upper row \bar{X} , those in lower row SD)

	1A	1B	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Overall
A. Excellent group	6.39	5.85	7.34	6.86	3.10	3.48	3.69	3.33	0.65	0.79	0.65
(n = 29)	1.15	1.74	0.80	0.60	2.40	1.65	2.78	1.80	0.91	0.71	0.66
B. Bosozoku	4.95	3.20	6.10	6.50	6.80	4.25	8.78	5.27	2.20	0.80	3.45
(n = 20)	1.20	1.53	0.76	0.92	1.83	1.51	2.65	1.22	1.80	0.74	1.56
C. Comparative groups	4.32	3.24	6.92	6.80	5.40	3.56	6.77	4.36	1.45	1.04	1.92
(n = 25)	1.43	1.45	1.28	1.01	2.74	1.70	3.34	1.62	1.33	0.87	1.35
(A - B) t value	4.138**	5.386**	5.345**	1.629 ⁺	5.701**	1.628 ⁺	6.292**	4.119**	3.225**	0.047	8.436**
(B - C) t value	1.537 ⁺	-0.09	-2.47*	-1.00	1.92 ⁺	1.38 ⁺	2.14*	2.04*	1.90 ⁺	0.98	3.42**

** Significantly different at 1% level. * Significantly different at 5% level. ⁺ Suggestive inclination (0.05 < P < 0.2).

were significant differences between the B group and the C group in terms of traffic safety knowledge (2), with many of the B group lacking correct knowledge about traffic safety. There were no significant differences in driving techniques. The B group was significantly inferior to the A and C groups in terms of self-control (4), social maturity (7) and excitability (5) scores which show personality traits, lacking in self-control and being highly excitable and low in social maturity. The B group is significantly inferior to the other two groups also in terms of their driving manners and their health.

The overall appraisal, based on scores on questions 1 to 8 (blue or good for zero point, yellow or requiring care for 1 to 2 points, red or requiring special care for more than 3 points), shows that there is not a single person in the B group who can be judged "good". (Table 11).

Table 11 Results of Overall Evaluation

	A group B group C group		
	(%)		
Blue	44.8	0	16.0
Yellow	55.2	30.0	48.0
Red	0	70.0	36.0
Number of people	29	20	25

(5) Sentence Completion Test (SCT, a pilot test)

When the respondents were asked to complete sentences beginning with stimulative words such as "a motorcycle...", "speed..." and "an accident...", differences in responses were obvious between the A group and the B group, the B group outstanding in their reckless attitudes. (The researchers received valuable assistance from Assistant Professor Hiroshi Matsuoka of Osaka University of Education for the study in this section.) See Table 12.

The SCT on youths in a bosozoku group in Tochigi Prefecture has turned out the following results:

The stimulative word "father" incurred a response that nothing is more impossible than the father, indicating how intense the gap between the subjects and their father is. The "mother" is looked upon as someone who listens attentively, demonstrating how they have been pampered. Some had ambivalent sentiments about the "mother."

"What I like" was to go far by car, indicating how strongly bosozoku like automobiles. Another response, "to have fun with the friends" they get along with, is also noteworthy.

"These days I," they said, often think one way and act differently; the response shows characteristics peculiar to adolescence. On the other hand, it has also been found that they, unexpectedly, tend to be pliant, as indicated by their responses that they would like to be persons who

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Table 12. Sentence Completion Test

"A motorcycle"

A. An excellent group (N=14)	B. Bosozoku (N=18)
— is convenient and fun.	— is my means of transportation.
— should be ridden carefully.	— is something that runs.
— can be dangerous depending on how you ride it.	— is a friend.
— should be driven safely.	— is ridden for fun.
— is dangerous.	— runs fast.
— causes accidents.	— is thrilling.
— is a running weapon.	— is no fun when just speeding.
— is a dangerous machine.	— is fun when going fast.

"Speed"

A. An excellent group (N=14)	B. Bosozoku (N=18)
— is dangerous if excessive.	— is to be enjoyed by accelerating.
— should be moderate.	— makes you feel good.
— is a cause of accidents.	— makes you feel fine when it's high.
— should be reasonable.	— is a thrill.
— is fearful.	— is the faster the better.
— is thrilling but fearful.	— is dangerous when it's high but I want it fast.
— can kill a man.	— is a pleasure.

"An accident"

A. An excellent group (N=14)	B. Bosozoku (N=18)
— is fearful.	— is fearful but one caused by somebody else is interesting.
— ruins you.	— can happen.
— should be avoided.	— is not desirable.
— results from relaxation.	— knows no time.
— brings unhappiness.	— is painful.

will not be disliked in society or that bad company will make them bad; it has been made clear, as well, that they have begun to establish some self-image as shown by their response, among others, that what they do not like about themselves is that they are not worthy people.

"What I do not like," they said, is knowledge that they are actually weak men, honestly showing that they are weak as well as vain. Responses about their families lead one to believe that, far from being peaceful, their families have had sad experiences.

"Women," they said, are dressing up as much as possible to be looked at by men. This can be psycho-analytically interpreted to mean that a feminizing mental structure may be hidden in the depths of their consciousness.

Analysis of the foregoing tests and studies has shed some light on the depth-psychological characteristics of bosozoku youths. We would now like to figure out the psychology of adolescents a little more broadly and analyze why this has presented such a critical situation,

so that we will know better why they have come to be bosozoku members and what has caused them to join the bosozoku and what countermeasures can be taken about them. In this way, we should be able to further identify characteristics of bosozoku youths.

The present society is said to be "fatherless." Lacking in training of their super-ego, today's youths fall easily into critical situations; being selfish and self-centered, they get easily disturbed. When youths have ideals incompatibly above their ability, they easily develop internal conflicts. Having little contact with and unable to establish effective identification with their fathers and still dependent on their mothers, we expect that they grow up without their ego maturing very much.

It has been made clear that adolescent youths having such a mental structure can hardly make their own decisions.

With their desires increasingly stimulated, the youths who grow up without acquiring knowledge or skills cannot find any way to fundamentally console their restless-

ness moreover, with the present school education having an over-emphasis on knowledge acquisition and lacking in humanity and, as a result, increasing their mental confusion and sense of alienation, the adolescents cannot help but drop out of the educational system. Increasing in number, these dropped-outs try to form special groups with their friends in order to protect their life-styles.

Under the same situation though they are, there are youths who diligently pursue studies or sports and make an effort for safe driving. What differences are there between them and the bosozoku youths? The following could be said on the basis of the preceding tests and studies and also of other surveys conducted so far. Psychologically speaking about the disposition of bosozoku youths, many of them have the average IQ range of 90 to 116 or a little below that. They have an IQ level higher than ordinary juvenile delinquents as is well known, but they tend to be extremely low in intelligence and scholastic competence as compared with ordinary high school students. Thus, many of them lack motivation to study and they are often absent from school with or without an excuse, showing an incompatibility with school.

In terms of their character, they are impatient and have a weak superego. They are unstable, suggestible, adulatory, weary and apathetic and they are always in a state of ambivalence with feelings expressed by suchonyms as: independence and dependence, self-assertion and self-protection, self-righteousness and despair, defiance and respect, admiration for loneliness and a desire to belong to a group. And they are susceptible to be lightly manic; they are self-exhibiting; and they are inclined to cause a short-circuit. These characteristics project an image in society that bosozoku youths lack social or moral norms.

The characteristics of bosozoku youths, as observed above, presumably present very critical developments of the adolescent mentality discussed earlier. What are the reasons?

a) Premature independence

Generally speaking, bosozoku youths, stimulated by their physical maturity, become independent of their families and go out into the world early, thinking that they are already grown up. Actually, however, they need an unstrained process of maturation and independence.

b) Frustration and escapism

Escapism from frustrations resulting from unsatisfied desires and their inability to advance into a university, marks a turning point for them to form bosozoku groups.

c) Formation of groups make their recklessness, curiosity about the adult society and adventurous spirit

even bolder, with their mentality characterized by their desire to play the hero, a defiant spirit and a sense of vanity.

d) Difficulty and ineffectiveness in making intelligent solutions

They try to cope with problems emotionally and sensitively as they cannot solve them intelligently. They cannot talk things over calmly without getting into a dispute. Confrontation among the groups is believed to be extremely impulsive.

e) A sense of having dropped out

Thinking that they have been pushed out of the ordinary society into a different society, they are fundamentally confused about the notion that they have to obey rules and act in accordance with social norms.

f) Inability to satisfy desires with socially permissible manners

This mechanism, a harsh reality with the youths, operates in all cases involving suppression.

g) Lack of self-recognition

It goes without saying that youths cannot control the situations surrounding them or what they think they should be.

h) Low appreciation of the reality

Since they have not developed the ability to appreciate reality, they tend to be carried away by sentimentality and impulses to commit crimes.

The mentality of the youths to seek momentary pleasure and to live for the present leads them to be violent and combative, challenge speed, repeat minor offenses and commit delinquent acts. And when their dislike of school and their discontent with or repulsion against their parents or society further deteriorate, their inclination to get revenge is reinforced. Without an ego strong enough to repel incitement and temptation from their friends or associates, it is believed, they easily turn into members of Bosozoku. Moreover, with conflicts developing between the modern society which Reisman has pointed out has become one of a lonely crowd without true leaders and the vertically structured Japanese society which is the opposite, youths presumably join bosozoku groups in search for leaders.

SOCIO-PSYCHIATRICAL ANALYSIS OF BOSOZOKU YOUTHS

In this chapter, we shall try socio-psychiatric analysis of the present Japanese society and reasons for the emergence of the bosozoku, taking into account the characteristics of adolescence and primarily focusing on "folie à deux."

The present study has found that, in the case of the bosozoku in Tochigi Prefecture, only an unexpectedly small number of them have come from or live in densely populated areas; an overwhelming number of them have come from or live in neighboring areas. This suggests not that the youths in the urban centers have developed resilience against frustrations but that they can vent their frustrations by other means than vehicles. On the other hand, in the neighboring areas, many of which are agricultural, the life-styles are still closed and feudalistic and means of recreation are not available.

In such a suppressive, closed social environment, highly frustrated youths can be easily influenced by each other and they are highly suggestible and infective. It is quite understandable that, by acting upon each other, they seek solidarity and, through group activities, they seek ways to release their frustrations. Automobiles provide a means to release frustrations in the present society.

When such "folie à deux" takes place in an environment closed in by poverty, discrimination and the like, people demonstrate peculiar mental characteristics such as loneliness, mutual distrust, jealousy and envy. They become very sensitive to threats from outside, feel themselves being unfairly treated and tend to have a sense of being incomplete. Accordingly, they develop a dependence on somebody stronger than themselves or on their associate in seeking relief from their critical situations. Immature and strongly dependent youths, in particular, become intensely aggressive when their sense of distrust and apprehension grow stronger. This affects people under the same circumstances one after another into a group hysteria which is, clearly, characteristic of bosozoku groups. Those who cause this "folie à deux" are older, active, aggressive and self-righteous; those who are affected are passive, dependent and suggestible. Bosozoku groups are, without exception, believed to be comprised of both sadistic and masochistic members. In view of the fact that this phenomenon is promoted by social changes such as economic fluctuations, recession and cultural shocks, it will be necessary to see it as a social disease.

How, then, do bosozoku come into existence in such a Japanese society?

As a result of the competition for university entrance, today's youths are largely classified into the X group and the Y group, and the youths in the Y group, as is well known, are closely related to the bosozoku. Although we must leave to future study why it cannot necessarily be concluded that the Y group is identical with bosozoku, it can be said at least that many of the youths who join

bosozoku groups are those who, in the case of junior and senior high school students, have had to give up advancing to senior high school or university because of their scholastic incompetence and who have had to choose professional courses. In the case of those who are already working, many have simple jobs and most rank low in social status. They have a deeply-rooted sense of being outcasts who have dropped out of the competitive school entrance system and the competitive society; they are gripped with a sense of inferiority and defeatism toward scholastic superior or socially elitist people and with a sense of frustrations and despair over the notion that their self-fulfillment has been obstructed. Deep in their hearts, therefore, they rebel against the elite or authority and seek a "place" in which to demonstrate their power, with style if possible. It is the automobile and the solidarity with other people under the same circumstances that compensate for such frustrations. By becoming bosozoku members, they get out of the suppressive and ordinary "life" into a world of a kind of "feast"—an orgy or an ecstasy. This state is similar to "catharsis" in psychiatry. By effecting a catharsis, they supposedly relieve their mental thirst.

THE RECENT SITUATION OF THE BOSozOKU

—Bosozoku in Tochigi—

There are nine bosozoku groups of motorcycle riders, 34 groups of car drivers, six groups of combined motorcycle and car drivers, and 20 groups of an unknown category in Tochigi Prefecture. The number of members has decreased this year to around 600, about half of the number at the peak time. Most of their leaders are aged between 21 and 24—not very old. The average age of the members is 19. Compared with bosozoku groups in other prefectures, those in Tochigi Prefecture are little related to gangs.

Wearing uniforms, they gather twice a week at a regular place such as a coffee shop. Leaders are mainly high school dropouts, and ordinary members mainly junior and senior high school students, factory workers and farmers.

They sometimes blackjack people in order to get money to buy gasoline; they also sniff glue with high school co-eds or others.

The following are some incidents they are frequently involved in:

—Membership dues are collected from new members; when the members try to quit a group without paying membership dues, leaders roughen them up.

—Bosozoku in Tochigi Prefecture were allied in order

to confront bosozoku in other prefectures and attacked them near Nikko. They also blackjacked people to get money and, when some youths refused to become members, they used violence and took or stole money away from them.

Bosozoku groups, in short, have been increasingly allying with themselves and engaging in acts of rivalry wars while, at the same time, committing such minor crimes as intimidation, assault and pick-pocketing.

CONCERNING SEX SCANDAL INVOLVING HIGH SCHOOL CO-EDS IN YAMANASHI

This incident, involving students of A High School in Kofu City, is not directly related with bosozoku. Since behavioral patterns and life-styles are assumed to be qualitatively and significantly different between bosozoku and the Y group of high school students on one hand and the X group of high school students on the other and their relations with women, in particular, presumably bear a significant meaning during this stage of their lives, perhaps constituting a factor for them to join a bosozoku group, it would be worth recalling the incident and outlining problems here.

This was only one of similar incidents that have been occurring almost across the country. It has been found from the police, the family court and the board of education that such an incident did occur, that their partners were all adults and that they were not engaged in prostitution, that they were not necessarily poor students academically, that the girls could not necessarily be said to be victims and that the affairs took place in a short time on their way home from school.

Considering that the high school is ranked middle in the city and that the students in question ranked middle in their scholastic standings, they could be classified into the Y group. Police, however, had no record of similar incidents at university-preparatory high schools in the city.

As a result of a round-table discussion with five co-eds of B High School, which is similar to A High School, it was found that similar incidents have occurred at B High School as well except that they have not become police cases, that university-preparatory high schools are no exception and that, generally speaking, co-eds look forward to having contact with men. A questionnaire survey conducted on a wide-range of men and women to find out general opinions about this sort of incident discovered that most of the respondents, regardless of age and sex, did not think the acts mentioned above as unreasonable. Major findings follow:

1) A change—a moralistic change—is observed in

women; it is a superficial change.

2) Women cannot be clearly classified into the X group and the Y group. They have another—let's call it Z—group which men do not have. This may be because men and women look upon marriage differently.

3) The incident in A City was caused by the Z group. Behavioral patterns of the female Y group have not been studied, but it is assumed that they have a high degree of correlation with those of the so-called “sukeban” high school co-eds, or female juvenile gang leaders.

4) Judging from what bosozoku members have said, women who have relations with bosozoku are widely varied although many of them seem to be of the types of the Y group and “sukeban.”

5) Changes in today's male youths must be seen in the context of the polarization in the Y and X groups and also of the mixture of changes in women and accompanying changes in men.

COUNTERMEASURES AGAINST THE BOSOZOKU AND THE FUTURE OUTLOOK

So far, police controls, that is, administrative guidances and regulations, have constituted the main means of countermeasure against the bosozoku. Reinforcement of controls, to be sure, will be necessary against those cases that cause mental or physical nuisances to people. This is, however, only a “symptomatic treatment” which cannot substantially solve the problems.

Some high schools, for example, ban motorcycles entirely as one way of controlling bosozoku. It appears to be one of the solutions to the problems, but it deprives students of an opportunity of driving lessons that would be necessary to promote good citizenship on one hand and it may be conducive to increasing glue-sniffing or sexual delinquencies. Actually, there are areas where bosozoku cases have increased following enforcement of tighter controls; or some drivers simply switched to light motorcycles without changing their mentality. Conversely speaking, it is assumed that, even without reinforcement of controls, bosozoku will not disappear automatically and they will not be metamorphosed into sound, car-loving youths and that their activities will keep escalating until the society reacts in some way or another.

What, then, must be done to prevent youths from becoming bosozoku?

Many opinionated intellectuals think that the reason for becoming a bosozoku lies in a bad family or the distorted education system. It is true that, in this highly

industrialized mass society where diversification of values, urbanization, nuclearization of families and minimization of community spirits have been progressing, parents' neglect of their children because they both work or the entrance examination "war" have left the minds of today's youths desolated. Since Japanese society itself is a competitive society, it puts a heavy weight on academic careers. However, superficial changes in the education system or in the parental roles at home do not provide fundamental reforms.

What is more necessary and essential is an effort on the part of the parents and the teachers to teach and to show them that the value of a man is not determined by intelligence, academic performance, social status or material wealth but, rather, by whether he makes a full effort, according to his individual aptitude and ability, in a place where he can fulfill himself. And, specifically, it will be necessary, instead of taking cars or motorcycles away from them, to actively teach them at school about driving skills, safety, and civic rules and manners by acceptable scientific methods while giving enough attention to their health. If their addiction to automobiles cannot be resolved, an effort must be made to convert the bosozoku groups into groups that will not cause trouble to people around them. It will be necessary at the same time to look into the essence of how youths spend their leisure time and develop an environment which will promote ways of spending leisure time that will substitute an interest in automobiles.

It is presumed that, when these measures are carried out under administrative guidance and with cooperation from schools and companies, the number of bosozoku youths enrolled in school or employed by companies will be reduced. Tighter controls and severe punishment must still be applied to other bosozoku youths. Specific and individual countermeasures are necessary to deal with bosozoku of different types and under different circumstances.

It will be necessary, therefore, to continue to study the factors of why some youths become bosozoku—which are still only assumed—and study what bosozoku are; it will be also necessary to understand non-bosozoku youths better by clarifying their relationships with bosozoku.

If the so-called bosozoku youths are provided by adults with "places" where they can freely move around, they might be able to correct their distorted mentality which tries to heal their "wounds" by finding catharsis in "feasts" called bosozoku activities to express their suppressed stresses. Unless they have a "place" where they can exist, an exit to get away from the present situation, or a system which can accept them after they make the

exit, the tightest controls will not be able to eradicate the bosozoku.

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