2006 年国際ワークショップ・公開講演会報告

日本発達心理学会企画委員長　安藤　孝敏（横浜国立大学）

　2006 年の国際ワークショップは，米国ユタ大学のアラン・フォーゲル（Alan Fogel）教授を講師とし，河合優年武庫川女子大学教授をホストとして，8 月 16 日から 19 日までの 4 日間，「対人関係における変化の過程－ダイナミック・システムズ・アプローチからの検討－」というテーマで，早稲田大学国際会議場会議室で開催されました。今回のワークショップには 25 名の方々が参加されました。フォーゲル先生の 6 つのセッションと，参加者による 4 つの研究発表のいずれでも，活発な議論が展開されて，とても有意義な 4 日間になりました。ワークショップ 3 日目の午前中には「ダイナミック・システムズ・モデルからみた日本社会における「引きこもり」問題－その理解と軽減のために－」と題して公開講演会も開かれ，約 50 名の方々が参加され，盛会のうちに終了いたしました。共催していただきました（財）発達科学研究教育センター及び早稲田大学人間総合研究センターの関係各位に厚く御礼申し上げます。

　ホストを務めてくださいました河合優年先生のご説明とともにフォーゲルの原稿を掲載させていただき，報告といたします。ぜひご一読くださいますようお願いいたします。

日本発達心理学会 2006 年度国際ワークショップ担当特別委員　河合　優年（武庫川女子大学）

　2006 年度国際ワークショップがアラン・フォーゲル先生をお招きして，8 月 16 日から 4 日間にわたって早稲田大学国際会議場で開催されました。

　ここに，今回のワークショップが無事に終了できましたことをご報告させていただくと同時に，様々な準備をして下さった企画委員の先生方にこころより感謝申し上げます。また，お盆の時期にも関わらずワークショップや公開講演会に参加していただきました皆様にも感謝申し上げます。

　ワークショップ参加者は 25 名と，インテンシブな議論をするには少々多い人数となりましたが，セッション時間中にも多くの方から質問や意見がだされ，私の心配をよそに実に活発な討論がなされました。テーブルはかろうじて円卓状に配置できたのですが，これが良かったかとおもっております。会場の設定などで，知恵を出して頂きました，委員の越川先生と安藤先生にこの場をお借りして改めて感謝いたします。

　フォーゲル先生はご存じのように，(Blackwell Handbook of Infant Development, 2001, 2004)を編集されたりしている，現在の発達心理学領域で大きな理論的影響力を持っておられる先生であります。その研究の中でも，システムズ理論による社会性発達の研究や情動発達の研究は，よく知られているところであります。先生のご関心は，社会的な相互作用や情動という，より質的な発達現象に向けられ，最近の多くの研究はその変化のメカニズムをダイナミック・システムズ理論によって説明しようとするものとなっています。今回のワークショップにおいても，母子相互作用の発達的変化をシステムズ理論から議論されながら，平易にモデルとその研究方法を教えてくださいました。

　ワークショップでは，ダイナミック・システムズ理論の概観，社会的相互作用への応用，そしてそこにおいて用いられている方法について講義と議論がなされました。台風が気圧や温度，上昇気流などの相互作用によって刻一刻と変化・発達して行くように，フォーゲル先生は，人間の発達も種々の要因が相互に影響しあってその状態を変化させてゆくのだと考えています。この姿こそが，まさにダイナミック・システムそのものであり，発達の本質であると考えられています。

　先生は，このような変化の過程を，二者の間に生じる共同的な調整行動であるコ・レギュレーション（co-regulation）と，そこで生じる変動性が作り出すフレーム（Frame;社会的な関係性）の変化，という視点から説明しようとされています。ワークショップでは，この例として母子間の物を介さない相互作用と，物を介した相互作用の場面をとりあげ，Social Frame, Guided Object Frame, Social/Object Mixed Frame, Not-Guided Object Frame の 4 つのフレームの出現と消失から，変化の過程を説明されました。変化の過程は，活動が連続的に変化しているにもかかわらずそのフレームが存在していることを許している段階である Level One Change (Ordinary Variability)，すでに存在しているフレームのダイナミクスの中での新しい活動が創発される Level Two Change (Innovations in Frames)，そして新しく作り出されたものがある閾値を超えたり，その存在が他者から承認されたりすることによってシステム内のすべてのフレームが再組織化され，Level Three Change である Developmental Change が生じるとされています。発達は，このようなフレームの消長によって生じるのですが，その移行期には，過去に利用されていたフレームが一時的に出現するリキャピチュレーション（反復 : Recapitulation）が存在しており，穏やかなフレーム間の移行を助けると説明されています。また，先生の考えでは，これらのフレームが作る壁（フレームの強さ）がどの程度堅いのかも重要な要因と考えられています。

　これらに加えて，既存のフレームと新しく創発されたフレームをつなぐ橋（Bridging）の重要さが述べられました。これらのモデルを実証する方法論はきわめて興味深いもので，多重ケース研究の有効性や，ケースの固有性についての議論がなされました。量的変化によって示された変化の意味は，質的な分析無く成立しないということを，実証的なデータに基づいて議論されたことは，臨床的活動に関係している参加者にとっては意味あることであったと思われます。この後，質的データであるナラティブデータの解析について信頼性と妥当性などの問題について述べられました。さらに，階層線形モデル（Hierarchical Linear Modeling : HLM）による量的な研究の可能性について説明がなされました。

　2 日目にもたれた参加者の研究発表では，杉村和美（名古屋大学），小嶋秀樹（(独)情報通信研究機構），高田明（京都大学），野中哲士（東京大学）の四氏より，変化をテーマとした発表がなされました。これについて，フォーゲル先生よりシステムズ理論からのコメントと同時に，今後の研究の展開可能性について示唆を頂きました。先生も各発表に強い関心を示され，歓談時間にも研究の話が続いていました。

　公開講演では，「引きこもり」をダイナミック・システムズ理論の視点から議論されました。臨床的な側面への新しい展開を考えられている，フォーゲル先生の方向性が感じられ，参加者もみな大変興味深い様子で聞いていました。

　先生は，今回のワークショップでの参加者が本当にアクティブに議論に参加して下さったことを喜ばれておられました。今後もダイナミック・システムズ理論に関する出版が計画され，実践研究への展開が期待されています。ホストとして，このようなタイミングに先生をお呼びできたことを本当に嬉しくおもっております。

Hikikomori（引き篭り）:

A Dynamic Systems Theory Perspective

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Yoshiko wouldn't reveal her son's name, because of fears that her neighbors in a suburb of Tokyo might find out. Three years ago, a classmate taunted her 17-year-old son with anonymous hate letters and abusive graffiti about him in the schoolyard. After that, he went into the family's kitchen, shut the door and refused to leave and he hasn't left the room since then or allowed anyone in. The family eventually decided to build a new kitchen and Yoshiko takes meals to her son's door three times a day. There is toilet next to the kitchen, but the boy has bathed only twice each year (Adapted from a story by Phil Rees, BBC News, Sunday, 20 October, 2002).

In this paper, we will discuss the problem of Japanese adolescents and young adults called *hikikomori*（引き篭り）, in which the teenager remains isolated in one room home with limited contact with the outside world, perhaps via the internet, and with little or no communication with family members. They may make late-night shopping expeditions, leaving the home after parents are sleeping and avoiding any face-to-face contact with others, or they may not leave at all. The condition can last for many months or even years. There are believed to be between 0.5 and 1.5 million cases of *hikikomori* currently in Japan, which results in huge economic and social losses. *Hikikomori* comprise about 20% of all male adolescents and about 1% of the population of Japan. In some cases, if parents seek to end the situation or force the child out, there can be violent attacks against the parents. Many parents are fearful of confronting their children, and the children themselves are fearful of other people and the outside world. So the problem remains without solution.

The conventional way of understanding this problem is to assume that it resides within the child, and that to alleviate the problem we need to find a way to change the child to fit in more with social expectations. The earliest description of the problem was from Inamura (1983), who

called the pattern of school and work phobia "adolescent setback symptom." Inamura suggested that this was a uniquely Japanese phenomenon and a "national disease." Kashahara (1988) described what he called "reatreat (withdrawal) neurosis" for people who leave school or work for long periods who were not otherwise diagnosed as schizophrenic or depressed. Miike (2002) proposed that there may be relations between *hikikomori* and brain function (metabolic function for day-night rhythm). The syndrome was first called 引き籠り by Tamaki Saito in 2002.

This perspective, that the problem is within the child, leads to treatment approaches that diagnose the problem as a behavioral or mental disorder. Often, hospital care is prescribed in order to administer counseling, observation, and/or drug therapy. In other cases, young people are places into shared living environments with other *hikikomori*. In any case, these approaches remove the person, often against their will, from the home.

From a dynamic systems point of view, however, the child is embedded in a network of social relationships in the family and school, and those institutions are embedded in the history and current conditions of Japanese society and culture. Both Kondo (2001) and Yoshikawa and Murakami (2001) describe *hikomori* as a problem in the family system rather than simply a problem with the youth. We (Fogel & Kawai, 2006) have written that *hikikomori* needs to be understood from a dynamic systems perspective.

The dynamic systems perspective, similar to family systems theory, takes account of the relationships between child, family, and society. According to the dynamic systems perspective, stable patterns of social behavior (called *consensual frames*) emerge from the mutual relationship between constituents. In this case, the constituents are the child, the family and the society. This means that the problems of young boys in Japan reflect an implicit consensual relationship between the child, family, and society that permits the problem to be maintained as a stable frame in the society.

In the case of *hikikomori*, for example, the child can only remain in his bedroom because the parents are a consistent and reliable source of money, food, and an internet connection. Therefore, both parent and family play a role in supporting and maintaining the problem. In some way, although it is not beneficial, this frame may remain stable for long periods because it is safe and familiar. Can these problematic consensual frames be changed? Yes, but there must be a corresponding change in the family and society: the system of relationships must change. This means that the parents will need to change their behavior in order for the child to change his behavior. And that means stepping outside the familiar frame.

Principles of Systems Change

In addition to these structural relationships within the system, dynamic systems thinking includes a way of understanding change over time (Fogel, 1993; Fogel et al., 2006). In order to understand how to alleviate this problem in Japanese society, it is helpful to examine the process

of change over time in social systems. Recent research has shown that as the existing consensual frames in a relationship begin to change, a variety of additional frames are spontaneously generated in order to assist the relationship through potentially difficult and chaotic times of change. These are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Frames that are created during a dynamic systems change process

Bridging frames	Link existing and emerging frames
Breakdown of existing frames	Disruption of existing patterns, unstable and chaotic
Recapitulation frames	Return of historical frames that were dormant
Re-organized emergent frames	New relationship patterns emerge and grow

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Bridging frames are useful to help make a developmental transition between existing and emerging frames. Typically, bridging frames contain elements of both the existing and emerging frames (see Table 2). In the case of romantic relationships, for example, there is typically a betrothal or engagement period in between courtship and marriage. The bridging frame of engagement contains some elements or components of the courtship frame, for example, the couple goes out together for enjoyment, play, and without family responsibilities. On the other hand, the bridging frame of engagement contains some components of the marriage frame because the couple begins talking about their future family life, and the in-laws and other family members become more involved in the couple's life. Thus engagement is a bridge between courtship and marriage by combining components of both together.

Table 2. Bridging frames in a developmental sequence of dynamic systems change

EXISTING FRAME	➔	BRIDGING FRAME	➔	EMERGING FRAME
Courtship	➔	Engagement	➔	Marriage
Married	➔	Pregnancy	➔	Parenting Couple

Bridging frames have the purpose of allowing people in a relationship to "try out" new ways of relating before committing themselves to embark on a newly emergent frame. Engaged couples, for example, can "try out" what it feels like to be married before the wedding. Bridging is a way of making developmental transitions more smoothly and with less fear or trauma resulting from the change.

Breakdown of existing frames

In the example of romantic relationships, as the engagement period draws to a close and marriage is ready to begin, the courtship frame is reaching a state of breakdown. In this case, that existing frame has reached the end of its useful life and will cease to exist, except in memory. In the case of the end of the courtship period, the idea of breakdown need not have a negative significance if the couple truly wants to get married. The couple and family may greet the end of courtship and the beginning of marriage with a celebration.

In other cases, however, the breakdown of the existing system may be unwanted and undesired. Often, when dynamic systems change, there is a period of instability or chaos at the time of the developmental transition. This is the case with *hikikomori*, which may be seen by some people in Japanese society as a loss of the existing frame and a threat to the cultural fabric of Japanese society. It may be seen as chaotic and threatening.

Recapitulation Frames

Once the change process has begun, in addition to bridging frames, there may occur a brief return (recapitulation) of historical frames in the relationship. These are frames that had been well established for some period of time and then went through a process of breakdown and loss. Often these recapitulated frames seem to have been "forgotten" by the system. Yet somehow, the system retains a memory of its past and may bring back this older way of relating for a short period of time to help in the current developmental change process.

The recapitulated historical frame is "safe" and "familiar" even though it is not a long-term solution. It is brought back because the participants feel the need for some security in the face of the uncertainty of the impending change. For example, young children under stress will "regress" to become more "dependent." A child of 6 years may seem rather happy and independently self-regulated. When that child begins elementary school, however, there must be a developmental change from relating primarily to the family to expanding into a much larger frame of peer and teacher relationships. The child may suddenly and unexpectedly show more infant-like behavior such as clinging, having sleep problems, crying, or not eating. These behaviors which constitute a recapitulated frame will typically disappear once the child has made a successful adaptation to school and the newly emerging school frame is well established. Like bridging frames, recapitulated frames are temporary, constructed in the service of facilitating change.

The problems of Japanese youth: Previously Existing Consensual Frame since WWII

An outline of the existing frame for family communication in Japanese society since the end of WWII is shown in Table 3. In this frame, parents, especially mothers, were expected to be responsible for nurturing children and children were responsible for respecting parents. The first-born son and his wife had the further responsibility of taking care of his parents as they

became older.

Embedded in all these family relationships was a sense of reciprocal *amae*. *Amae* is a Japanese word for a type of social relationship in which a person can expect care and indulgence from another. The person who wants or expects to receive some care or indulgence acts in a dependent fashion, soliciting protection and love from the other. Often, this pattern is such a familiar part of Japanese interpersonal relationships that the person seeking care is acting without consciously being aware of it. From the perspective of a person in Western cultures, in which such dependency is seen as a sign of weakness, the person seeking amae may seem childish and spoiled.

Table 3. Existing consensual frames in Japan since WWII	
Family Factors	1. Nurture of children
	2. Filial piety by children and responsibility to parents of first-born sons
	3. Reciprocal *amae* relationships and non-verbal emotional communication
Societal Factors	4. Conformity pressure, rejection if different
	5. Fear of failure in school or work

Amae, as well as other patterns of emotional communication in the family, is primarily non-verbal, shown in body postures and facial expression, and without the need for verbal requests or explanations. In order to avoid conflict in the family, negative feelings are typically not directly expressed. People are admonished to "be happy" with the result that negative feelings become further suppressed.

Unlike the home in which children could expect to be taken care of within the *amae* relationship, in the school setting, expectations became imposed on the child. These expectations included conformity and encouragement of academic success. Children were expected to follow the group in which everyone was expected to be at the same level of achievement. Over or under-achievers were taught to stay with the group and not stand apart from it. Children and their parents were also under intense stress during times of entrance examinations, in which a child's identity depended upon passing or failing.

Societal Changes in the Previous 10 - 15 Years: Breakdown

Up until about 10 years ago, this existing frame was relatively stable. Even though the expectations and responsibilities caused stress for young people in school and beginning their families, the level of stress was somehow manageable. This network of mutual expectations, the consensual frame, was dynamically maintained in Japanese society for many years. During the past 10 years, however, Japan has seen major changes, the result of which is to raise the level of emotional stress and personal threat to intolerable levels for some individuals. When this

happens in any social system, it can lead to the breakdown of existing frames.

Many factors have contributed to this change. Perhaps the main factor is the collapse of the so-called "bubble economy." Manufacturing and technology faced increased world competition and personal prosperity declined. Individuals lost their jobs and the promise of lifetime employment vanished in many sectors of the economy. Now the developed nations are in a post-industrial era in which personal creativity is more valued than uniformity of standards. This demand puts pressure on Japanese people who are used to not being different from others.

Another major change is the rapid increase in the use of the internet and cellular telephones, especially for young people. Those of us who did not grow up with these technologies have learned to use them as tools to get our work done and to stay in touch with the world. For children, however, the internet takes up a much bigger place in their minds and imaginations. It is not just a tool but a whole world in which one can get lost. Some children may take the internet world of chat rooms, blogging, and video games as more real than the interactive world of living human beings. On the internet, companions can be found day and night, more available than any real person in their lives. In addition, the internet takes time away from face-to-face interaction, physical play and exercise, reading books, and thinking for oneself.

A final change in the past 10 years is a decline in the Japanese birth rate to the current one-child family. This no doubt is due to a combination of the other factors. Both husbands and wives may be forced to work outside the home in order to earn an acceptable family income. There is more focus on the self and more fear for the future that may keep people from wanting to bring children into these uncertain times. The result, however, is an only child who is highly indulged. If that child is male, there are conflicts between this indulgence at home and high expectations for academic performance and for taking care of the parents in their old age.

Breakdown of Consensual Frames in Family and School: Threat and conflict

During times of system breakdown, the psychological experience can shift from normal to extreme. Research on trauma shows that during times of relatively rapid change, there is an increase in a sense of personal threat that can persist for long periods of time (van der Kolk, 1996. Under the extreme sense of threat that comes with system breakdown, the traditional Japanese system of emotional communication that is not verbally expressed may block chances for mutual understanding and lead to extreme forms of withdrawal from society.

Hikikomori, primarily in males, is one symptom of this breakdown. In the absence of reliable systems of verbally communicating wants and needs, the adolescent's only perceived option is nearly total withdrawal from school and family. Why should Japanese males withdraw under stress while females of the same age seek to engage in society in new ways with the goal of self-actualization? The explanation for this difference may have to do with the relationship between male children and their mothers in the previously existing consensual frame. Male

children, especially the first-borns, have a special responsibility to parents and mothers may seek to support their sons for success and not engage in any open conflict.

Table 4. Four Levels of Amae (adapted from Behrens, 2004)	
Emotional (Acceptable)	1. Desire for closeness, intimacy, "childish" behavior
Instrumental (Disruptive)	2. selfish, clingy, helpless
	3. acting desperate, making deals
	4. violent, abusive, unreasonable demands

The mother-son relationship has been traditionally governed by non-verbal expression of amae: when the child acts needy, the mother automatically responds with what the child wants. From a Western perspective, there is a co-dependency in this relationship. When the child is under stress and feels threatened, however, *amae* can take increasingly extreme forms as shown in Table 4. Acceptable forms of *amae* reflect a desire for closeness, for needs to be met, and a wish to be protected. As the child's unexpressed needs become more extreme, however, *amae* behavior becomes increasingly disruptive. In the most extreme cases, it is possible to understand the sometimes violent behavior of *hikikomori* toward their parents or teachers as a desperate attempt to achieve emotional closure and relieve a perhaps intolerable sense of personal threat.

Recapitulation of Historical Frames: *Hikikomori* as a uniquely Japanese response to threat

Even if we agree that male *hikikomori* can be explained in part by extremes of mother-son *amae* in the face of a perceived threat, there is still a missing part of the picture. School refusal in the US affects both boys and girls equally, occurs at all ages, and in all social classes. In Japan, school refusal affects primarily males from relatively affluent families who are liberal and overprotective so that children can expect parental indulgence and financial support. Japanese *hikikomori* are typically adolescents who are shy, sensitive and intelligent. In both Japan and the US, the child may withdraw from school because of being teased or bullied about being different from the norm but unlike Japan where the child becomes isolated from family as well as school, in the US the family is seen as a source of support and helps to actively encourage school return.

Perhaps one way to understand why *hikikomori* is uniquely Japanese is to see it as a recapitulation of a "forgotten" historical frame. During the period between 1636 and 1854, the so-called Edo period, almost the entire island nation of Japan was sealed off from foreign influence and foreign travel. It was the period of Shoguns and Samurais. Japanese people were forbidden to leave the country and foreigners were violently rejected or killed. There was, however, only one place of transaction with the outside world at the port of Nagasaki. This point of transaction can be considered a bridging frame. In the same way, *hikikomori* is a closing of the border of the child's world to outsiders with a small bridge to that outside world via the internet.

In other words, from a dynamic systems perspective, the behavior of *hikikomori* – including extreme withdrawal and violent behavior -- is a possible recapitulation of the existing social and cultural history of Japanese society.

Possible Solutions for *hikikomori*: Japanese Bridging Frames

In contemporary Japanese society, however, *hikikomori* is not welcomed, and parents and teachers would like to find ways to draw young people out of their isolation. In this section, we present some possible bridging frames that are based in Japanese forms of emotional communication. This means that communication need not verbally name and discuss directly the child's fears or concerns. Traditional Japanese forms of communication avoid conflict, support nurture and good feelings, and are based in appropriate forms of *amae*. Because the child does in fact feel threatened, it is essential in all the suggested forms of bridging listed below, to make the child feel safe and protected even if the sense of threat is not directly discussed.

At the first level of Japanese bridging, communication via the internet can be used but in this case with parents, teachers, or peer counselors (children from school who are especially trained to reach out to the withdrawn children). The internet can be used as a bridge to re-establish safe and enjoyable forms of communication with people close to the child. Parents and teachers can send messages of greeting or news, without talking about the "problem." They can also engage in playing video games with the child via the internet. Although this is not typical adult behavior, we are arguing that the "problem" is not "in" the child but rather "in" the system of communication and relationships which has broken down for the reasons given above. Thus, in order for the child to change, in a dynamic systems perspective, the adults must also change.

At the second level of Japanese bridging, parents, teachers or peers can seek to engage in face-to-face communication with the child.   We suggest that this communication take place in a safe area within the child's home which can be negotiated via the internet at first. This can be a particular room of the house, or there can be a temporary shelter built with fabric or the use of a camping tent. The child should be allowed freedom to choose when to enter and leave, and the communication in the safe space should be for play and enjoyment.

Mediators from outside the family may be useful in facilitating parent-child contact in this safe environment. Mashita Okuyama, of the Saitama Prefectural Government, created a written manual for training *hikikomori* support workers who go into the home and create bridges between the *hikikomori* and the parents. The support workers establish communication in a way that the parents had been unable to do on their own (Shimoyachi, 2003).

Assuming these two levels are successful, a third level of Japanese bridging can occur outside the home. This again must involve safe and protected forms of playful or soothing communication. Among other things, this can include:

・Relationships with nature, together with other people

・Relationships with animals (such as pets at home or equine therapy, see chapter by Melson, this book)

・Relationships using Buddhist or Shinto practices (prayer, meditation, pilgrimage), two forms of indigenous Japanese religions

As one example, 20 hikikomori were brought together to take part in "Slow Walk Shikoku 88," [スローウォーク四国 88　四国お遍路] organized by New Start, a nonprofit organization from Urayusa, Chiba Prefecture (Ihara, 2003). This was a long-distance pilgrimage between 88 different Buddhist temples which brings together *hikikomori* for the purpose of sharing a common experience and re-engaging with the world via traditional Japanese practices. These young people are given gifts, osettai, from people in the communities along the way. According to the organizers, "Walking among the rich nature of Shikoku will revive their bodies, and the osettai will revive their spirits. The pilgrimage is a kind of hospital that offers the best kind of counseling."

The fourth level of Japanese bridging frames, the final level, is the return to school. This can occur in different ways. If the child returns to the school that he left, there should be safe areas for relative withdrawal or play within the school. This could include internet game rooms, or "safe" peer counselors who are trained in emotional communication. The school also needs to establish and enforce anti-bullying measures. Another possibility is for the child to attend special "free" schools in which a safe and accepting environment for learning has been established. There are a growing number of free schools in Japan. Finally, the child can be encouraged to join with face-to-face communities outside the family and school for safe and shared identities of common problems. These could be hikokomori support groups, or they could be groups especially for playful and enjoyable activities such as music, art, dance, or athletics.

Possible Solutions for hikikomori: Western bridging frames

Western bridging approaches involve more direct and explicit communication with the child. This is done while still preserving a sense of safety and protection. The goal is for the child to talk about his feelings and eventually to play an active role in solving the problem of withdrawal. In the Japanese solutions proposed in the previous section, it is the family and school that sets the agenda and establishes the bridging frames. In the Western approach, there is more input from the child and more room for the child's autonomy and creativity.

At the first level of Western bridging frames, some type of challenge is presented to the child who is withdrawn. Many kinds of challenges may be possible but one is a partial denial by the parents of supplies of the child's favorite foods, money, or internet links until the child recognizes that he must play an active role to re-establish communication with the parents. At this level, the child may be acting out of self-interest, that is, talking to parents as a way to get the money, food,

and internet. This is sometimes called "tough love," because the parent assumes that the child is not able to understand his own emotions and needs the challenge to "wake up" and notice that he is part of a family that loves him. Care must be taken to avoid challenges than may incite a violent reaction, and outside mediators may again be useful here.

At the <u>second level of Western bridging frames</u>, the parents, teachers, or social workers can encourage explicit emotional communication. The child is asked to articulate his fears, concerns, and anxieties as well as his desires and hopes. Although the challenge to the child may produce some resentment or even anger, what is important is the arousal and mobilization of the child's emotions. While this may seem counter-intuitive within Japanese culture, within Western society, we find that only when the emotions are engaged and made explicit can the child take the next developmental step toward open and reciprocal emotional communication (See chapters by Fogel and by Greenspan, this book). This open and reciprocal communication is mutually respectful, accepting, and produces a sense of relief in the child because of being understood at a deep emotional level.

At the <u>third level of Western bridging frames</u>, once the child's emotions are mobilized and the child is engaging with others at a developmentally appropriate level of shared understanding, children can then engage in cooperative negotiations with parents about ideas for returning to school. In the Western culture, if the child is allowed to play a role in developing solutions to such problems, the child is more likely to make a commitment to participate in the eventual resolution.

This sense of personal autonomy, which is one of the traditional distinctions between Japanese and Western cultures, fosters a growing sense of personal responsibility and respect for others in the process of decision making. Again, this may be counter-intuitive from a Japanese perspective in which one might think that too much personal autonomy causes further isolation and separation from the group. In fact, in healthy Western families, autonomy is part of the process of forming mature and mutually respectful relationships with others. Only immature forms of autonomy, such as might be seen in young children or people with developmental delays in self- and other-awareness, are primarily self-centered.

Conclusion: A Re-organized System of Mutual Relationship Changes

According to our dynamic systems perspective, the problems of Japanese youth are not the problems of the children alone but rather reflect difficulties in the social systems of family and society. In order to achieve change, both the child and the adults must cooperate and invest in efforts to improve the situation.

We have presented possible Japanese and Western solutions to the current crisis in Japan. Japanese solutions preserve existing forms of emotional communication and *amae* relationships while encouraging a return to more traditional roles. Western solutions rely on explicit emotional

communication and leave open the pathway to the future as a result of cooperative negotiation of solutions between parents and children. The goal of both Japanese and Western approaches, however, is exactly the same: to find ways of creating supportive, developmentally appropriate relationships that allow for personal and societal growth and development.

Although the path to the future may be uncertain, the principles of systems change may bring some source of comfort. Recall that historical recapitulation is always part of changes in social systems. Thus, no matter what will happen in Japanese society 5 or 50 or 500 years from now, it will always be Japanese. Japan will never lose its long history, and parts of that history will come back (recapitulate) to support the people when those parts are most needed. No matter which approach is chosen in Japan, it is clear that everyone needs to be involved – parents, children, and the community – in order to lead the way to create supportive family and school environments for the next generation of Japanese children.

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