Syntony, Distony, Virtual Sisterhood, and Multiplying Anonymous Personalities : Invisible Pseudo-Kinship Structures through Mobile Media Terminal's Literacy

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—Invisible Pseudo-Kinship Structures through Mobile Media Terminal's Literacy—

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If the words are understood, could it be that the song is being understood?
(Ludwig Wittgenstein: language gamer)

When the cowboy composes a *tanka* (Japanese verse), there will be a boom in new styles of tanka. (Itō Sachio: tanka poet)

Generally speaking, the Japanese people are like female college students, strange as it may seem. They will sit in front of the classroom, fervently take notes, and make good grades. Alas, they do not possess what is called creativity! (Yamada Fūtarō: novelist)

Please, someone, call me up in the beeper when I am walking, not at home, in my room waiting in the fixed phone.... Soon I can play games without trying to be grown-up, using my childish advantage. I am at my prime.... (Amuro Namie: singer, produced by Komuro Tetsuya: composer)

1. INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

While this paper is based on my original paper and oral presentation given at the Symposium in December of 1995, I tried to take into account the discussions that had taken place during the symposium. I would like to express particular gratitude to Professor William Kelly, as I benefited greatly from his comments during those discussions on the concept of "subjectivity" and on the continued ethnological relevance to the present day of the *musume-yado* (age-set field of non-kinship sisterhood which I call "girls' hut").

In Section 2, I will summarize both my original paper and my actual symposium presentation, and in the subsequent sections, I will elaborate on the directions in which I have subsequently developed these themes.

2. *"KO-GYARU"* OR KIDDY-GALS WITH PAGER/BEEPERS: WITCHES OR MEDIA-TEKKIES? —STRUGGLES FOR MOBILE MEDIA LITERACY—

1) "Benevolent industry" vs. "malevolent public mores": the present condition (1995) of a theoretical divide

In Japan at the end of the twentieth century, there exist two opposing views on the nature of multi-media, which I would characterize as the "benevolent industry" and the "malevolent public mores" positions. Until now, music and physical education in schools have mass-produced "tone-impaired" persons rather than augment students' "music literacy." However, the students, and adults too, have liberated themselves through karaoke, spontaneous dance and song on the streets (*hokoten*), disco and *ikaten*.[1] Likewise, information education as it is now taught

seems to force-feed science and math in a rigid way, producing only "mechanically-impaired" persons. "Subjectivity in media" has been lost, and alienated students are falling back into a passive existence. "Alienation from the media" is a condition that continues after graduation from school. The jobs that revolve around media equipment in corporate life are those of "engineers," "power-users," and "operators." Schooling only prepares one for a possible future in engineering.

To the establishment, the upholders of public mores, computer games, pachinko, karaoke, mobile phones, and beeper message services are never thought of as short cuts to promoting media literacy, but rather as threats to be criticized and monitored.

2) The "mechanically-impaired" as cynical "media subjects"

The "media-impaired" constrain themselves with their self-acknowledgment that they feel "passive, negative, and alienated by the media." Specifically, it is said that women are often "media- and mechanically-impaired," but I suspect that this has been so due to women's long and self-limiting sense of being bound to "home" and domesticity. Surprisingly, when the women step "out" of "home," such suffocating inferiority often disappears. Their inferiority complex at home of not being on top of things and being inopportune, "out of it," butter-fingers, etc. evaporates when they go skiing, tennis, surfing, cycling, touring, driving, to karaoke, to pachinko, to English conversation schools, and abroad. I call this "De-onna (Women Who Go Out)" Feminism.[2]

I believe the so-called ineptitude and inadaptability to information society is a "subconscious sabotage of information-laden and rationalized household chores." Nearly forty years ago, Umesao Tadao pointed out in several theories on organizing housework that "household chores should not be thought of as skilled labor," and that the "a house where the housewife is always busy is deficient," and a lively social debate ensued on housewives [UMESAO 1988]. I will call such female types who are inept and inflexible towards the information-laden home, "capricious Luddites."

Finally, there is a related type we should label the "pseudo Luddites"; they are akin to the so-called "paper drivers," whose pride keeps them from driving even though they possess a driver's license.

Both the capricious Luddites, found mostly among housewives who love to attend "culture schools," and the pseudo-Luddites, found more among female college students who want to marry up, are, I believe, incomplete expressions of "de-onna" feminists. They are probably transitional character types before the

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1) *Ikaten* is an acronym of *"Ikasu bando tengoku,"* the title of a TV contest-based program that opened careers to a number of amateur rock bands.

2) Under the rule of the Tokugawa shogunate, each daimyo was forced to have his wife and children reside within Edo city, as hostages to the shogunate. The term *"de-onna"* represents those women who tried to escape from Edo to their own fief.

subjectivity of "de-onna" is developed.

3) Street girls with subjectivity: kiddy-gals with beepers run amok

The Great Hanshin Earthquake on 17 January 1995 left the region a solitary island on land, an information black hole under semi-marshal law. Pager/beepers and voice mail proved to be the most effective media for disaster relief. Especially in the first few days, they were even more effective than E-mail and bi-directional telephones, which were disrupted by extensive power outages and broken telephone circuits other than pay phones. What was common between the disaster-stricken victims and the kiddy-gals with pager/beepers was that they were autonomous of home, school, and company.

I find the emergence of the "de-onna" feminism within the character type of kiddy-gals who are adept in using pager/beepers. It must be pointed out that the so-called "ko-gyaru" (kiddy-gals), who are often high school students, have come under severe mass media scrutiny and have been demonized as if they are contemporary witches. This has been in part because of their hyper-sexuality. They are known to sell their used underwear and (often sailor-collared) school uniforms to adult sex shops and to men with such fetishes (buru-sera), and they engage in a pseudo-prostitution called enjo-kōsai (aid-dating), which is a kind of dating for money. It has also been because they favor outlandish fashion, sporting dyed hair (chapatsu), artificial tans, bare midriffs, baggy sox, and baby backpacks.

These girls never leave home without their favorite items: lipstick, name cards, recyclable cameras, mineral water, and—of paramount importance—their pager/beepers. Their pager/beepers ring anywhere and everywhere, during school, in the streets, and on the train. The electronic ringing of their pager/beepers along with the loud voices of businessmen talking into the mobile phones in the streets has become the soundscape of urban Japan in the 1990s. Even good students and girls from good families, without exception, become kiddy-gals with pager/beepers during their teens, as if it were an initiation.

I believe that the kiddy-gals with pagers/beepers are more liberated than the computer nerds, the radio aficionados, and the telephone hackers—most of whom are boys termed as "otaku" (maniac)—because the girls realize that they are media subjects and enjoy socializing through media. The girls form groups as "osoto" and retain a keen fashion sense. In contrast, the otaku boys are schizophrenic, and have not achieved a "media subjectivity."

4) The reversal of "see" vs. "be seen"

Women have traditionally made material goods and raised children. However, their roles as actors in the advanced media technology and information transmission sectors have been quite limited. Women's traditional careers have been in jobs that heal and nurture, show, write or demonstrate.

In the basic human activity of "seeing vs. being seen," women always have been seen (as an object) as well as appreciated (as an object) by men who have been the

"seeing subject." However this is about to change. Women are building their careers in areas where they use advanced media technology and use it to heal and nurture, to show, and talk, and write, and record. In short they are about to transcend men and achieve "media literacy."

The feudal policies of the Edo period aimed to disarm the public and to deny mobility to women. Even after World War II, household appliances became wide-spread, but instead of liberating women as "media subjects," the equipment created unnecessary chores, further binding them to the home. In that sense, the appliances were "ceremonial tools" as well as a domesticating medium, upholding the hidden ideology of patriarchy. The myth that the postwar spread of household appliances spurred the social advancement of women helped to support a reactionary and anti-feminist ideology. In the form of the pager/beeper, "de-onna" feminism cut through this conservative mold like an electronic sword. The weapon has spread to even the most unarmed and disadvantaged teen girls.

5) "Jap-animation" and "Mobile Media Terminals (MMTs)"

The science-fiction animation *Ghosts in the Shell* came out in November 1995 and has been shown all over the world. It shares a common theme with the equally popular fantasy animation, *Sailor Moon*: the idolization of kiddy-gals with pager/beepers. In the former animation movie, a young female android warrior and her gang of men liberally utilized advanced media technology against bad guys, and in the latter film, fashionable girl warriors with ultra-mini skirts and sailor-collared school uniforms wield the "Saber of Lunatic Energy" to defeat the bad guys. However, the real kiddy-gals with pager/beepers are neither witches nor prostitutes, nor for that matter, Jeanne d' Arc-like holy virgins who would sacrifice their lives for state and home.

The animation girl warriors and the kiddy-gals with pager/beepers have both armed themselves with built-in or wearable advanced media technology in their sub-consciousness, in their brains, in their bodies, and in their fashion. Their only ultimate "body" media are the passwords/IDs and their voices. The girls go anywhere without anything, and can access anybody they want whenever they want through the pay phones that have become ubiquitous in the urban environment and through "after-school clubs." What they have is a voice-activated mobile tele-computing network that is available anywhere, any place, and any occasion, without hand-carrying anything.

The indeterminate nature of today's information education arises from an ambivalence produced by the ideological conflict between "household appliances as ceremonial medium to bind the girls at home" and the "personal and outside appliances as information media that urges the girls to become de-onna." The mobile media terminals (MMTs) for wireless communication that carry their own independent power source with outdoor specification have become smaller and lighter, and their use rarely requires instruction. It is the MMT that incites "de-onna" feminism and awakens the "media subjectivity" in her that would let her

enjoy being a woman for the first time, a new type of "information tool." Pager/beepers and voice mail are not only the final weapon for "de-onna" feminism, but also an inviting gateway to enjoying and achieving subjective mobile media literacy for all of the "media-impaired" persons.

3. MMT AS PERSONAL AND OUTSIDE APPLIANCES FOR "NEO NOMADS": THE WAY IT IS IN 1997

The users of cellular phones in Japan have increased exponentially since 1990, and subscribers at the end of January 1997 numbered over twenty-three million, almost twenty percent of the national population (this figure includes subscriptions for personal handy-phone systems, or PHS). MMTs that started with the pager/beepers have proliferated, and gradually, people of all ages, not just the youth, have embraced them as one of the fashionable items. As with Swiss-made "Swatches," colorful, plastic analog watches that became a big hit around the same time, the MMTs are personalized as much as possible, first with "Print Club" instant photo seals, and later with customized phone accessories. Now some MMTs have become virtual pets, such as "Tamagotchi," the computer egg that hatches with tender, loving care, and virtual lucky charms that one never lets out of sight whether taking a shower or at sleep.

I suspect that the number of business users of pager/beeper was surpassed by that of new social users around 1990–1992, and this transformed the image of the medium. Pager/beepers used to be chains that bound one to one's tedious work. Then, they became the "magic mirror" of kiddy animations, and the "all-purpose communication device" of the SFX warrior movies. They also became wireless "double lockets" that connected lovers. Eventually they became one's doppelgänger and agent. To this day the older generations still think that pager/beepers may tie one down. Huge generational gaps in recognition do exist for this medium.

Currently, downsizing is the norm for not only the various MMTs but all electronic information equipment, making them wearable at 50–500 grams. The heaviest are the portable computers, followed in descending order by car navigation systems, TV games, audiovisual input equipment like the video and digital camera, audiovisual output equipment like Walkmans, LC radios, PDA (personal digital assistants), electronic toys, and multi-function watches. It is next to impossible to select or classify the single-function cellular phone or pager/beeper, since these equipments and functions overlap. All "hardware and software for electronic information that weigh less than 500 grams" with "data input and output function, data transmission function, independent power source, and LC display" should all be regarded as MMTs. Today, it is possible to send and receive messages from PHS and on the Internet. NTT is experimenting with pager/beeper broadcasting. Commercial broadcasting for PDA is available, such as "Pocket Board" (NTT), "Mobile Gear" (NEC), and "Gameboy Pocket" (Nintendo). MMTs are not just for

personal communication, but for receiving a wide range of content from various providers.

We find ourselves in the age of borderless broadcasting and communication: *Sankei* Newspaper electronic mail can be transferred to Fuji TV, Sharp "Zaurus" users are entitled to the manufacturer's "Zaurus News," Nintendo has begun broadcasting through wireless network, and news headlines are now distributed to "Print Club" machines. The flow of information used to be one-directional, from content creator to major provider to relayer, and finally, to the receiver destination. Now, however, "receivers" can send information to "creators," building a circular loop of information flows. Whether MMT will receive mass broadcasting or transmit personal communication, or do some combination of the two, rests with the user.

Televisions, washing machines, and refrigerators constituted the "Three Sacred Items of Consumption" that symbolized post-World War II improvements in the Japanese standard of living through electricity. These were followed by the "3Cs" of consumer desire—car, color TV and (air) conditioning. Now, what people desire are audiovisual equipment, phones, and personal computers. But all of these waves of consumer acquisition spread through the "household appliance" ideology of "fixed electric equipments for all the family."

In contrast, MMTs have emerged as part of a counter-culture of personal, and not household, appliances, as it were, as mobile, personal electric equipment precisely for people who are not dependent on home. Furthermore, the personal appliances have been transformed into outdoor appliances with their spread among young users. Pager/beepers turned from being a medium that bound businessmen to their company into a medium for socializing in the streets by female high school students. Similarly, individuals became to possess tools for information exchange en route to school, exchanged in the open spaces of the street, rather than in the closed and controlled spaces of home, school, or company. The life-style of these neo nomads was thus self-sufficient, with MMTs in their hands, backpacks on their backs, and mobile transport on foot or by bicycle, motorbike, or car.

These neo nomads are independent of the home, school, and company. Information and resources for business and the basic needs of living must all be procured on the streets. Much resourcefulness is required individually and collectively to become "strategic information subjects." "Media literates at home" stock all their information and resources at home and through the remote control hardware of personal computers. In contrast, the neo nomads are "mobile literates at large" who are always on the street, procuring information and resources through their MMTs.

Through the ever-present MMTs, information stock capability becomes less important than information "presentation" capability to create a flow for the "neo nomads," as Takada Masatoshi has argued [TAKADA 1995]. Subjectivity as "information selector" is acquired. With the spread of "mobile literates at large," information is rapidly exchanged at all times and places. This is resulting in the

birth of a "rumor or word-of-mouth" society. Esthetics, right and wrong, truth and falsehood will all be judged by ever shifting standards, as if in the market; decisions are constantly made and remade, as if a "national referendum" takes place moment to moment. The "Darwinian" survival of the fittest truth will become the norm, diminishing the authority of mass media, academe, and the courts.

A national "mobile media literacy at large" is inversely related to the degree of state control. For example, the Republic of China (Taiwan) was until recently under martial law. Although advanced technology manufacture was encouraged as national policy, and the country's CPU manufacture accounted for more than half of the world supply, the production and use of cellular phones and pager/beepers were strictly limited. In Japan, the victims of the Great Hanshin Earthquake came temporarily under "pseudo martial law" forbidding calls just to ask, "How are you?" The victims were totally helpless, and completely at the whim of the mass media and the authorities. MMTs were the "citizen's media weaponry" to defend themselves against such information deprivation and alienation. After water, emergency food, and the flashlight, MMT was the necessary survival item in emergency and disaster. American women and other disadvantaged are said to have armed themselves on the American frontier. The contemporary "information disadvantaged"—disaster victims, elderly, and the handicapped—are the most in need of their own MMTs as "total civilian armament."

4. THE "NOW AND THEN OF MOBILE/PORTABLE CULTURE": FROM "HANDY SNACK GOURMET" TO "MMT FETISH"

The spread of MMT has promoted the "total armament of the citizens," while concentrating the cell-base, the broadcasting and communication services in the major cities, especially Tokyo. The vertical gap is widening between Tokyo and other cities, and between cities and the rural areas. The elderly and the disabled are liberated, but first are forced to learn new multi-functions of the terminal. Will these people really be saved, or will a new class of "information disabled" be born? Will new social malaise arise, such as "MMT crimes"?

Even as the MMT becomes increasingly popular, the disadvantages of the technology have been scrutinized: MMT microwave interference on airplanes and in hospitals, accidents from driving while holding and taking into one's MMT, the noise pollution of ringing MMTs and loud talking on trains and in other public spaces.

It is not the first popular medium where social and medical pros and cons coexist. The history of cigarettes and coffee demonstrated that they were fervently welcomed into the European society as "exotic and portable media," because one could taste the other worlds at the opposite end of the earth with the delicate localities of the body, such as the tongue, lips, and fingertips, just by jacking into the "virtual mechanisms," such as the coffee houses. These new media then were

the subject of heated discussion for and against. There were conflicting arguments from medicine, psychology, education, and other perspectives. In a sense, no conclusion has been reached even today. The love for MMT today has activated the "no-afterthought or follow-up" culture, and may overheat and give rise to pathologies such as "MMT fetish" or "bell-pal dependency," as a double-edged sword. However, it is a historical fact that from the popularization of the exotic portable media of cigarettes and coffee, the "talkative community" was born in the coffee houses of seventeenth century England, which gave rise to a high-flying "no-afterthought or follow-up" culture of security firms, including Lloyd's, trading houses, and the literary world.

Luxury goods that are portable at all times, such as cigars, cigarettes, and canned coffee, popularized new culture, and people literally took them to the streets. MMT should be regarded as the fashion and custom in the same vein (1968 was both the year Japanese coffee maker UCC introduced canned coffee to the world, and the year NTT started its pager/beeper service).

There have been traditional cultures that emphasized portability and mobility from the beginning of civilization, such as the pastoralists of Islam and maritime cultures. It is quite curious that the Japanese who have always been regarded as sedentary love portability and mobility. The outdoor "portable and mobile life style" has throughout the ages been associated with the nobility, including the Emperor, before it was popularized in the modern era. The Europeans and the Chinese have traditionally appreciated gastronomy and gourmet ideology. Foodstuffs always were transported from the remotest of areas to the capital where the king or emperor resided. Full-course meals (dishes for the court and the Chinese "*Mankan Zenseki*") were enjoyed with equally enjoyable witty conversation, socializing, and luxurious entertainment shows. Such was the popular image of gourmet eating, in contrast to the amphitheater culture and hunter-gatherer culture.

In contrast, the gourmet ideal for elite society in Japan was to travel—to go out to the remote areas to appreciate their scenery, peoples, and nature, through activities of visiting, hunting, pilgrimage, herb picking, cherry blossom viewing, tea ceremonies, and outdoor theater. The true gourmet either ate local specialties, the "delicacies of the mountain and the sea" or tasted the special boxed lunch in transit, in the temporary tent. The occasion could range from fact-finding, leisure, and hunting, to horseback-riding trips. This was true even for the Emperor, and outdoor meals were more desirable than the usual indoor cooking. Such a distinctive cultural tradition can be called "portable gourmet," and to this day, when all varieties of food are available, the most popular Japanese dishes among Japanese food gourmets continue to be the boxed lunch of the exquisite kind (Zen vegetarian food and tea-ceremony small-portion meals), and local delicacies eaten in remote areas. Now this kind of Japanese portable gourmet become popular worldwide as "*bentō*," "*onigiri*," and "sushi."

5. TRANSFORMATION OF THE "DISTANCE OF THE INTIMACY" AND "MEDIATED INCEST TABOO": THE SITUATION IN THE YEAR 2001

1) "Bell-pals," "electronic girls' hut," and the "global village"

When everybody is armed with a MMT, traditional concentric and fixed time and space relationships lose primacy in intimacy, whether they be those of family and kinship, neighborhood communities, occupational communities, or school communities.   Instead, what becomes important are virtual friendships (anonymous friends) born by chance and free of contexts, never showing one another's face or hearing their voices, through pager/beeper and cellular phone calling numbers and E-mail addresses.   At the same time, MMT promotes relationships between "intimate others" who are real but liberated from kinship, location, and economic principles, through sight-seeing, volunteerism, and dating parties hosted by TV personalities.   As a result, the "distance of intimacy" is greatly transformed.

The spread of MMT denotes the ultimate state of urban social relationships, as symbolized in "bell-pals (anonymous virtual friendship)," but at the same time, it is a return to the folkloric rural customs of village boy's house (*wakashū-yado*) and village girls' house (*musume-yado*).   This can be regarded as the ultimate state of urban social relationships that transcend time and space, as indicated by Georg Simmel.   Revival of folkloric old customs can be seen in the similarity between bonding through pager/beepers or cellular phones and same-sex youth huts, which were "age group" gatherings of the unmarried village youth.   IRIDIUM and INMARSAT are international MMTs, and the Marshall McLuhan's vision of "global village" has come closer to reality.

2) Selection stress: "wanting to choose but not knowing what to choose" in the age of information selection

Japanese cities such as Tokyo and Osaka are urban environments where no one knows each other until they meet.   They are cities that have tested to the extreme the theory that in urban environments "closer strangers are more valuable than faraway kin."   Contrary to many expectations, these cities have been compared to other metropolises of the world and judged to be as safe, stress-free, and convenient, as if they were "big houses" or "urban villages."   The twenty-four hours of the average Japanese are thought to be composed of routine repetition, similar to the three-field rotation manor system of Medieval Europe: leaving the house, transiting the streets, arriving at school or office, transiting the streets again to return to one's home.

But is this really true?   The daily triad of "house," "class," and "office" was based on kinship, schooling, and occupational relationships in which the law of

"distance and intimacy correlation" supported the centripetal principle of the stem family (the *ie*): "It is desirable for members of groups which are fixed in time and space to stay close," and "People who are close physically are intimate." Such a basic principle suits the kind of primitive human, family, and village communities that stands alone in the wild, as was the case for Laura Ingals Wilder's *Little House on the Prairie*. But does it really serve any positive and healthy purpose in the concentrated populations of today's urban society?

For example, hazing, suicide, refusing to go to school, homophobia, and other social phenomena of urban anomie can all be regarded as part of the stress syndrome of "wanting to choose but not knowing what to choose." For the youth who grew up "under the one big roof" of a peaceful "nation as house," contemporary Japanese society seems a homogeneous, faceless, suffocating hell, or else a never-ending hall of mirrors. The principles of kinship and other centripetal principles are oppressively strong to them. An exclusive house/class/office triangle ties the youth to a dungeon of the heart, as if it were a strong triangular magnetic field like the infamous Bermuda Triangle. Imprisoned youth are figuratively unable to breathe in the conflicts and stress forced onto them by the law of "distance and intimacy correlation." Withdrawal has resulted for these youth in the forms of hazing, suicide, not going to school, and cult religions.

How not to resist or destroy the relationships one has with parents, teachers, and bosses, how not to be overwhelmed by the infinitive concentric circles that enclose oneself, and how to live one's own life are strategic survival concerns, and they have become the key goals of life for those Japanese living in a long-term stable society.

3) The "mediated incest taboo" in the age of privacy-baring

Thanks to the world-wide supply of satellite broadcasting networks by media tycoons including Keith Rupert Murdoch, people of the late twentieth century are under the constant and enormous influence of mass media, including television, radio, and print media. If all the Japanese become friends with each other through the spread of telephone, fax, Internet, and other personal media, a wonderful utopia without conflict and war will be created.

One by-product of the age of "global village" is the matter of what one might call the mating range. It is said that international lovers and international marriages are popular now, but if global socializing goes too far, will ordinary Japanese men and women come to rule each other out as potential lovers and spouses? Claude Lévi-Strauss clarified in his seminal *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* and other works that there existed a common universal law pertaining to marriage that subconsciously exchanged women (or men) among certain units. That is to say, he argued that marriage within a unit of close kin was taboo, that marriages outside of the unit (non-kin) were sometimes obligatory either because custom dictated a partner from another particular unit or because dating and love marriages were encouraged, and that "pseudo-kinship" ties also forbade marrying a

member of a certain unit. Thus he elegantly mapped the problems of exogamy and endogamy. He applied to kinship structure the structuralism of mathematics in order to clarify the exchange mechanism of men (and women) through cross-cousin marriage. Of course this was a systematic, collective, and subconscious issue pertaining to social structure, operating below the level of individual sexuality or personal preference.

For example, in Japan, bigamy is illegal in ethics and civil law, and to go against this taboo, one commits "adultery." For men, it is forbidden to marry one's mother, daughter, or sisters who are close kin. Marrying one's cross cousin, aunt, and niece is also forbidden because they are still felt to be of "thick blood." Furthermore, even marrying non-kin in-laws as one's mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, or sister-in-law is felt immoral because they are regarded as "quasi-kin." It is, I believe, a groundless taboo to forbid marriage between such "accidental" kin (even when these pseudo-kin in-law ties are dissolved by death, the taboo is binding). It is well known that in countries where the surname system is strong, it is forbidden to marry another of the same surname.

With few exceptions, such as the kings of ancient Egypt, there has been a paramount universal incest taboo in human societies forbidding marriage between "true siblings." Incest taboo is even said to occur among gorillas, chimpanzees, and Japanese macaques, which maintain a highly socialized life. In other words, even apes and monkeys seem to avoid mating with siblings with whom an individual grew up, and the mechanism for such avoidance is socially built in.

For example, a young Japanese macaque male, after being protected by its mother since birth, will venture alone from his troop and join another to find a mate. Only then, it is deemed adult enough to mate, if its strength, intelligence, and disposition is acknowledged by the others. Just as Lévi-Strauss has clarified for humans, there are apes and monkeys whose young males leave their own troop and those whose young females leave their troop. In either case, apes and monkeys become adults only when they leave their own family of close kith and kin. The young troop members who never leave the troop will never be deemed "mature," while those who decisively do so will.

How about humans? For example, contemporary Japan has supposedly achieved advanced transportation, internationalization, and a borderless society with advanced information communication media, but even here the mobility of the youth is not that great. It is true that temporary mobility is high, for sightseeing trips and volunteerisms, and active kiddy-gal sub-species have been appeared and proliferated with the collective explosive force of mutant locusts. However, on the whole, the Japanese cohabitation with and dependency toward family, close kin and pseudo-kin is stronger than ever. Continuing powerful affiliations towards school and workplace—secondary kin or quasi-kin, as it were—may keeping the Japanese youth from becoming "mature" adults. I suspect such an expansion of the range of incest taboo to "quasi-kin" may have indirectly brought about the longer cohabitation of unmarried youth with their parents, later marriage, sexless

couples, and the rapidly declining birth rate.

### 4) Returning-home (*ie-modoki*), or "skewered *oden*," vs. leaving-nest, or "three-legged scarecrow"

Contemporary Japanese have been experiencing a twofold transformation in the law of intimacy and distance. The first is a "selection stress syndrome," in which one wants to choose but cannot choose, and the second is a new "mediated incest taboo" by which the range of prohibited quasi-kin expands.

From the standpoint of a "pseudo-incest taboo," almost all acquaintances are judged too close to be marriage partners, including those women, who grew up with next door, who was the homeroom class representative, and who is the main office receptionist. Japanese youth are grouped into small social units of a couple to several tens of members. These social units or house-like spaces are controlled by adult authority figures—parents, teachers, and bosses. Terms for all three begin with K in Japanese (parent = *kachō*, teacher = *kyōshi*, section head = *kachō*), and in a second sense as well, youth may well consider their being stuck in a 3K environment because they often the groups to be stressful (*kizukare-suru*), weird (*kimochi-warui*), and foul (*kitanai*).[3] Since when has the home (for daily living, relaxation, and healing), school (a clean place to learn), and the office (filled with positive energy) become such a 3K environment?

In earlier times, there were tacit agreements between tribes and families formed for and by affinal exchanges. Now, paradoxically, whenever a certain intimacy is born, the two parties preclude marriage between each other. Dramatic, accidental, and natural "love at first sight" has become the ideal. When private matters are revealed between two people, they may feel closer, but often too intimately knowledgeable to think of the other as a possible lover or partner. The relationship then is seen as "impure." Along with the visual information of "scenery imprinting" by the mass media and the exposure of privacy through personal media, the traditional kinship unit of the stem-family became a template for the late modern school and workplace, creating a pseudo-commune for life, in which the members want to choose mates but cannot choose because everyone is felt to be kin. To be immersed in this age of information selection, yet not to be able to choose creates a severe stress that is certain to take away the vital energy and libido as repeated body-blows would; one no longer has the spirit to study, work, or love. In this way, the twofold transformation of "selection stress syndrome," and "mediated incest taboo" has expanded the range to which "pseudo-incest" is applied.

Originally, from the view point of proxemics, the Japanese have been powerfully and continuously bound by a commitment to family-like spaces, from the neo-Confucianism of the Tokugawa period through the imperial nationalism of

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3) The original meaning of the term 3K is hard (*kitsui*), dirty (*kitanai*) and dangerous (*kiken*) jobs that Japanese young people are said to be reluctant to take.
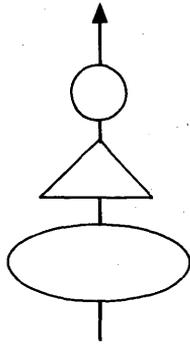
(a) Returning-home, or   (b) Leaving-nest, or
    "skewered *oden*" model   "three-legged scarecrow" model
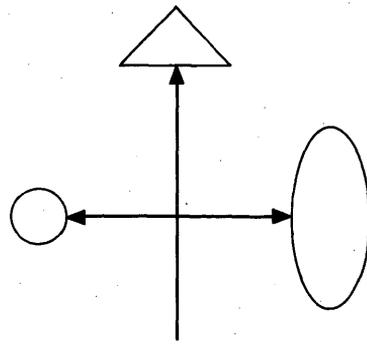
Figure 1. "Nation＝Home" Model

the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to the prewar civil law order that Naruse Gosaku has called patriarchal and Kawai Hayao called matriarchal. No alternative model of anti-familial space has ever developed, but I hope that the spread of mobile media literacy will help to bring it about.

As a way of imagining such an alternative, I offer two diagrams. Figure 1 (a) depicts a model for the traditional Japanese principle of family space that I call governance by the morality in every home to build a peaceful nation, or the "nation＝home" model for short. In this model, an individual A (represented by a small circle) belongs snugly within home B (represented by a triangle), home B fits snugly inside local community C (represented by an ellipse), and community C fits snugly into the nation D. The whole resembles a set of Russian nested dolls in a structure of ever-widening concentric circles. Metaphorically, it is a structure like the Japanese food "skewered *oden* (stewed fish ball and vegetable)," in which the skewer is a piercing centripetal vector of patriarchy or matriarchy.

In contrast, Figure 1 (b) is my model of pseudo-family space, just before the development and spread of the portable media. That is to say, the local community has disappeared and been replaced by the late modern special units of office, school, hospital, and factory (represented by an ellipse). The home no longer nests in the office-like space through an inclusive relationship. Rather, the two exist separately and independently, although they paradoxically resemble the family principle in so far as the home becomes the small office, and the office becomes the big house. The individual feels a strong affiliation towards both home and office, and constantly moves to and fro between the two. The individual has become a borderless existence not bound at all by the nation. Figure 1 (b) suggests that metaphorically this is a model of a "three-legged scarecrow," in which the centripetal vector is work.

Both these models of the skewered oden and the three-legged scarecrow share

the requirement that the permanent members remain together for a long time as if they were a family. I would now like to analyze the transformation of the portable media and spatial structures where such a principle of space has saturated contemporary Japan.

5) A supra space-time strategy to purify the incestuous

As I have suggested, I believe that the range of quasi-kinship has greatly expanded as Japan moved from the traditional to the modern era. I do not believe that the real binding force of quasi-kin is that strong. Yet, contemporary individuals have lower immunity against "selection stress syndrome" and the "mediated incest taboo." Sociologically speaking, Emile Durkheim's phenomenon of "anomie" has become more acute than ever. Modern individuals feel equally bound to the two models and are over-sensitive towards whoever is a "quasi-kin," fearing impurity (*kegare*).

What follows is speculation, inspired by an effort to discover strategies to avoid being bound by the law of distance and intimacy correlation and by the magnetic field of the Bermuda Triangle magic of family, school, and company (that is, the social units of household, classroom, and office). As I try to imagine such a strategy, I inevitably find myself grappling with the meaning of the exponential spread of MMTs, including cellular phones and pager/beepers, and the maturation of the "mobile media literacy."

The most direct, feasible survival strategy is simply running away from the impure pseudo kinship of house, class, and office, escaping the spaces of "skewered oden" and "scarecrows" and into one's own private shelter. This requires no MMT, and is, in fact, a mere evasion. It may be too naive a strategy in this day and age where even taxi companies are introducing GPS (Global Positioning System) surveillance technology in each taxi to discourage idle drivers who used to roam freely, and increase profit. For people other than the ultra-old-wave salesmen who dislike and feel bound by the company pager/beeper and cellular phones, this strategy does not seem worth pursuing.

Another conceivable strategy is to shorten as much as possible the time spent at home, in school, and at the office. In other words, one can increase the transfer time on the city streets, where one can socialize more freely through chance encounters with others and try to meet a non-kin person who is free of incest impurity. If so, such time is better spent not just randomly on the streets, but rather in twenty-four hour liberated zones, where access is always open and safe, such as preparatory schools, cultural centers, sports clubs, hotels, sauna houses, convenience stores, fast-food restaurants, and game arcades. These places can never be one's own private shelter, but they are reasonably affordable as socializing spots, and one can choose to make oneself comfortable there. The prototype of such spaces was the old-fashioned bars or vendor vans that served liquor and food late into the night. Recent media events, such as "meeting parties" and TV personality-hosted game parties can be seen in the same vein.

If one successfully applies this second strategy, one's home is reduced to the location where one returns to sleep, and classrooms or offices become places where one sits temporarily; they are disinfected "zero spaces" as it were. A "zero space" is where one need only minimally perform one's social role, especially in demonstrating respect as child, student, or worker to parent, teacher, or boss respectively. One reduces time in such zero space to a minimal eight hours and invests as little energy as possible during that time. This will minimize stress and allow the individual to easily maintain a superficial respect.

When homes, classrooms, and offices are reduced to zero spaces for sleeping or sitting, one inevitably seeks to use up time spent in these spaces in as effortless a manner as possible. *Hima* or "free time," used to be that portion of the day that remained when all chores, work, and obligations were completed, but it now becomes more a matter of using time in these zero spaces in an expedient and passive way. But just how can one effectively idle within the zero spaces? In a sense, by becoming bored all the time; that is, where once one was bored occasionally during the school week (at school assembly) or in the workplace (say, during morning lectures by the supervisor), now a flat, bored demeanor and comportment expands to fill all of the zero space-time—as a strategy to eliminate the impurity of incest relations.

6) A supra space-time domino strategy to re-acquaint with the stranger as friend

The third strategy is both an intricate time strategy as well as a media strategy. In this case, one maintains social membership and spatial location within home, school and workplace, but one also secretly maintains a constant communication of exchange with the outside world. This is a magic that recreates time itself by secretly reorganizing the structure of the daily cycle. The call signal literally reactivates the receiver when one is half daydreaming, meaning that the passive state of hima is secretly awakened and charged with the electric calling signal.

The reason I call this third strategy a media strategy is because it is really necessary for the child or student or subordinate, if s/he is really to successfully reduce all time spent in zero spaces to pure ceremony, to employ communication media to maintain contact with the world beyond and around these zero spaces. To utilize the idle time at "house/class/office" to the maximum effect, communication media for contacting the outside world are necessary. Passive "hima" time spent in respectful role-playing in "zero space" is negative, as in "school is boring," "not being in love is boring," and "being forced to work is boring." Such negative time through the application of "media strategy" dramatically activates and transforms the "zero space" into a lively "information control center," where live information is directly received and transmitted. The main weapons of the "information control center" are often unobtrusive, unseen by the parents or teachers or bosses—stealth weapons, as it were, like small portable wireless information equipment (most notably, the pager/beeper) and invisible media such as PINs and voice mail.

Pager/beepers in the 1990s transformed communications media in what has been called the Pocket-bell Girl Revolution by female high school students called kiddy-gals. For them, the pager/beeper solved the ten an"no"yances (!) of nosy father, nosy mother, nosy teacher, no pocket money, no free time, no place to work, no place to wait for friends, no privacy anywhere, no means of transportation, and no means of contact.

What their revolution brought about is new mobile media literacy as a highly developed media strategy. First, pager/beepers are used as cushions and barriers for relationships. Cool, distant, and elegant relationships became possible among fixed and "quasi-kinship" relationships of several to several tens of people including one's own parents. Second, pager/beepers can accelerate relationships. They are used to create and sustain aesthetic communities of shared tastes with shifting, inclusive memberships of several tens of thousands of persons, and any preferred personality element is available through this connection. Third, both of the above are used according to circumstances to manage convenient human relationships.

The pager/beepers that had bound errant salesmen to their companies (a company-slave control tool) have become a media weapon for company-slave emancipation. It is even establishing a new set of rules of syntonic and distonic grammar.[4] By this new set of rules, one can feign syntony (*nori*) to the oppressive zero spaces while surreptitiously professing distony (*kire*) for it to distant friends. Or, one can proclaim kire against the zero space while reaffirming nori to one's friends. Instantaneous and tactical states of peace or war have become possible with the easy on/off mechanism of the pager/beeper. However much authorities in the home, classroom, or office may enforce discipline, study, and work during official hours, subordinates can turn this time into hima, and enjoy the excitement of a pager/beeper-induced "awakening."

The pager/beeper and other MMTs are now alarm clocks that usher in the "sacred" time and create a syntony of the streets and the period within the monotonous zero space-time (the "profane" zone in folklore). Kinship, office relations, and school relations are wet and suffocating ties that bind, resulting in hazing, suicide, withdrawal from school, and homophobia of mothers who have to accompany their children to the park to play. It is time now to reshuffle and deal a new hand to people, to activate pre-existing networks and skillfully reorganize and reproduce one's own connections. The kiddy-gals with their subconscious ingenuity have customized a cheap, seemingly trivial gadget (weighing 50 grams at the most and only able to spell out fourteen-letter messages, shorter even than a haiku poem) into a sophisticated user-friendly item. The pager/beeper has now become a double-edged blade, expressing and switching between syntony (nori) and

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4) The term "syntony" is used to represent a situation that one's communication is in synchronism with the environment. I have coined the term "distony" to represent the reverse situation, out of syncronism with the environment. The terms "syntonic" and "distonic" are their adjective forms, respectively.

distony (kire).   The skill involved in this is a kind of group shareware, the ultimate freeware developed and distributed by anonymous users.

The new tactics of pager/beeper use permit a liberal editing of space and time—a media proxemics for the new age by which intimacy and distance may not in fact be directly related.   In the new order, the pager/beeper can sometimes work to distance human relationships, and at other times accelerate and bring them closer.   The pager/beeper as an information-filtering device works as an accelerator that enables one to establish direct contact with others, more than it enables smooth and cushioned relationships, as Ōhira Ken has observed [ŌHIRA 1995].

The contour line of intimacy distance will suddenly shift, creating connections with someone on the streets rather than a relation by kinship and neighborhood.   A new media intimacy map is emerging, by which persons close at hand are more valuable than are distant kin, but a distant bell-pal is more trustworthy and useful than persons close by.   The deadening quasi-kinship concentric circle structure will be disarmed as routine time-space.   Rejecting the "profane" will reveal parts of the "sacred."   These will be eventually connected by a corridor of "bell-pal" communication, finally bringing forth the supra space-time kingdom of subjectivity where one is always in positive syntony.   Thus, each time the pager/beeper rings, routine hima time-space is renewed, and "profane" time-space is reset and purified.

The pager/beeper as the medium for meeting someone rings in renewed time as well as ringing in a "bell-pal."   Just like Michael Ende' s *Momo*, kiddy-pals avoid the orderly routine spaces of the city and warp away from hima time to regain a sense of time-space once taken from them by the authorities.   They are electronic aerial commandos, transforming the mundane and skewered oden-like, scarecrow-like time-space into the anarchic and highly entropic world of unknown "electronic street space," filled with the potential to meet someone.

The French philosopher Henri Bergson lamented modernity's degradations, including our tendency to project time onto a numerical scale and turn it into space. With philosophical acuity, he took profane time (turned into space) and demonstrated how time could be free of the profane in the form of "pure continuity."   The contemporary youth utilize MMTs with a supra time-space domino strategy that renews the "profane" quasi-kinship space into festivity.   Just as in Miyazaki Hayao's globally popular animation movie, *Nausica of the Wind Valley*, youth will purify the daily profane space and redraw the colonial map of time and space drawn by adults.   This has strong similarity with Karl Barth's dialectical theology in which the earth is transformed into a blessed space through encountering God from moment to moment in his advent.   Kiddy-gals of course do not acknowledge the advent of God, but they do meet their bell-pals from moment to moment.   The bell-pals are no longer earthly friends, but rather spirits of heaven, or fairies, and are able to deliver God's oracle.   They divine good and bad luck, as if they were the spirits on a Ouija board, or the "supra space-time possessed pet."

MMTs have made it possible to pursue what I have been calling a supra space-

time domino strategy to avoid kinship and quasi-kinship, to rid the skewered oden spaces and scarecrow-like spaces, and to meet anew intimate strangers.   The pager/beeper grammar of syntony and distony becomes an ethnological biorhythm (in processes of festivals and healing) for people living amidst kinship, neighborhood, school relations, and company relations in an environment where one has no privacy, but much media surveillance.   The pager/beeper biorhythm is the conjunctive circular motions of repetitive horizontal oscillations between the poles of the "daily profane" and the "occasional sacred" and repetitive vertical cycles of the daily profane becoming impure, which is healed through sacred space-time intervention to restore the daily profane and refresh the inner energy of family, school, and office communities.   The human and media relationships that contemporary youth maintain within the quasi-kinship relationships seem to follow such a circulatory system of distributing the energy of the electronic aura, and in effect, of reviving time.   Aren't they capable of rejuvenating the energy of life and natural healing through electronic media and electronic spheres?

7) The instantaneous shift from boredom to awakening

The magic of the pager/beeper is infused in the media behavior of today's youth.   They are now well-versed in the rhythm of syntony, by which swing and groove are interspersed by pauses of reserve between persons and other persons, objects, media, and even spirits.

An excellent example of the rhythmic linking of syntony and distony among youth can be seen in the patterns of conduct in the popular karaoke boxes, rooms with comfortable furniture equipped with sophisticated karaoke equipment that can be rented by the hour.   People can enjoy these enclosures without alcohol because the timing and sequencing of music played and sung together is paramount; for example, the latest Amuro Namie's pop song is followed by a mournful traditional pop ballad (*enka*), which is followed by the title song for the animated film *Sailor Moon*, which gives way to a retrospective medley of old-fashioned Japanese tunes.   Because they grew up with fifteen-second TV commercials and rapid-fire music quiz shows that required guessing titles from very brief song snippets, the young generation can instantaneously and freely express syntony or distony.   Karaoke among previously unacquainted people can generate an instantaneous media biorhythm to be shared and enjoyed.

The software music game "Parapparapper" (three million units of which have been sold since December 1996) is the epitome of enjoying syntony and its rhythmic senses, which are collectively called the syntonic repertoire ("*nori-gei*").   The game requires the player to repeatedly push buttons to the syncopated rhythm of the rap music in order to make the music one's own.   Computer games are often played in a crouched position in front of a television or computer monitor; in contrast, even when played alone, "Parapparapper" is a liberating, enchanting experience of feet stomping and hips swaying and swinging.   It is quite an antidote, a "healing repertoire," for today's stresses.

While it is indeed difficult to determine just how to measure syntony, it is nonetheless an irreplaceable keyword for characterizing today's youth. As the keyword for today's youth, it cannot be replaced by any other word. It denotes both feeling and synchronizing with one's environment. It is, simultaneously, the physical and mediated performance of "riding" the conversation or the dance, or the music or a game and of "pasting together" transient relationships. When syntony continues too long, it risks becoming monotony (*hamari*, or being stuck). This is a warning sign that syntony is rapidly waning, that there a risk of depression (*ochikomi*), and that one must quickly escape (*kire* or *hajike*) that framework.

Asian sedentary farming peoples, including the Japanese, have sustained a traditional syntony with the biorhythm of rice cultivation, from planting through weeding and watering to harvesting. Whenever *ke* (the energy of life) was exhausted, impurity (=death of ke) loomed. To avoid this, the harvest was celebrated with feasting in which the first foods were offered to the gods and the excitement of the sacred (*hare*) was savored. This was the annual life cycle of human activity and energy flow. In contrast, today's youth have a biorhythm that is controlled by "timing" vis-à-vis friends and media. I suspect that the MMTs play a role as the "feeling barometer" foretelling the "syntony and distony" of the day and occasion.

8) Searching for and hiding the sister: towards the age of personality multiplication by "mating through the Internet" and by "bell-pal" friendship

Yanagita Kunio's book *The Power of the Sister* [YANAGITA 1940] is a classic study that argued for the virtues of close kinship ties in Japanese culture. Siblings are undoubtedly the most reliable relationship in times of need. However, in these current times of very low birth rates in Japan, there are not many children who have real siblings. Being an only child is the norm these days, and close friends, or what we might term "pseudo-siblings of choice," must be counted on. Indeed, one does not select siblings by blood, and they can turn out to be sources of stress. In this sense, anonymous "bell-pal" friendship serves also as a kind of "search for the sister."

In some cases, a lover or spouse is sought through the same "bell-pal" behavior. Meeting parties and game parties hosted by media personalities are in this vein, and suited for media linkage with personal information magazines, such as *Jamāru*. These can be thought of as a means to meet anew the charming other sex (of classmates and colleagues) who had been forcefully transformed into a quasi-sister (or the ugly frog), by the impure black magic of the school and company. In other words, these are strategies to "hide the sister," where off-limits and impure quasi-kin are filtered once through the pager/beeper channel to be transformed into a different character who will reemerge eligible as a sacred potential lover or spouse. This strategy requires no cover-up, because it seeks to compensate for the shortage of initiative in mating behavior because of selection stress and lack of privacy.

Georg Simmel, one of the founding fathers of sociology, claimed that "the atmosphere of the city is liberating." Cities are, in effect, social mechanisms for multiplying personalities; they are vast spatial infrastructures capable of reshuffling the "quasi-kinship" patterns so that people meet each other, once the men and women of the same village community are put through the anonymizing mechanism. However, in this age when the "global village" is about to materialize, one cannot remain anonymous even in a huge metropolis, which is about to deteriorate into a "village community where one cannot choose." MMTs are a personality multiplying medium that do not affect the limited spatial resources of urban infrastructure; however, they exponentially multiply each personal character while severely restricting the revelation of personal faces and voices to prevent the loss of anonymity. They thus constitute a controlling medium, a restricting medium, of information flow.

Nonetheless, they are also the "transformer" and "rectifier" of relationships that overlay the original anonymous relationship in the city with new ties of a city that has devolved into a village community. Just like the aliens in science fiction stories who try to invade earth by creating a city in some other dimension on the reverse side of an existing city, the MMTs are machines that manufacture "intimate strangers," by which familiar "quasi-kin" are transformed into exotic "unknown strangers." Then, it may well become superfluous to meet again someone, in person, in real space.

The alternative for the traditional "stem-family spatial principle" has not yet been created, but the spread of "mobile media literacy" will help bring the model forth. The "bell-pals" are, in a way, an alternative and anti-stem-family model of time and space, and it may be also superfluous to try to physically invent the model in real time and space.

The current state of the family was savagely depicted in the 1983 movie *Family Game*, directed by Morita Yoshimitsu, in which a middle class family sat in its bleak high-rise apartment at a narrow long table, its members side-by-side, facing outward, never having to make eye contact. Such a table is a spatial device well suited for the "bell-pals," and the popular open-air cafes can be seen as a developed form of a spatial structure opposed to the enclosed family circle.

A more recent movie by Morita Yoshimitsu, *Haru* (1995), depicted a new form of courting which I would call "personal 'computer' mating" in which the two people involved have not heard or seen each other. The mega-producer Komuro Tetsuya has predicted that to him, distant others with personal identification numbers (PINs) who match entered keyword were more important to him than close acquaintances. Such anonymity is extremely concentrated in the structure of the city. The city is where it is possible to have a larger number of personalities in a densely populated small area, an ultimate supra space-time LSI and a complete "non-space," or "semi-space."

The concentric closeness principle by which "the closer, the more intimate," and "the more intimate, the closer," is synthesized. The stalker, the unwelcome

one who stays too close, is feared and despised. In such a situation, it may well be that a chance-meeting someone that sparks passion and naive romanticism, or scheduled meeting with a go-between will become rarer and rarer. The gap between electronic and long-distance cerebral love affairs through the computer networks with indexing services by hobby or character, and the chance-meeting with a "bell-pal," suits the concept of mediated incest taboo. In the television drama, *Somebody Loves Someone* (1996), the grandma (acted by Mori Mitsuko) had two personal computers, two passwords, thus enacted two characters. Her electronic double role-playing—at times as a sensible and maternal older woman, at other times as a shy, idol-like maiden—doubly entranced men, symbolizing a futuristic style of love affair.

What women seek in a man will also change from the conventional "three lofty achievements in height, schooling, and income" (which were already extensions beyond local networks of kinship, neighborhood and company) to "hitting it off in the keyword search," where good fashion sense and broad range of topics are valued in a man. People will try to find the perfect mate by pursuing the "hit" in both keyword search and a chance-meeting.

I have thus shown the double strategy of syntony and distony, and the personality multiplication strategy that includes such behaviors as "personal 'computer' mating" and "bell-pal mobile friend procurement on the spot." It seems that Lévi-Strauss's mathematical marriage exchange system in his *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* (1949), although criticized by humanists such as Jean-Paul Sartre for its "non-humanistic structuralism" inadvertently fits the futuristic marriage model. The pager/beeper that brought forth "bell-pals" was invented in the United States in 1958, the same year that I, who have become a student of the phenomenon, was born. I am a bachelor. Will there be a day when I will attain the goal of the mating game by successfully avoiding the "mediated incest taboo," through shuffling the margins of endogamy and exogamy, and applying the "supra space-time strategy" to create a sphere of electronic marriage?

It may well be that in the twenty-first century, the Internet will force a change in the conventional voting system of indirect democracy (typically by national referendum) towards a more direct democracy where one's vote is cast internationally moment by moment, as quick as the color of the cat's pupils change. The conventional marriage system that officially claims "a contract for eternity" may be dismantled by the style of instantaneous socializing of the "bell-pals." Bertrand Russell nonplussed the mature adults of his era with his radical "anti-marriage theory." Can we survive the age of the emerging global village only mentally armed with the "global home politics" advanced by Murakami Yōichirō based on a conventional stem-family model? I doubt very much that we can.

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