A STUDY OF SOME EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIETAL INFLUENCES UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF COUNSELING SERVICES IN JAPANESE UNIVERSITIES

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Education for living with people of other cultures seems to be becoming an important objective of many of our schools. It is now recognized that an individual's cultural heritage influences his attitudes and behavior in his daily life. One's cultural heritage may also influence his acceptance of counseling as a desirable method of increasing his self-understanding and self-worth. This study attempts to learn about the cultural heritage of Japanese students who are the future leaders of one of the most important nations of the world. Much can be learned from studies of other cultures, for the continuance of our own way of life may well depend upon our understanding of other peoples, which is seen as the only escape from world conflict.

The desire of this writer to engage in a study of the Japanese culture was stimulated by the lack of obtainable information in English relating specifically to the area of counseling and personnel services in Japan. The research began as a term paper prepared for Doctor James William Batten. Doctor Batten is gratefully acknowledged for his encouragement in the original plans for a thesis and later, for immesurable advice and guidance on the technical aspects of the project. The writer extends sincere appreciation to Doctor Florence Weaver, the thesis advisor, for contributed suggestions and ideas and most of all, the patience to endure a longer than anticipated completion.

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ABSTRACT

Ronald Guy Scronce. A STUDY OF SOME EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIETAL INFLUENCES UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF COUNSELING SERVICES IN JAPANESE UNIVERSITIES. (Under the direction of Dr. Florence S. Weaver) School of Education, August 1974.

The purpose of this thesis was to obtain insights into the reasons for the establishment and subsequent development of counseling services for students in Japanese universities. The underlying aim was to reveal how certain cultural values and established patterns of education have served to influence and define the life-style of Japanese students and thus have affected the development of counseling in Japan.

A descriptive method of research was utilized to present the study. The writer acquired much of the data while visiting Japan during the Summer of 1970. Interviews were conducted with individuals in attendance at a three-day seminar on student counseling in Japan as well as with counseling personnel and university students at various universities in Japan. Other information was obtained from published and unpublished materials related to the topic.

The thesis sketches the basic conflict between traditional Japanese culture, grounded in authoritarian ideals and rules of behavior and the highly individualized value orientation on which much of present-day education has set its standards. This conflict is brought to light in the guidance and counseling of university students in Japan. The methodology and philosophy of couseling in Japan has been almost totally borrowed from the United States. The fact that the American model does

not reflect the lack of individual freedom and the inherent social responsibility which governs the behavior of Japanese students, presents a major issue for the study.

The educational structure is historically explored in Chapter II in order to gain further insight into the philosophical bases which have influenced the modern educational structure. Conclusions are given concerning the extent to which the Japanese educational structure has progressed toward a democratic system of education. Thus, some determination may be made as to the strength of the educational foundation in Japan and its ability to support a system of counseling which has been mainly developed in the United States.

Freedom of choice has been stated to be the foundation of counseling. Values which are upheld in a given society determine, to a large degree, the amount of freedom given to individuals in their decision making. With this premise in mind, Chapter III offers an historical exploration of the development of modern Japanese society and of the value systems which have been emphasized. In order to determine the degree to which individuals in present-day society have emulated the inherent values that have been characteristic of democratic societies, a review of recent literature is made which compares Japanese values and psychological traits with similar values and traits of Americans.

In Chapter IV, the focus is on the student as one prepares for and enters higher education. Also, a brief discussion on the procurement of employment is given. Comparisons are made between conditions faced by both American and Japanese students in higher education. The use of entrance examinations, the importance given to the select or elite

universities, and the importance of joining a well established firm following graduation, are seen as factors which limit the implementation of a system of counseling based on American value orientations.

The final chapter gives a summary of the planning and development stages of counseling services in Japanese universities. Emphasis is given to difficulties inherent in the adoption of an American system of counseling into the Japanese system. In conclusion, it was maintained that counseling, as a helping profession, has not yet attained a level of importance in Japanese universities. However, there appears to be possibilities for the continued development of counseling as a profession due mainly to the needs and problems of students in the rapidly changing society of Japan. There is a need for counseling personnel to create their own models based upon the value system in Japan rather than continuing to rely upon foreign methods and practices.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years efforts have been made to enlighten personnel within the guidance and counseling profession about the cultural heritage of Asians. Acquiring a better understanding of the cultural values of Asians is especially important for counselors and personnel workers who deal with students from Asian backgrounds. Recognizing the existence of potential conflicts which may not result from Western value orientations should be an essential part of the training of counselors involved with minorities representing Asian cultures.[1]

On approach for familiarizing American counselors with the Asian students' cultural background and the conflicts they experience is to explore how the counseling movement is being interpreted in various Asian societies.[2]

In Japan, the entire structure of education was altered after the end of World War II. A reorganization of the educational system was

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[1] Derald Wing Sue, ed., "Asian-Americans: The Neglected Minority," The Personnel and Guidance Journal 51, special feature (February 1973): 385-413.

[2] Marilee K. Scaff and Maria G. Ting, "Fu Tao: Guidance in Tiawan Seeks a Value Orientation," The Personnel and Guidance Journal 50 (April 1972): 645.

suggested in order to prepare that nation better for democratization.[3] In keeping with educational changes was the need to develop counseling and personnel services for students. An understanding of how the counseling movement has developed in Japan should provide insights into the value issues involved in working with Japanese and Japanese-Americans in this country.

Description of the Problem

Modern Japan has achieved great progress in the area of economic development since her defeat during World War II. Drastic changes have also occurred in the educational system to produce the manpower necessary for her economic success. The entire society has witnessed changes which have transformed a nation under totalitarian rule into a more democratic society.

The changes which have occurred have often brought about difficult problems of adjustment to individuals accustomed to the traditional way of life in Japan. With the introduction of the democratic philosophy of education into Japan following the end of World War II, greater individual freedom became prevalent among Japanese youth. Not only did there occur increased educational opportunities for youth, but there also occurred the newly found freedom of democratic expression.[4]

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[3] John Whitney Hall and Richard K. Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), p. 413.

[4] Wesley P. Lloyd, Student Counseling in Japan: A Two-Nation Project in Higher Education (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1953), pp. 12-13.

Japanese university authorities were made acutely aware of problems in student adjustment as a result of major incidents and student strikes motivated by leftist student groups during the early 1950's. The issues which were brought forth by students were aimed not only toward the university, but encompassed the political and social structure as well.[5]

One suggested remedy to the adjustment problems of students was the establishment of student personnel services, including counseling. which would involve trained personnel dealing individually and with groups of students. American faculty, well trained in student personnel services, served as technical coordinators in the establishment of counseling and personnel services in the 1950's.[6]

Over twenty years have passed since American authorities in student personnel services and counseling first went to Japan to introduce these services to the Japanese. During these twenty years, there has been a meager flow of information to the United States relating to the success or failure of counseling in Japan. However, from the information which was readily available, Japanese involved in the counseling field have found that it was not easy to initiate a program, which was developed in another country, to suit the needs of Japanese students.[7]

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[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Interview with Dr. Junichi Kobayashi, Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan, 15 June 1970.

This thesis is an effort to present an up-to-date account of the progress which has been made in the development of counseling services in Japanese universities. One of the questions to be answered is--How is the idea of counseling, largely imported from the United States, being adapted to suit the needs of students in Japan? To further understand the nature of counseling as it has developed in Japan, three additional questions must be answered:

1. What type of educational system exists in Japan? C. H. Patterson has stated, ". . .the goals and purposes of schools influence the nature of the personnel services which are seen as being desirable or necessary."[8] Some understanding of the system of education which has developed in the past as well as present day trends will thus broaden our knowledge of the emphasis given to counseling.

2. What influence(s) do Japanese cultural values have upon the adaptation of counseling into the Japanese system? Whenever an educational idea is transplanted from one nation to another it must be assimulated and reinterpreted so that it adequately serves the needs of its new cultural setting.[9]

3. What are the general conditions of universities in Japan? As a basic guide to counseling, some evaluation of the universities entrance system, academic conditions, and out-of-class activities, are necessary in order to learn of the experiences of Japanese students.

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[8]C. H. Patterson, Counseling and Guidance in Schools: A First Course (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1962), p. 6.

[9]Scaff and Ting, "Guidance in Tiawan," p. 645.

The Method and Procedure of the Investigation

The method of investigation takes the form of an historical and descriptive analysis. The procedure used is that of a series of investigations.

1. As a starting point, the historical development of the educational system in Japan will be explored. The discussion will progress unto post-World War II changes in the educational trends in present-day Japan.

2. A study will be made of the nature of Japanese traditional values and the extent to which these values and attitudes have carried over into modern Japanese society.

3. The third area of concern will be the university student in modern Japan. Efforts will be made to show how certain cultural values and traditional influences upon the university system shap and define the life styles of students.

4. The historical development of counseling services in Japanese universities will be discussed in the next chapter. An attempt will then be made to present an analysis of counseling services in present-day Japan. Previously mentioned topics will be brought into the discussion so as to determine the implications for the further development of counseling in Japan.

This thesis is presented in hopes that a clearer understanding of the unique development of counseling services in Japanese universities will be valuable to counselors and educators in the United States as well as in Japan. The chapters to follow present an American point of view of the topices outlined briefly above.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN MODERN JAPAN

The nature of counseling and personnel services is closely related to the kind of educational system which exists in a particular society. As C. H. Patterson stated, ". . .the goals and purposes of schools influence the nature of the personnel services which are seen as being desirable or necessary."[1] In order to gain some understanding of the nature of counseling services in Japan, it is useful to learn more about the Japanese system of education and how it has developed.

Much of the present day structure of education has been a post-World War II phenomenon largely influenced by the American system of education.[2] However, the changes occurring since World War II have not completely altered the traditional methods and ideas which characterized Japanese education prior to the war.[3] This chapter relates the course of some of the more important educational developments which have influenced modern education and thus the availability counseling in Japan.

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[1]C. H. Patterson, Counseling and Guidance in Schools: A First Course (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 3.

[2]Robert J. Havighurst, ed., Comparative Perspectives on Education (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968), p. 73.

[3]Ichiro Kawasaki, Japan Unmasked (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Compnay, 1969), p. 106.

Education in Japan, 1868-1945

In the modern history of Japan, there have occurred two major periods of change which have affected her system of education. The first major emphasis given to education occurred during the Restoration or Meiji Period which began in 1868 and is considered to be the beginning of modern Japan. The second major change occurred after defeat in World War II at the hands of the Allies.[4]

Education during the period which preceded the Meiji Era was geared mainly for the samurai, or ruling class.[5] During the latter years of this period, mainly the 1850's and 1860's, the relatively high standard of education which had been developed for the ruling class, as well as the spread of Western learning, greatly aided Japan's embarkation toward modernization in the Meiji Period that followed.[6]

Japan began the modernization phase of her history under the leadership of a demilitarized aristocracy that placed great emphasis upon education and economic enterprise as a means of gaining her place among the more advanced nations of the West. Proposals for change in the educational system during the early years of the Meiji Era strongly echoed Western philosophies of universalism and individualism. The Ministry of Education, established in 1871, was patterned after the system existing

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[4]Noriko Hiraki, "Counseling Japanese Students: A Study of Historical, Sociological and Psychological Backgrounds of Japanese Students Today", (Master's Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1963), p. 6.

[5]Herbert Passin, Society and Education in Japan (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965), p. 5.

[6]John Whitney Hall and Richard K. Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 386.

in France with centralized control in setting policies for the nations' schools. One of its first policies was the forming of the three-level system of education which included the elementary, secondary, and higher education levels.[7] A year later, in the Preamble of the 1872 Code of Education, provisions for education of all classes of people were stressed.[8]

The main policies which were introduced in the reformation of the educational system during the early years of the Meiji government were as follows:

1. Education was made a basic national policy for the construction of a new Japan. Not only was a revolution in the educational system planned, but many leaders hoped to accomplish cultural changes. The Westernization of Japanese culture was the goal of this movement.

2. In particular, efforts were made to introduce the French and American school system.

3. The revolution provided direction for the democratization of education and strove to make elementary education universal and compulsory.

4. Importance was placed on practical learning and on scientific instruction related to everyday life.

5. In moral education, individualistic and sometimes utilitarian morals were emphasized in place of the feudalistic morals based on 'loyalty and patroitsim.'[9]

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[7]Hiraki, "Counseling Japanese Students," p. 7, citing Tatsuo Morito, "Educational Reform and Its Problems in Postwar Japan," Teachers College Record 60 (April 1959) : 385.

[8]Passin, Society and Education in Japan, p. 55.

[9]Hiraki, "Counseling Japanese Students," citing Morito, "Reform in Postwar Japan," p. 385.

The initiation of these education reforms presented a problem to those Meiji leaders advocating change patterned after the West.[10] During the early years of the Meiji Era, educational reform was accepted somewhat docility by those leaders who had retained the traditional attitude toward change. The traditionalists had stressed authoritarianism in the educational system as a necessity for the student's personal training and discipline. According to the traditionalists, educators should maintain a position of authority in order to guide the young into appropriate behaviors. Respect for authority, according to the traditional ideal, meant that one may not disagree, may not express a contrary opinion, must in all things be properly obedient. Early educational reform relied heavily upon Western methods which stressed individuality and the fulfillment of each individuals' potential.[11] The traditional and Western philosophies thus produced contrasting ideologies.

Opposition to the reforms slowly mounted as more attention was given to American and European educational concepts. The traditionalists argued that the increasing influence from the West was causing students to become more aggressive and competitive for their own success. It was also felt that Western influence had lessened the emphasis upon state and family-centered values. Nambara has added another priority which hindered the further development of a system of education patterned after the West.

> It is true that the restoration of 1868, which ushered in modern Japan, was unique opportunity for effecting radical changes. But

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[10]Tetsuya Kobayashi, "Tokugawa Education as a Foundation of Modern Education," Comparative Education Review 9 (October 1965) : 298.

[11]Passin, Society and Education in Japan, p. 68.

> during the ensuing period of her history, namely, the Meiji Era, she was so engrossed in the work of equipping herself as a modern state that she had to subordinate all human values to tasks of immediate urgency, namely, consolidation of her national power and the acquisition of wealth.[12]

The conflict between those who wished to maintain the Japanese tradition, largely based on Confucian ideals, and those who wanted to impose the modern Western culture into the Japanese system grew progressively worse. In the Imperial Rescript of 1879, concern was expressed over the fact that indiscriminate emulation of Western ways seemed to be weakening the bonds between father and son, and hence ruler and subject. As a way of restoring national unity, a return to Confucian principles was recommended to maintain the spirit of loyalty and filial piety.[13] The final resolution of this argument was thought to have been reached in 1889 with the "strongly Emperor-centered Constitution and the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890."[14]

> The rescript fused elements of Shinto statism, Confucian ethics, and a modern attitude toward learning into a comprehensive statement on the purpose of education and the responsibilities of the citizen in the new state. It stressed the idea of education for service to the state and loyalty to the newly conceived fatherland.[15]

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[12]Shigeru Nambara, "The Ideals of Educational Reform in Japan," The Educational Record 31 (January 1950) : 6.

[13]Haruo Tsuru, "Japanese Universities in a Changing Society: A Study of Some Historical, Sociological and Psychological Bases of Student Personnel Work in Japanese Universities" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1958), p. 9.

[14]Hall and Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 397.

[15]Ibid.

The promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890 became the guiding principle for Japanese education during the next fifty years. The moral values and intellectual attainments contained in the Rescript were based on the philosophy that education should exist to serve the needs of the nation rather than the individual.[16]

The Twentieth Century, 1900-1945

The educational system which had developed during the Meiji Era was the first modern educational system in Asia.[17] Changes occurring after the Meiji Period, which ended in 1912, were modifications of the basic framework which had been established during the years 1868 to 1890.

Japanese educational goals were unified by a state directed moral education program. This compulsory moral education program (shūshin) had been motivated by a desire to create a stronger feeling of nationalism among the population. Another reason, given by Tsurumi, for shūshin was to impose the ideology of militarism among the population.[18] The Emperor was to be worshipped to the extent that the Japanese people should be ready to die for his sake. In the same manner, loyalty to the family was stressed as being an extension of the Main Family with the Emperor being the center of national life.[19]

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[16]Tsuru, "Japanese Universities," p. 65.

[17]Hall and Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 402.

[18]Kazuko Tsurumi, Social Change and the Individual: Japan Before and After Defeat in World War II (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 101.

[19]Ibid., p. 102.

The period from 1900 to 1945 was thus characterized by the ideology of nationalism which greatly influenced the educational philosophy. The aims of education during this period, as well as during the preceding Meiji Era, were prescribed as the fulfillment of the needs of the state.[20]

The system of education which fully developed during this period was characterized by various levels or tracks, all of which were geared toward preparing obedient servants for the nation.

In 1908, six years of free elementary schooling became compulsory for all children. Beyond this basic schooling, the pupil could make a decision as to the educational track of his choosing, depending upon such factors as sex, means, ability, and objectives.[21]

The academic track was reserved for the more dedicated and gifted male students usually from the upper classes in society. This track consisted of a five-year middle school, followed by a three-year higher school, and then three years of university training for those able to meet the rigid entrance requirements for each of these steps.[22]

The girl's track was characterized by somewhat lower academic requirements than was found in the boys' track. Those girls going beyond elementary school attended four or five years in secondary schools where emphasis was placed on homemaking and social graces rather than the traditional academic subjects.[23]

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[20]Tsuru, "Japanese Universities," p. 65.

[21]Hall and Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 402.

[22]Hiraki, "Counseling Japanese Students," p. 8.

[23]Hall and Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 404.

Normal schools were developed which would turn out teachers to help mold students into the cast which stressed obedience to the nation. Students of the normal schools received strict military-type training which emphasized character development and the necessity of having a strong body as well as being strong in mind.[24]

A fourth track was the vocational schools which began to be emphasized as the nation was shifting toward the heavy industries while preparing for war.[25] These technical or vocational schools allowed many youth from the lower classes to receive additional education and training. The prestige of these schools did not match that of the higher schools and universities created for the academically superior and socially elite. Graduates of the technical schools did, however, help fill the much needed positions in the higher technical and semiprofessional fields.[26]

The last track, which was created in 1935, was the Youth schools. This track provided part-time or full-time continuation education for youth who were needed to work in industry and agriculture. Military training was heavily stressed as preparations were made for the war effort. Eventually, these schools were used exclusively to provide youth with intensive military training.[27]

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[24]Passin, Society and Education in Japan, p. 89.

[25]Havighurst, Comparative Education, p. 66.

[26]Ibid., p. 69.

[27]John F. Cramer and George S. Browne, Contemporary Education: A Comparative Study of National Systems (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1965), p. 502.

In higher education, there was the establishment of six national universities and a handfull of private academics. Graduation frome one of these institutions came to be a basic requirement for those who sought important positions in society.[28] Tokyo Imperial University was, and has continued to be the most prestigious of all the universities. Among the private institutions, Keio and Waseda, which were established in 1882, served as a stepping stone for many of the elite who desired high ranking jobs.[29] Graduates of the established universities found easy access into the Japanese bureaucracy which exercised strong control over all segments of society prior to the end of World War II.

The educational system which had been established during the first two decades of the Twentieth Century remained basically the same until the end of World War II. Foreign influence and ideas were present, but they became disguised by distinctive Japanese ideologies in order to meet the needs of the state. The Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 continued to serve as the basic objective of education during this period.[30]

One of the most important contributions to education during the period from the early 1900's to World War II was the fact that all children, both of elite and common families were given a basic education. Compulsory moral education under this system served to unite the people under one goal--service to the emperor and the nation. Unfortunately,

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[28]Hiraki, "Counseling Japanese Students," p. 9.

[29]Hall and Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 407.

[30]John F. Embree, The Japanese Nation: A Social Survey (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1945), p. 132.

the desire to unite the nation was motivated by leaders who advocated ultranationalism and militarism. The Ministry of Education maintained absolute authority over all education, from the choosing of textbooks to setting curriculum. In this way, military forces in control of the Ministry of Education were able to exercise complete control over education. ". . . from the time of the Manchurian Incident of 1931, through World War II educational interests were increasingly subordinated to those interests of a nation at war . . .,"[31] and borrowing the absolute power of the order of Emperor, leading military officers sought "to eliminate liberalism among teachers and students and to replace it with faith in the national policy and Japanese spirit."[32]

As Japan became totally involved in World War II, all phases of the educational system were strictly controlled by the government. All students from the third grade on were taken out of school and put to work to assist the war effort. By the end of the war education had come to a standstill.[33]

Post-World War II Trends of Education in Japan

The Period of Occupation

Following the end of World War II, an attempt was made through joint efforts from Japanese and American leaders to re-enact the disrupted educational system in Japan. These leaders sought major revisions

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[31]Hiraki, "Counseling Japanese Students," p. 11.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid.

in the educational system. The main objective in the revisions was to prepare the Japanese people to become a democratic society.[34]

One of the most important changes brought about with the aid of United States education advisors was the abolition of the Imperial Rescript on Education and the establishment of the Fundamental Education Law in place of it.[35] The new law stressed the principle of universal and equal opportunity for all. In doing away with the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890, compulsory moral education, which played a major role in the development of the ideology of the Emperor cult, was also outlawed.[36]

United States officials suggested that the Ministry of Education, which had previously held strong control over all national, public, and private institutions, should be decentralized allowing local administration to help in setting policies.[37]

The major reforms as proposed by the United States advisors are summarized as follows:

1. A Fundamental Law of Education was to be enacted to replace the Imperial Rescript on Education which had formed the backbone of Japanese education since the late 19th Century.
2. Educational administration was to be decentralized.
3. Equality of educational opportunity was to be effected in every field.

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[34]Edwin O. Reischauer, The United States and Japan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 41.

[35]Hiraki, "Counseling Japanese Students," p. 13.

[36]Hall and Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 415.

[37]Ibid., p. 420.

4. The new system was to provide for six years at primary school, three each at junior high school and high school, and four at university.

5. New emphasis was to be placed upon independent judgment of teachers and spontaneous development of pupils.

6. The old teacher training colleges were to be abolished, with completion of the four-year university course being the new replacement.

7. State universities, provincial universities, and private universities were to be placed on an equal footing.

8. Democratic organizations such as PTA, teachers' unions and students' self-governing associations were to be recognized.[38]

The proposed reforms in the educational system were generally accepted by the Japanese leaders. However, the putting into effect of these reforms proved to be no easy task. The reforms proposed by the United States educational authorities, while paving the way for a democratic school system, were in some ways incompatible with the differing structures and ideologies of Japanese society. As difficulties have been encountered in carrying out the suggestions of the United States advisors, there has been strong criticism from both Japanese and Americans for failure to fully consider the differences in the two cultures.[39,40]

The Period of Self-Control

After the ratification of the peace treaty with the United States in 1952, the Japanese regained their sovereignity and were allowed the

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[38]Tatsuo Morito, "The Educational Reforms Reconsidered," Japan Quarterly 13 (January-March 1966) : 27.

[39]Reischauer, The United States and Japan, p. 315.

[40]Cultural values are discussed in detail in Chapter III.

complete control of their nation. Since that time those educational reforms which seemingly ran counter to historic Japanese cultural patterns have generally been disregarded. On the other hand, those reforms which are associated with traditional or emerging values in Japan have remained.[41]

The abolition of the Imperial Rescript has, according to some Japanese, taken away the virtues which might have provided a foundation of tradition in the reconstruction of Japan.[42] The rise in juvenile delinquency in the years immediately after the war was blamed by many Japanese on the loss of the traditional values which had been an important part of the Imperial Rescript and of the system of veneration to the Emperor.[43] In hopes of remedying this problem, a revised course in moral education was added to the elementary school curriculum in 1957. The purpose of this course was to encourage democracy and attitudes favorable to international cooperation rather than inculcating authoritarianism and nationalistic ideology as was done by the Imperial Rescript. However, the lack of legitimate moral lessons in the revised course has since created controversy among a wide segment of the public.[44] Although a majority of school officials are satisfied with the present emphasis

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[41]Harold G. Shane, ed., The United States and International Education in The Sixthy-eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago: The National Society for the Study of Education, 1969), p. 212.

[42]Morito, "Reforms Reconsidered," p. 28.

[43]Ibid., p. 29.

[44]The Japan Times Weekly, 30 March 1974.

placed upon moral education, government leaders have voiced the need for more intensive moral education in schools.[45]

Another reform which has failed to materialize has been the American system of decentralization. The proposal to decentralize the Ministry of Education so that local boards might play a prominent role in controlling schools has now been discarded and the Ministry of Education plays a more prominent role each year.[46]

Frequently, the clash of opinion between conservatives and their oponents in politics has focused on the issue of teachers' unions. The Japan Teachers' Union (Nikkyoso), which has about one half of the nations one million teachers as members, was formed in 1947 as an organization of primary and secondary school and university teachers. Recently, the Japanese government's conservative members have taken a strong stance toward the Union. Many government leaders feel that the Union's membership is indoctrinating their pupils with an ideology that influences students to participate in ultraradical leftist activities. The Nikkyoso has resisted government control contending that the government authorities are trying to return to the kind of education given during the era of militarism before the end of World War II.[47] This controversy remains to be resolved as government leaders and opposition forces represented by the Nikkyoso continue to debate on the issue of educational reform.

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[45]The Japan Times Weekly, 15 June 1974.

[46]W. M. Wise, "With Roots in the Sand--Japanese University Students Today," Personnel and Guidance Journal 40 (November 1961): 274.

[47]The Japan Times Weekly, 30 March 1974.

Changes in the Field of Higher Education

Two major changes were proposed in the field of higher education following the end of World War II. (1) To do away with the monopoly of Teidai (Imperial Universities), and (2) to provide young people with a maximum opportunity for college education.[48]

As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, graduates of the national or Imperial universities and of the more prestigious private universities had exercised a monopoly on the important positions in the Japanese bureauracy prior to the end of World War II. Newer universities had not developed due to the strong influence of the Imperial and select private universities which attracted virtually all qualified Japanese applicants.[49]

Entrance requirements for the Imperial universitites had become extremely difficult since applicants far outnumbered the available facilities. It was estimated that less than one percent of the student population was able to gain entrance into the universities just prior to the end of World War II.[50]

American and Japanese officials attempted to change this situation by doing away with the Imperial or national universities and creating new institutions of higher education which would allow more young people the opportunity to enter the university setting.[51]

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[48]Robert Schinzinger, "Educational Problems of Contemporary Japan," The Japanese Image 1 (1965) : 51.

[49]Tsuru, "Japanese Universities," p. 316.

[50]Reischauer, The United States and Japan, p. 266.

[51]Hall and Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 417.

Hopes of lessening the influence of the national and leading private universities by the creating of additional universities did not materialize. One reason was that the demand for higher education grew faster than the rate at which additional space at newly created universities could be established. Another reason which limited the demand for newly established private universities was the added expense which narrowed applicants to students from wealthier families. The major factor which has continued to spur the number of applicants to the national and private universities which had existed prior to the war is the continuation of the academic cliquism of employers who offer the best positions to the graduates of the schools which they themselves have attended.[52] The prestige of Tokyo University and other former national universities today is even greater than in pre-war years. The scholastic standards of hundreds of other newly founded universities are kept inferior as the best high school graduates compete in the entrance exams for Tokyo and other leading universities. The examinations are used as a means of controlling the large numbers of students who seek access to the more prestigious institutions and thus are able to acquire the more desirable jobs following graduation. The cliquism which has resulted between graduates of the prestigious universities and those in control of business and government has led to a severe inequality of opportunity for many students.[53]

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[52]Tsuru, "Japanese Universities," p. 316.

[53]Kazuo Okochi, "Japanese University Problems," Japan Quarterly 14 (October-December 1967) : 430.

Plans have been suggested for further reforming the university system in order to deal with the problems mentioned above. For example, the creation of more rural colleges has been urged in order to allow the ever-increasing number of youths seeking higher education the opportunity to be educated in their own area rather than in the over-crowded and more prestigious universities which are located in the urban centers.[54] This plan has been opposed, however, by government leaders who wish to de-emphasize the importance of university diplomas and advocate curtailing the growth of universities.[55]

Another change brought about by the American occupation was the adopting of the "well-rounded curriculum" concept from United States universities. Specific general education courses were introduced and a minimum of thirty-six unites was made a requirement in all accredited universities.[56] This adoption has led to numerous problems. There has been continuing opposition to the requirement of general education as taking up time that could be used for specialization. Students often join in the opposition by voicing the opinion that general education requirements are little more than a repeat of subjects studied in high school.[57] While the inadequacies of this system have been realized, authorities feel that general education should not be abolished. Rather, the distinction between general and specialized education should be done

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[54] The Japan Times Weekly, 4 June 1974.

[55] The Japan Times Weekly, 30 March 1974.

[56] Pauline Tompkins, "Revolution in Asian Education: Postwar Trends in the Far East," Journal of Higher Education 30 (October, 1959) : 51.

[57] Hall and Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan, p. 418.

away with by integrating major and related subjects from general education taking into account students' future careers and other factors as well.[58]

Aside from efforts to create additional facilities and improved curriculums is the felt need to alter the educational setting for university training. Academic life in Japan had been characterized by a scholastic formality between professors and students that had its counterpart in the German system.[59] The European concept of instilling the qualities of leadership into a selected number of students from elite backgrounds had created an atmosphere of strict obedience and largely unquestioned respect for the profressor and other university authorities.[60] "This concept did not emphasize social factors as an important aspect of the student's intellectual growth nor concern itself with the individual as the most important single factor in the educative process."[61] The widespread availability of higher education along with substantial increases in the number of students from the societies' lower strata have forced the university system to alter the scholastic formality which existed prior to the end of World War II. However, the remaining influence of pre-war philosophies which strongly emphasized academics has also been

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[58] Educational Policy and Planning: Japan (Paris: Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 1973), p. 258.

[59] Wesley P. Lloyd, Student Counseling in Japan: A Two-Nation Project in Higher Education (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1953), p. 9.

[60] Ibid., p. 12.

[61] Wesley P. Lloyd, Student Personnel Services in Japan (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1957), p. 2.

an obstacle in creating a democratic environment for higher education. The result of these conflicting views has resulted in a lack of understanding and interaction between faculty and students. This conflict has persisted with violent repercussions--scenes of disorder in universities and public demonstrations and riots.[62]

Early attempts, during the 1950's, to provide solutions to the problems created by student unrest included training by American educational authorities for faculty and administration in the technical phases of student personnel work, including counseling. It was felt that the issues involved could not be met intelligently without a technical study of students and their problems. According to American advisors, such a study and the organized control growing from it could be accomplished best throught the creation of a major administrative unit within the universities, which would provide counseling and other out-of-class services to students.[63]

Student movements, which reached a peak in 1960 and again in 1968, have persisted in spite of efforts to establish counseling and other student personnel services within the universities. Evidence indicates that these services are not developing into important channels of communication between students and faculty.[64]

Educational authorities have continued to stress the need for education to meet the needs of individual development and individual

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[62]Kawasaki, Japan Unmasked, p. 106.

[63]Wesley P. Lloyd, "Student Personnel Services in Japan," The Educational Record 34 (July 1953) : 282-283.

[64]Wise, "With Roots in the San," p. 275.

aptitudes of students.[65] However, more authoritarian measures have been taken to eliminate student unrest in recent years.[66]

Whether the fundamental democratic objectives, which are stressed by many educational leaders will be met, or whether a further reversion to traditional methods of education occurs is still a question that remains to be answered.

Summary

The preceding discussion of educational developments occurring in modern Japan has pointed out two major periods of change which have effected the development of education. The first of these changes occurred during the early Meiji Era of the 1870's. The second major period of change occurred after defeat at the hands of the Allies during World War II. In several respects, the changes or reforms in the educational policies of the late forties resembled the reforms of the educational system made in the early Meiji Era:

1. They were treated as a basic matter of national policy, providing a spiritual backing for the rebuilding of the nation;
2. They aimed at a second wave of Westernization in the process of Japan's modernization, aimed this time at democratization;
3. Accordingly, they did not stop at reform of the system as such but also sought to renew the whole guiding spirit behind education, though this time the models for the reforms of various aspects of the system were to be sought chiefly in America;

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[65] Educational Standards in Japan (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, Government of Japan, 1971), p. xvii.

[66] Ibid., p. 39.

4. The emphasis in actual education was to be on the practical necessities of life and on an individualistic morality.[67]

A similarity can also be noted in the manner in which Japanese leaders embraced the influx of Western ideas during both periods of change. During the Meiji Era, much attention was given to American and European educational concepts. However, as these ideas from the West were put into practice, strong opposition from traditionalists forced a return to Confucian principles in order to maintain the spirit of loyalty and filial piety among the people.[68] During the rebuilding period following World War II, the system of education was reorganized and simplified in keeping with a more democratic educational objective.[69] Changes of Japanese educational policies since the post-war thrust toward democracy have been seen by some as a return to traditional policies which prevailed prior to the end of World War II. Thus the trends of post-World War II educational reform may be compared with the reforms during the Meiji Era.[70]

One of the changes brought on by the move toward democratic educational objectives has been the introduction of services which meet the out-of-class needs of students. Among these services is the system of guidance and counseling which has been developed in the United States. Due to the newness of the field of counseling in Japan, it is not easy to determine whether or not this service will be blended into the new democratic system of education. We may conclude, however, that the

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[67]Morito, "Reforms Reconsidered," p. 27.

[68]Tsuru, "Japanese Universities," p. 9.

[69]Lloyd, "Student Services in Japan," p. 282.

[70]Wise, "With Roots in the Sand," p. 273.

Japanese system of education with its own historical background does not necessarily provide favorable ground for the development of a system of counseling based upon United States educational objectives.[71]

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[71]Hiraki, "Counseling Japanese Students," p. 54.

CHAPTER III

CULTURAL VALUES IN JAPANESE SOCIETY

In the previous chapter, it was pointed out that counseling services are related to the kind of educational system which exists in a particular society. To go one step further, it may also be said that the type of educational system which exists must be based on the philosophies that reflect the cultural values of the society in which these systems or practices are utilized.[1]

Western civilization, including the American culture, has derived its ultimate values from the basic concept of Christianity which proclaims the inherent worth and integrity of each individual. It goes without saying that this same value system has been an influencing factor upon the American system of education and the development of counseling which has emphasized the inherent worth of the individual and his freedom of choice.[2]

To understand how the counseling movement is being interpreted in Japan, it is helpful to have some understanding of the value orientations which have influenced Japanese society and culture.

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[1]C. H. Patterson, "The Place of Values in Counseling and Psychotherapy," Journal of Counseling Psychology 5 (Fall 1958) : 216-223.

[2]James B. Conant, Education in a Divided World (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 96.

An examination of some of the value orientations from which counseling has been derived in the United States is helpful in order to have a basis for assessing and better understanding the adoption of the American system of counseling into the Japanese educational structure.

The anthropologist, E. Adamson Hoebel, has given a combination of four values which have come to dominate the American way of life.

1. The Notion of Progress. Material and social conditions are constantly improvable. There is constant desire for change.

2. A Rational Universe. In general we prefer to apply the scientific method rather than to rely on chance or mysticism. We act as if we believed that man directs his own destinies.

3. Equal Opportunity. Each person should have the opportunity to exercise his special abilities in a manner that is personally satisfying and socially useful. Among the consequences of this belief are the ideal of universal education, a distrust of authority, a fluid status system, and an intense desire to "succeed".

4. Looking Ahead. The American value system is future-oriented. We are seldom satisfied with what we have and always tend to believe that we can improve.[3]

Anthropologists have pointed out that every society in history has chosen one institution to dominate all others. "That is, each society holds to a particular value orientation that serves its basic foundation, its universal core." Above all, Americans have valued the individual as a being of worth and dignity and respected the freedom of each individual to become all that is is possible for him to become.[4]

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[3]Summarized from C. Gilbert Wrenn, The Counselor in a Changing World (Washington, D. C.: American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1962), p. 1.

[4]James A. Peterson, Counseling and Values: A Philosophical Examination (Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Co., 1970), p. 14.

In the United States, services which provide for the effective guidance and counseling of students have come to be recognized as an indispensable part of an educational system dedicated to the continuation of the value system that characterizes the American way of life.[5]

In Japan, there are obvious differences between the traditional Japanese culture and the more recent democratic structure which has been introduced since the end of World War II. In the remainder of this chapter, an attempt will be made to point out some of these differences so as to better understand the value orientations upon which the counseling movement in Japan is being developed.

The Individual in Traditional Japanese Society

In Japan, the individual has been historically de-emphasized. During the feudal era (19600-1853), the individual was identified with, and responsible to some particular individual higher than himself in the social hierarchy. The type of hierarchy which became firmly established during this period had developed earlier from the distinctions made among the various classes in the social structure.[6] Highest virtue was found in serving one's master rather than satisfying one's own personal desires. Such virtues as self-renunciations, self-annihilations, and unselfishness developed fron one's devoted service to his superior. One's own happiness or unhappiness was not taken into consideration. As Jean Stoetzel has pointed out, happiness, which has so often been the goal for

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[5]Conant, Education in a Divided World, p. 204.

[6]Yoshiharu Scott Matsumoto, Contemporary Japan (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1960), p. 7.

Americans, has not been a worthy goal for individuals in traditional Japanese society. Pleasures for oneself are legitimate provided they are considered of minor importance, but if the pursuit of pleasure becomes more important than one's obligation to his superior, then a serious loss of dignity occurs for the individual concerned.[7]

The stress upon devoted loyalty to one's superior led to a high degree of tolerance in facing demands which often meant sacrificing one's personal ambitions. The "Shikataganai" (can't be helped) attitude, along with the general inclination to avoid taking the initiative or assuming responsibility without the expressed desire of one's superior, became characteristic Japanese attitudes.[8]

Due to the policy of isolationism during the feudal era of Japanese history, virtually no influence was introduced into Japanese culture which compared with the theory of individualism. From an American viewpoint, the entire Japanese society was based upon a slave-master, or more specifically, a superior-inferior premise.

The Role of the Family in the Hierarchical System

In the traditional Japanese society, piety to one's parents and ancestors was the most important virtue, other than one's moral obligations to his superior outside the family. During the seventeen and eighteen hundreds, the guiding principle for moral life was the Confucian doctrine

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[7]Jean Stoetzel, Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 63.

[8]Ingeborg Wendt, "Understanding the Japanese Mind," in The Japanese Image, eds. Maurice Schneps and Alvin Coox (Tokyo: Orient/West Publishers, 1966), p. 63.

which stressed loyalty and respect for parents.[9] It was difficult to make a distinction between the hierarchic structure in society and that in the family. Two things were required in each. One was obedience of the inferior and the other was consideration on the side of the superior.[10]

The father as the head of the household maintained strong authoritarian control over other family members. The eldest son, who inherited the family property and became the head of the household upon the retirement or death of the father, ranked next to the father in importance.[11] As was prescribed by Confucian virtues, the unity and continuity of the family must be maintained through the eldest son. In cases in which there was no son to pass the inheritance on to, the yōshi system (adopted son or husband) was established in order to have an heir for the household. Younger sons were subordinate to the elder brother and were seldom allowed to own any of the family property.[12]

The role of women in the family system was far inferior to that of men. Young girls were taught to care for small children and to carry on household type work. When a daughter married, she no longer was a part of her family but became a member of her husband's family. When a

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[9]Hori Ichiro, The Japanese Mind: Essentials of Japanese Philosophy and Culture, ed. Charles A. Moore (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1967), p. 238.

[10]Haruo Tsuru, "Japanese Universities in a Changing Society: A Study of Some Historical, Sociological and Psychological Bases of Student Personnel Work in Japanese Universities" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1958), p. 99.

[11]James C. Abegglen, The Japanese Factory: Aspects of its Social Organization (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), p. 136.

[12]Herbert Passin, Society and Education in Japan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 158.

bride entered a new family, she was expected to show by hard work and obedience that she was deserving of family membership. In many ways she was regarded as an adopted daughter. She was chosen by the head of the household, not by her husband, on the basis of her willingness and ability to work hard and to produce and rear a desirable heir.[13]

Influence of Religion

In a discussion of traditional Japanese culture, some mention should be made of religion. The three main religions of Japan were Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shinto. These three became more ethical codes than religions as such. In Japan, the doctrines from these religions came to be stressed or de-emphasized according to the desires of the ruling class. Most notably, doctrines from these religions pointed out the necessity of obligations of inferior to superior.[14]

In America, cultural heritage, and political and social institutions have been shaped by a belief in absolute values derived from religious philosophy. The Japanese are devoid of any such religious background. For example, in the Japanese language, there are no root words for "good and evil."[15] There has been no supernatural being to place controls on individual thinking and behavior. What plays an important role for the Japanese is not religion or philosophy but a very human

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[13]Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1966), p. 167.

[14]Robert N. Bellah, Tokugawa Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), pp. 54-55.

[15]Frank Gibney, Five Gentlemen of Japan (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953), p. 16.

morality. "A feeling that 'I must do this because they are also doing it "or" because they will laugh at me unless I do so' rules the life of individual persons with greater force than anything else . . ."[16]

A comparison of the doctrines expounded by the religious doctrines of Christianity with Japanese religions leads to one basic conclusion. Christianity, with its emphasis on the "free will" of men, did much to influence the American concept of individualism.[17] Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism, as interpreted in Japanese society laid heavy emphasis upon one's obligation to others such as family members, elders, and superiors. Shame before fellow men, not shame before God, deominated the moral behavior of the Japanese.[18]

Modern Japan: Aspects of Change in Societal Values

Modern Japan, which is considered to have officially begun under Emperor Meiji in 1868, inherited a code of behavior which considered loyalty as the highest of all virtues. Loyalty to the regional rulers, or shoguns, which had been the accepted pattern of behavior in the previous period of history, was shifted to interest toward the emperor as the head of the united nation.[19] The political leaders of the Meiji government fully realized that Japan lagged far behind the leading nations

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[16]Chie Nakane, Japanese Society (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), p. 150.

[17]Carlton E. Beck, Philosophical Foundations of Guidance (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 21.

[18]CBS News, "The Japanese," 1969, narrator, Edwin O. Reischauer.

[19]John W. Bennett, Herbert Passin, and Robert K. McKnight, In Search of Identity: The Japanese Overseas Scholar in America and Japan (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1958), p. 80.

of the West in the modernization process. This gap in development had resulted from the nation's long period of isolation from the outside world as well as the lack of a strong central government. In order to compete with Western nations, Meiji leaders sought to unite the populace under one central government headed by the emperor. At the same time, efforts were taken to preserve certain traditional values which would aid in the transition to a modern nation. The following comments by Saniel describe the continuation of certain traditional values which were utilized in the modernization process:

> To modernize Japan, the leaders of the Meiji period--the Meiji oligarchs--sought within their society values meaningful to the Japanese that could serve both as mainsprings of motivation for the people to support modernization and as sanctions for necessary social changes entailing sacrifices and painful adjustments. The traditional values mobilized were the concepts of the emperor system and the family system. Both systems were powerful sources of motivation for conscious and purposeful action toward certain ends by means of the Confucian values of loyalty and filial piety.[20]

Thus, it is seen that the value system which developed during the Meiji era was structured from the pre-existing traditional values. This does not, however, imply that Western values did not have an effect upon Japanese society during the modernization period. During the early years of the Meiji Restoration, American and European influence was strong, although emphasis in the renewal of Japanese tradition later marked the full maturity of the Meiji system.[21] More emphasis was placed on the dignity of the individual man. Changes in the educational system

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[20]Josefa M. Saniel, "The Mobilization of Traditional Values in the Modernization of Japan," in Religion and Progress in Modern Asia, ed. Robert N. Bellah (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 125.

[21]Marius B. Jansen, ed., Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 70.

allowed many to move up in the hierarchy which had been so rigidly structured and had allowed little opportunity for individual achievement prior to the Meiji era. Japanese youth were urged to emulate Western qualities of self-reliance and individual responsibility in order to produce a more open and flexible society.[22] The idea of competition was blended into the culture as an avenue toward improving the industrial society.[23] Outwardly, the Japanese seemed to be moving toward becoming "westernized". Inwardly, however, the people were reluctant to accept the values that went along with modernization. Robert Jay Lifton has pointed out that the Japanese were unique during the Meiji Restoration, as well as the years following, in the combination of eagerness, quick-mastery, and inner resistance with which they embraced Western influences.[24] The ethics that went along with the Western influence placed amphasis on the dignity of the individual man and meant freedom of self-expression. The old ethics, carried over from traditional Japan, emphasized virtues of self-restraint, self-denial, and ascetic discipline.[25] The combination of eagerness, quickmastery, and inner resistance

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[22]Kenneth B. Pyle, ed., The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 1.

[23]Donald H. Shively, "A Confucian View," in Jansen, Attitudes Toward Modernization, p. 197.

[24]Robert Jay Lifton, "Individual Patterns in Historical Change: Imagery of Japanese Youth," The Journal of Social Issues 20 (October 1964) : 96.

[25]Minoru Kiyota, "Buddhism in Postwar Japan--A Critical Survey," Monumenta Nipponica 24 (1969) : 136.

let to great achievements in science, technology, and economy, but from a psychological point of view, the Japanese still belonged to her feudal past.[26]

Individual Freedom in the Twentieth Century: 1890-1945

Imperial Japan with its multiple bureaucracies provided an unlikely home for development of individual conscience.[27] Advancement in international politics demanded heavy sacrificies on the part of the people, especially those among the lower strata of society. New stress was placed on loyalty to the emperor and the divine mission of Japan through active efforts by the government to promote Shinto. The attempt was made to maintain tight ideological control of the populace by stressing the ethnocentric belief that Japan was to rule over the world.[28] Standardized public school textbooks were developed and first introduced in 1903 which, in effect, served to fix the attitudes of the youth. Mythology, from which the Shinto religion was based, was taught as the truth to lower school students. Those who were critical of the policy of the government and who preferred to advocate Western attitudes of individual spirit, were frequently reprimanded when interference with Japan's divine mission was encountered.[29] "The result was a thoroughly

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[26]Wendt, "Understanding the Japanese Mind," p. 64.

[27]Jansen, Japanese Attitudes, p. 82.

[28]Joseph M. Kitagawa, Religion in Japanese History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 261.

[29]Janesn, Japanese Attitudes, p. 81.

disciplined and obedient people ready to make every sacrifice for the glory of its country."[30]

A combination of Japan's traditional history, recent industrial development, and fear of invasion, led to increased distrust of Western nations and the development of a strong sense of national unity. Japan began to ignore attempted restrictions by Western powers to control military forces. Military success in 1904 over Russia and again in World War I served to strengthen the Japanese spirit. By the late 1920's strong militaristic control by the Japanese government served to stifle any further development of individual freedom among the Japanese people. This situation grew progressively worse until the beginning of World War II when the Japanese people became totally involved in the war effort.[31]

Post World War II Attitudes

During the time which has elapsed from the end of World War II in 1945 until the present time, Japan has seen a miraculous rise in her economy. In the face of a rapidly growing economy has been the emergence of a relatively stable social order. Many authorities feel that there has occurred a drastic change in the value orientation of Japanese society

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[30]Noriko Hiraki, "Counseling Japanese Students: A Study of Historical, Sociological and Psychological Backgrounds of Japanese Students Today" (Master's Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1963), p. 11, quoting Theodore Huebener, "Has Japanese Education Been Democratized?" High Points 42 (February 1960) : 71.

[31]John Whitney Hall and Richard K. Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), pp. 172-173.

from militarism and fascism to pacifism and democracy.[32] However, since democracy was superimposed on the Japanese by compulsion by American authorities, the question arises as to how well have the values that go along with democracy been accepted by the Japanese people.

Modern-day Japanese attitudes have been studied considerably in terms of the related personality and sociological variables that exemplify current attitudes.[33]

As a way of summarizing some of the important characteristics of Japanese culture which existed at the end of World War II, some attention will be given to the observations of Ruth Benedict found in The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, published in 1946.

Benedict stressed the point that the whole social structure of Japan was dictated by a concept of hierarchy.[34] This concept, developed during the feudal era, maintained a complex network of obligations which greatly influenced the behavior patterns of the Japanese.[35] With particular homage being given to elders and to those of higher social status, the children and old people enjoyed the greatest freedom in this social system. This pattern was in direct contrast with the West, where the maximum degree of freedom of choice occurs only after one reaches

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[32]Kazuko Tsurumi, Social Change and the Individual: Japan Before and After Defeat in World War II (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 214.

[33]Bernard S. Silberman, Japanese Character and Culture: A Book of Selected Readings (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1962), p. vii.

[34]Stoetzel, Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword, p. 56.

[35]Ibid., p. 63.

maturity, and prior to old age. This situation in Japan is described as follows:

> The fact that a man is at the peak of his physical strength and at the peak of his earning powers does not make him master of his own life. They have great confidence that restraint is good mental training and produces results not attained by freedom.[36]

The educational system in Japan, being almost totally controlled by the government, had maintained the complex system of obligations and respect toward elders and superiors. Benedict regarded the Imperial Rescript on Education, which stressed among other things absolute obedience to the Emperor, to be the most important of all mandates forced upon Japanese youth.[37]

At the time when Ruth Benedict's analysis was being published, the enforcers of the American occupation in Japan were in the process of putting into effect a number of reforms. The object of these reforms was ". . . to reduce the excessive pressure of authority on the individual, in his family relationships, in his work and in civic and private life."[38]

In 1952-52, after some of the effects of the reforms had been reached, Jean Stoetzel, a French social psychologist, undertook a UNESCO-sponsored study whose main objective was to study the attitudes of the Japanese adolescent and young adult. Stoetzel found the Japanese to be evolving toward personal independence. However, this was not being done

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[36]Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), p. 254.

[37]Ibid., p. 209.

[38]Stoetzel, Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword, p. 20.

without some difficulties:

> Young people are not becoming more autonomous than their elders because they find within themselves, and in the small familiar group around them, obstacles which are difficult for them to overcome. This state of affairs produces unawareness, which is a condition detrimental to the normal functioning of the personality. Thus the perpetuation of old established traits . . . may well produce a degree of repression and give rise to neuroses.[39]

Goodman conducted a survey of educational aspirations among elementary school children of Japan and the United States in the 1950's. Goodman concluded that Japanese children were markedly less self-centered and egocentric than American children. Goodman, making reference to others who had studied Japanese culture at that time, pointed out that similar conclusions were made.

> The Japanese individual does not think of himself as autonomous, and it is his duties and obligations rather than his rights which are stressed; his attention is deflected away from self and toward family, community, and the wider society.[40]

Berrien surveyed the findings of seven independent studies completed during the early 1960's, each of which compared Japanese and American attitudes. Berrien concluded that ". . . the Japanese in comparison with Americans as being more deferent, more respectful of and dependent upon high status persons, more self-abasing . . . ." Berrien further concludes:

> It is evident that the external signs of Occidental influence and the political democratic structures established by the post-war Occupation are not matched by internalized values, which many believe are a bedrock upon which a democratic society rests. If large groups

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[39] Ibid., p. 232.

[40] Mary Ellen Goodman, "Values, Attitudes, and Social Concepts of Japanese and American Children," in Silberman, Japanese Character, p. 258. See bibliography for references made by Goodman (e.g., Norbeck 1954; Haring 1949; Caudill and DeVos 1956).

> of a population accept unflinchingly and uncritically the directives that come from above and in turn believe it unseemly to initiate actions to deal with local problems, or proper to offer their wisdom to higher status persons, then one could not expect such a society to function democratically. . . . Nominally, Japan is democratic, yet it retains many well ingrained personal values that appear to contribute to the traditional, nondemocratic prewar social patterns.[41]

Matsumoto, using data from post-war public opinion polls, concluded that behavior and conduct in Japan still tend to be dependent upon specific relationships, usually between a superior and inferior. Matsumoto further concluded that the American emphasis on individual happiness, individual interests, and self-concern still seems overly selfish and egotistical to the ordinary Japanese.[42]

Robert J. Lifton, in an article concerning political activists among present day youth in Japan, states ". . . individuals are not psychologically prepared to accept the ideas of self-realization and personal autonomy that go along with Western value systems."[43] The Japanese youth ". . . has been molded by a culture laying heavy stress upon the achievement of inner harmony through following closely presecribed emotional paths within a carefully regulated group structure."[44] Japanese youth, in their eagerness to break away from traditional ideologies, have often rebelled against familism and the social hierarchy that have controlled their parents' lives. At the same time, there is a feeling of

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[41] F. K. Berrien, "Japanese vs. American Values," The Journal of Social Psychology 65 (1965) : 190.

[42] Matsumoto, Contemporary Japan, p. 60.

[43] Lifton, Individual Patterns," p. 105.

[44] Ibid.

resentment toward the United States for "weakening the Japanese nation" by destroying the system which has built Japan. The resultant condition, not wanting to accept fully American ideologies that go along with the present day structure of Japanese society, and trying to break away from traditional influences, has left the Japanese youth in a search for a "new selfhood."[45]

The social anthropologist, Dr. Chie Nakane, in her Japanese Society, has synthesized the major distinguishing features of present-day Japanese society. The vertical principle, referring to the distinctive relation an individual or a group has to other individuals or groups, forms the most characteristic feature of Japanese social organization. The Japanese value system is mainly determined by this unique kind of relationship.[46]

In the type of society which is described by Nakane, individual autonomy is sacrificed in order to establish one's identity within a group framework. For example, among university graduates, what matters most, and functions the strongest socially, is not whether one has obtained an advanced degree or excelled in his academic endeavor, but rather from which uniersity he graduated.[47] In addition, one seeks employment not on the basis of his ability to perform a specific job, nor on the prospects of steady wage increases. Rather, the most important aspect of employment involves the status and prestige that are afforded

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[45]Ibid., p. 102.

[46]Chie Nakane, Japanese Society (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), p. x.

[47]Ibid., p. 10.

those who are employed by companies or organizations which have become well established in the hierarchal structure. Thus the criterion by which Japanese classify individuals socially tends to be that of particular institution, rather than of universal attribute.[48]

Cultural Factors in The Counseling Process

In the United States, counseling has rapidly developed as a professional human helping endeavor. The keen professional and scientific interest in guidance and counseling has been atrributed to a breakdown in traditional values and social prestige which once provided an effectual means of meeting the needs of society.[49]

In American society, for example, the importance of the family has lessened as the society has moved toward urbanization and industrialization. American youth, to a large degree, is free from parental influence in such important decisions as choosing a marriage partner or choice of a career while individual achievement or success usually comes from individual effort rather than from family lineage. The philosophy behind the American educational system, as well as the system of guidance and counseling, has supported the belief that each individual should be free from traditional cultural and societal restraints so that each individual may develop his own potentialities to hus upmost ability.[50]

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[48] Ibid., p. 3.

[49] George Kneller, "A Worldly View of Guidance and Counseling," The Journal of Higher Education 27 (March 1956) : 159.

[50] William M. Proctor, Educational and Vocational Guidance: A Consideration of Guidance as it Relates to all of the Essential Activities of Life (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), pp. 5-6.

There seems to be a basic contrast between traditional Japanese culture grounded on authoritarian ideals and rules of behavior, and the highly individualized value orientation upon which the counseling movement has developed in America. In the Japanese society, individual autonomy is sacrificed in order to establish one's identity within a group framework.

> The Japanese culture values the individual who subordinates himself. The individual who sacrifices himself to avoid conflict even when his position may be justified is frequently looked upon with commendation.[51]

It is readily seen that the social conditions and the traditional structure of Japanese society differ radically from those of the United States. It would thus seem that the greatest imaginable ingenuity is required in adapting the methods of counseling which have developed in the United States to the needs of Japanese society.[52] With this statement as a realization, this discussion will now turn to an inquiry of the problems and characteristics of students in Japanese universities.

Summary

In conclusion, this outline of the social organization of traditional and modern Japanese society has shown that the primary motivation factor in the behavior of individuals was connected with selfless devotion to one's superior. The feudalistic background has been compared with European cultures which had emphasized the closeness of family ties

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[51]Edward Kaneshige, "Cultural Factors in Group Counseling and Interaction," Personnel and Guidance Journal 51 (February 1953) : 410-411.

[52]Tsuru, "Japanese Universities," p. xiv.

and the state as opposed to the individual in their development. A contrast between the developing Japanese culture and American culture might be summarized in the observation that the former discourages individualism, whereas individualism provided the major dimension of the development of American culture.[53]

The great sense of duty or respect among all levels of Japanese society toward older and higher status persons which existed prior to the end of World War II still governs the attitudes and behavior of individuals in post-World War II Japanese society to a large degree according to the evidence presented.

In America, there has not existed any such social obligation toward other individuals. Man has felt the need to direct his own destiny in a manner that is personally satisfying without having to conform to rigid cultural standards. The guidance and counseling system which has developed in the United States has been based upon the concept of freedom of choice. In other words, one of the goals of counseling is the continuation and extension of the freedom of choice which allows individuals to determine their own destinies.[54]

In the adopting of the American system of counseling into the Japanese societal and educational structures, it is important that due consideration be given to the differences in the two cultures in regards to counseling practices. The scarcity of cultural values such as freedom

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[53]Robert F. Winch and Robert McGinnis, eds., Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1953), p. 62.

[54]Akpan Esen, "A View of Guidance from Africa," The Personnel and Guidance Journal 50 (June 1972) : 795.

of choice, individual initiative, and the worth and dignity of the individual in Japan obviously make the approach to counseling quite different from that in the United States.

Chapter IV

ASSESSING THE NEEDS OF STUDENTS IN JAPANESE UNIVERSITIES

In Japan, as in America, the goal of obtaining a college education is highly sought after by youth in hopes of increasing the opportunity for gaining an important position in society. With more than 800 institutions of higher learning now existing in Japan, advanced education is available to a larger percentage of high school graduates than in any other country in the world outside the United States.[1]

The rapid growth in the quantity of institutions of higher learning since the end of World War II has largely resulted from American influence in Japan. American educational authorities had encouraged the growth of higher education for two main purposes, as pointed out earlier in the discussion of the development of education. The first purpose was to allow more students the opportunity to receive higher education. As shown by the increase in the number of students attending institutions beyond high school, great progress has been made toward meeting this goal of universal education. The second purpose was to lessen the desire of students to attend the more highly esteemed national or private universities which developed their high

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[1]Kazuo Okohi, "Japanese University Problems," Japan Quarterly 14 (October-December 1967) : 429.

prestige prior to World War II. The realization of the second purpose has not yet affected Japanese youth, who continue to seek entrance into the high prestige universities with increasing numbers.[2] Along with this situation is the argument that students, who attend the institutions which have been established by the quantitative expansion, are given a "watered down" education lacking in quality.[3]

In Japan, more than in America, it is important not only to attend just any university, but the best university.[4] This trend, as was discussed in Chapter II, is a carry over from pre-war as well as post-war years when graduates of the best known universities received the most desirable jobs. The existence of university cliques in Japan is so well developed that the student who has graduated from a top-ranking university is almost guaranteed assessibility to high levels of status and success. The tendency for the leading industrial and business firms to recruit graduates from the highest-ranked universities has become so strong that graduates of less prestigious universities are, in many cases, not considered for employment, regardless of their qualifications.[5] The results of this situation have had a profound effect upon students as well as the entire educational system as described by Anderson.

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[2]Chie Nakane, Japanese Society (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), p. 113.

[3]The Japan Times Weekly, 18 May 1974.

[4]Edward Seidensticker, Japan (New York: Time Incorporated, 1961), p. 134.

[5]Nakane, Japanese Society, p. 113.

> Facing this sort of exclusiveness, students felt they had to acquire the label of one of the great schools or be content with more limited opportunities. Soon the number of applicants to the top universities far outnumbered those that could be accommodated; so examinations were devised to keep students out. Since certain secondary schools were more successful than others in getting their graduates past the university entrance examinations, they in turn became preferred schools, and built tougher and tougher examinations for entrance to their schools in order to select the best candidates and thus maintain their reputation. The result was a chain reaction down the educational line until it reached the extreme of forcing preferred elementary schools, and even kindergartens (mostly 'attached schools' to the great schools) to require entrance examinations.[6]

Entrance Examinations

Perhaps the most difficult periods in the lives of students are centered around the examinations which are taken just prior to and at the end of their university careers.[7] Pressure to do well in school, particularly in relation to entrance examinations, however, begins early in the students' lives. The common feeling among parents, "Because I could not go to college and I ended up at the bottom of the barrel, I wish to have my children succeed," is probably stronger in Japan that in any other society.[8] Since great importance is given to the university entrance examinations, the student must begin preparation in junior high school for entrance into one of the leading high schools which will afford the best preparation for university entrance. Often,

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[6]Ronald S. Anderson, "An American View of Japanese Education," The Phi Delta Kappan 39 (December 1959) : 100.

[7]Haruo Tsuru, "Japanese Universities in a Changing Society: A Study of Some Historical, Sociological and Psychological Bases of Student Personnel Work in Japanese Universities" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1958), p. 317.

[8]Nakane, Japanese Society, p. 111.

if a student is weak in some academic area, tutors will be hired to provide additional assistance.[9]

Once the student has successfully gained entrance into high school, preparation for college entrance is begun. Serious study for the college entrance exams begins usually at the beginning of the junior year of high school. Except for the exceptionally able students, almost all free time is spent studying for the entrance examination. Most extracurricular activities are sacrificed, as is the summer vacation preceding the entrance exams which are given in the spring of the senior year of high school. Social life, such as the practice of dating, is virtually non-existent among the high school students preparing for college.[10]

Thus, the student spends much of his adolescent life involved in studying for examinations. This type of ordeal not only interferes with the physical development of Japanese youth, but also it is thought to affect the moral character.

> Preparation for an entrance examination consists largely of memorizing answers to innumerable hypothetical questions on various given subjects in the school's curriculum. The subject matters covered are so numerous and so extensive that every minute counts. The longer a would-be applicant crams, so much better his chances are of being successful in the examination. So pupils preparing for an examination not only sit up nights cramming as the date of the ordeal approaches, but also cut their meal hours short. . . .

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[9]Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class (Berkeley, Calif.: The University of California Press, 1966), p. 141.

[10]Noriko Hiraki, "Counseling Japanese Students: A Study of Historical, Sociological and Psychological Backgrounds of Japanese Students Today" (Master's Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1963), p. 22.

> . . . The examination inevitably leads to an overemphasis on abstract learning, entirely neglecting the practical side of education.[11]

College entrance examinations are held only once per year by each university. If the student fails the examination of the school which he is attempting to enter, he must face an important decision. He may spend a year preparing to try again the examination which he has failed, or he may choose to take an examination from a college of lesser rank than his original choice. A large number of students take the former choice.

> . . . tens of thousands of Japanese students who fail in their entrance examinations, wait another twelve months, working day and night, in a renewed effort to be successful in the next years' ordeal. Theirs is a very bleak and demoralized life, for want of any assurance that they will be successful next year. Thus, keen competition for survival starts developing among Japanese youth upon graduating from high school.[12]

Those who have failed on the first or successive entrance examinations are called ronin, a term originally given to masterless samurai. Approximately 50 percent of all students who gain entrance into the leading universities of Japan are classified as ronin.[13]

Academic Life of University Students

Once a student is accepted by and has entered the university of his choice, a temporary feeling of self-fulfillment naturally occurs

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[11]Ichiro Kawasaki, Japan Unmasked (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1969), pp. 103-104.

[12]Ibid., p. 102.

[13]Michiya Shimbori, "The Fate of Postwar Educational Reform in Japan," School Review 68 (Summer 1962) : 234.

from having reached this very important goal. Unlike the American university student, students in Japan are little concerned with studying or maintaining grades in order to remain in school. The fact that they are among the select group who have been selected to attend their particular university, on the basis of entrance examinations, is almost a guarantee that they will graduate.[14]

During the first two years of college work, the student is normally involved in required general education courses. Since the American Occupation, the concept of a well-rounded curriculum has been borrowed from the United States in order to emphasize the liberal arts. The teaching of thirty-six units of general education was made a minimum requirement in all accredited universities. The adoption of the general education concept has led to numerous problems, as mentioned in Chapter II. The students' attitude toward the general education requirements are described as follows:

> Those who take the tests of highly-ranked universities have to study and cover so wide and deep range on the subjects they choose to take as possible, and they actually have more than enough knowledge which the high school is expected to give. So after they get in college and take unsophisticated general education courses, they suddenly lose their interest and high expectations in college study, thinking the college courses are repetitious, unchallenging, and a waste of time.[15]

This problem has been further compounded by the dim view of general education taken by Japanese university professors. The European concept of instilling the qualities of leadership into a selected

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[14]Kawasaki, Japan Unmasked, p. 105.

[15]Hiraki, "Counseling Japanese Students," p. 27.

number of students from elite backgrounds has a lingering influence upon Japanese educators. Those instructors who had received university training prior to World War II had specialized in their respective fields with little or no additional studies in liberal arts. To these instructors, the requirements of general education serve to take up precious time that should be devoted to specialization. Japanese professors have consequently opposed the general education requirements brought about by post-World War II educational reforms. In regards to the teaching of general education courses, Hiraki points out that professors "shirk their responsibility putting the burden on the younger staff members who are most inexperienced and accept the assignment as an apprenticeship." The students quickly react to the instructors' negative feelings toward teaching the required courses by not bothering to attend class or paying little attention to the subject matter.[16]

The lack of motivation among Japanese students toward general education may also be attributed to the fact that all students have been required to select their major field of study prior to entering college.[17] Having to take courses which do not relate to one's major field of interest results in lack of interest. In addition, students often discover that their choice of a major field of study is not compatible with their aptitudes and interests which may have changed from high school. However, once a student has been accepted into a

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[16]Ibid., p. 25.

[17]Wesley P. Lloyd, Student Counseling in Japan: A Two-Nation Project in Higher Education (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1953), p. 78.

particular department, he has virtually no opportunity to transfer to another department. Thus, once again the student faces frustration with courses which may not be suited to his interests.[18]

From interviews with one hundred students, drawn mainly from three leading universities in Tokyo, "76 percent of the students were either little satisfied or completely dissatisfied with classroom lectures." The sources of dissatisfaction usually centered around poor lecture material or poor methods of teaching. Lecture classes at the universities represented contained four to six hundred students.[19]

At most universities, there seems to be a lack of intercommunication between students and professors.[20] Students frequently complain that their professors attempt only "to impart knowledge without stimulating us to think."[21]

Students who are fortunate enough to attend seminars containing smaller numbers of students are also dissatisfied at times with the lack of communication with professors.

> In spite of the fact that our classes are as small as twenty in number, there is something in the atmosphere of the classroom that discourages discussion with our professors, who give us lectures as though they were disregarding our presence. Those who are really interested in study are compelled to study on their own. We studied

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[18]T. J. Pempel, "Evaluating Japan's Mass Higher Education," Japan Quarterly 28 (October-December 1967) : 450.

[19]Kazuko Tsurumi, Social Change and the Individual: Japan Before and After Defeat in World War II (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 324-325.

[20]Ibid., p. 325.

[21]Ibid., p. 326.

very hard to get into this university. But, now that we are in, we are utterly disappointed with what we are given by the university.[22]

Out-of-Class Activities

It should be pointed out that the majority of Japanese university students live at home or with friends or relatives while attending school. The reason for this is the limited university housing facilities. In the case of national universities, where housing is usually available, the residence halls have been treated as a mere welfare facility, and poor physical conditions offered have persisted. In addition, self-government activities with ideologies particular to student bodies have been brought into residence hall life. As a result, students have been opposed to university management of residence halls and have insisted upon student control. Many residence halls are therefore no longer educationally effective, but provide, instead, a base for various conflicts.[23]

The lack of suitable accommodations for students creates very difficult problems in locating areas for studying. Library facilities at all except a handful of universities provide inadequate study facilities as well. Due to the typically small living quarters in Japanese homes, the student once again runs into a problem in finding space for studying. Lack of space for studying, as well as the desire for companionship, entice students to seek out informal groups which share in discussions of topics which are of common interest to the group

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[22]Ibid., p. 327.

[23]Educational Policy and Planning: Japan (Paris: Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 1973), p. 268.

members. Study groups organized by students dissatisfied with formal lectures often, therefore, become a main avenue toward learning.[24]

Numerous other clubs and organizations of a more formal nature are strongly supported by students. Particularly the first and second year students become actively involved in various organizations. The most well-known student organization is the student confederation, better known as Zengakuren. This is a Communist-led organization, although it is supported by non-Communists.[25] The Zengakuren and other radical organizations have become actively involved with postwar student movements. Student unrest, which reached a peak during 1968 and 1969, was generally related to political problems. The higher educational system was, however, often a target for protesting students. Student unrest occurred in connection with student demands for curriculum improvement, withdrawal of raises in tuition fees, student participation in university administration and other areas which were not unlike demands being made by students in the United States.[26]

Preparation for Employment

Following the first two years of university life, in which the typical student is busily engaged in various interest groups, more serious attention is given to the all important task of securing a job

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[24]Tsurumi, Social Change and the Individual, p. 326.

[25]Robert Schinzinger, "Educational Problems of Contemporary Japan," The Japanese Image 1 (1965) : 52.

[26]Educational Standards in Japan (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, Government of Japan, 1971), p. 38.

after graduation. Job recruitment from the prestigious business firms and governmental offices usually begins before the student has completed his junior year.[27] In order to secure employment with a large firm, a student must once again prepare himself for a written examination which is given by the firm which offers employment. During the junior year, the student must carefully study commercially published books which describe the employment examinations in the major industries and the requirements for placement. Upon referral by the university, the student may take several examinations given by prospective employers. Whether or not a student is accepted for employment with a firm depends upon not only the results of the employment examination, but upon the prestige of the university from which he is graduating as well as the influence of the student's faculty advisors.[28]

Industries and government bureaus of Japan most often recruit new employees only from the current graduating classes of the universities. For this reason, the student feels that he must have obtained employment by the time of scheduled graduation or lose out in the competition for the most desirable jobs with the prestigious firms and government offices. If a student is unable to secure employment by the time of graduation, an alternate choice is to refrain from meeting the

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[27]W. M. Wise, "With Roots in the Sand: Japanese University Students Today," The Personnel and Guidance Journal 40 (November 1961) : 275.

[28]Pempel, "Evaluating Higher Education," p. 450.

graduation requirements and continue as a senior for a second year, thus qualifying for the major employment examinations a year later.[29]

It should be noted that Japanese employers place little value upon the specific field of study which students have pursued. New employees are not hired to fill specific job vacancies, but instead are given a routine training period and then assigned specific tasks. A student can just as well major in the liberal arts or business, for employment is sought not as a result of one's individual accomplishments in a particular field of study, but rather as a means of being associated with a well-established company, no matter what type of work is to be performed.[30] The exception to this void in occupational planning is the student who is studying engineering or other technical fields.[31]

Once a university graduate has accepted a place of employment, there is little opportunity for change. A characteristic of Japanese business and governmental enterprise is the "lifelong employment system." Under this system, the new employee is accepted into the firm as if he were a "family member." Once employed, the former student knows he is safe for life because Japanese firms make every effort never to lay off employees. Pay raises are given according to age rather than merit. Additional fringe benefits increase along with seniority. Thus a lasting commitment between employee and employer is formed.[32]

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[29]Wise, "With Roots in the Sand," p. 276.

[30]Kawasaki, Japan Unmasked, p. 105.

[31]Robert Guillain, The Japanese Challenge (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970), p. 90.

[32]Kawasaki, Japan Unmasked, pp. 105-106.

The Need for Counseling Services in Japanese Universities

Having examined some of the conditions faced by Japanese university students, it becomes obvious that certain aspects of college life present problems which would seemingly require some form of guidance.

Although, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, Japan and the United States are predisposed by different value systems, and face different problems, the students in both societies are living in changing political, social, and economic situations that are affecting their values and ways of life.

Counseling, from an American point of view, serves to assist students in achieving appropriate vocational goals, new perspectives, more prosocial behaviors, and more constructive modes of coping with life.[33] American students have generally been receptive to the services offered through counseling. In the United States the more permissive upbringing in the family has made young people more independent of their parents and because of this independence, they are anxious to take their educational destinies into their own hands when they arrive at college.

> They consciously and purposefully attempt to free themselves of tradition and established custom and to think for themselves. But the very freedom they attain is often a weakness. Having discarded old values and lacking the experience to develop a stable set of values against which they can judge an idea or a course of action, they are likely to be at the mercy of ambitious and forceful leaders . . . . They need and are ready for counseling . . . .[34]

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[33]Charles F. Warnath and associates, New Directions for College Counselors (Washington, D. C.: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1973), p. 23.

[34]Anthony Humphreys and others, Guidance Services (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1967), p. 121.

The Japanese student, on the other hand, is still part of a somewhat authoritarian family who must be depended upon for support. The Japanese student will find it easier to alleviate the frustrations he experiences in trying to attain independence by adhering to family wishes and by following the path that has usually been prepared for him long before he enters college. This is not to say that the Japanese student is not in need of services which are provided through counseling. As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, students who attend the highly ranked universities have had to prepare themselves thoroughly in high school in order to pass the university entrance examinations. Often, these students have more than sufficient knowledge to do well in general education courses which are taken during the first year of college. The result is often a loss of motivation and a state of frustration. In addition to the loss of motivation, Japanese students are frequently deprived of valuable experience in developing social skills as a result of long periods of compulsive studying for entrance exams while in high school.

> They find it difficult to make friends in college often having grown up looking on classmates as rivals rather than friends. There is a tendency to evaluate everyone in terms of how they do on school tests because that is still uppermost in the students minds. 'Your feelings become confused,' explains a Japanese who has gone through this experience. 'If you do have a friend, you discover yourself feeling happy when he gets sick because you know it might retard his studying. If you find a helpful book or a good tutor, you don't tell your friend about it because that might help him . . . .'[35]

The beginning of the university experience for the American student is usually a time when academic achievement is heavily stressed.

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[35]John H. Boyle, "Gobatsu-byo," (May Sickness), The Japan Interpreter.

After the academic barriers are passed, he may tend to search for new forms of identity. This search may lead to efforts to assert one's masculinity or feminity through sexual behavior, to experiment with drugs, or to become a member of various student movements. The end of the sophomore year and the junior year is a period of coming to grips with questions of personal identity as well as a settling down period as one usually has selected a major and is becoming involved in subjects that are related to his interests.[36]

The Japanese student, unlike the American student, is little concerned with maintaining his academic standing. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, success on the university entrance examination is almost a guarantee that a student will not "flunk out of school." The Japanese student, as the American student, is often involved in clubs and extra-curricular activities once he has become accustomed to the university routine. These are usually well organized activities involving group participation.[37] The Japanese student is less inclined to become involved in individual social activities such as dating or sexual behavior. Drug use, particularly marijuana, has not yet become widespread among Japanese youth due mainly to strict laws which are rigidly enforced. The Japanese student is also less concerned than the American student with the selection of a major. As stated earlier, the choice of

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[36]Andrew M. Barclay, William D. Crano, Charles Thompson, and Arnold Werner, How to Do a University (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1971), pp. 186-187.

[37]Hiraki, "Counseling Japanese Students," p. 30.

a major is made prior to entrance in college and rigidities within the university system make this choice extremely difficult to change.[38] The beginning of the junior year for the Japanese student becomes a time when serious preparation for a job begins. Once again preparations for examinations, this time employment tests, must be made. For the last two years of college, the student must busily prepare contacts with the school's employment office and faculty, who, in addition to family contacts and good scores on the employment tests, may lead to a sought after job.[39]

Seniors on American campuses, although concerned about future employment, may not seriously seek employment until late in the senior year or even after graduation.

From the foregoing discussion we can readily discern that both American and Japanese students are faced with conflicts during their university experience which create the need for personal and social adjustment. In the United States, the services provided by professional counselors are often considered to be a necessary part of the resolution of adjustment periods in the lives of students. As will be discussed in the next chapter, counseling is a relatively new profession in Japan and is not widely practiced as in the United States. It is readily seen that Japanese and American students present different patterns of needs

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[38]Pempel, "Evaluating Higher Education," p. 450.

[39]Kawasaki, Japan Unmasked, pp. 97-99.

and problems. It is therefore obvious that the needs for counseling services in the two countries also differ.[40]

Summary

Since the end of World War II, the Japanese student has been given a taste of the "democratic" freedom that has characterized American higher education. This freedom has occurred primarily as a result of the widespread availability of higher education to students from all levels of society. Additional exposure to the American democratic philosophy of higher education has resulted from the introduction of general educational requirements into the curriculum of practically every university in Japan since the end of World War II. Yet, due to certain rigidities in the social structure as well as in the system of higher education, the Japanese student has not attained the freedom to make the most of his capabilities and potentialities, a concept that serves as the core of democratic education in the United States.

As pointed out in this chapter, Japanese students undergo extreme sacrifices in order to gain admission to a well-known university. Gaining entrance into one of the better known universities is not for reason of obtaining a better quality of education, but a means of gaining access into the more desirable channels of employment following graduation.

In addition to the all important entrance into a select university is the lack of opportunity given to students in selecting their educational endeavors. Normally, students are required to select a major area of study prior to admittance into a university. Once students have begun study in a university, there is virtually no

opportunity to change from one department to another should actual course work show his interests or abilities to be incompatible with his original choice. Other factors such as job recruitment policies, which include rigid employment examinations along with a lack of occupational qualifications, further limits the students' opportunities for individual pursuits.

CHAPTER V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STUDENT COUNSELING IN JAPANESE UNIVERSITIES: AN OVERVIEW

A great influx of students into Japanese universities occurred following the end of World War II. This influx was largely due to the introduction of the democratic philosophy of education into Japan by the United States.[1] Not only did there occur increased educational opportunities for Japanese students, but there also occurred the newly found freedom of democratic expression. The increase in the number of institutions of higher education as well as the increase of students was accompanied by widespread attention being given to the problems brought about by student unrest. Students were well aware of the susceptibility of their parents and grandparents to the autocratic controls of business, government, and military leaders which led the country into the disastrous war of 1941-45. Students also were skeptical of new democratic structures which had been established by the postwar American occupation. Resistance to the traditional authoritarianism and skepticism toward American intervention led to increased feelings of being alienated from

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[1]For a detailed discussion of this topic see Chapter IV.

society, of uncertainty of the future, and increased actions by students to bring about radical social and political change.[2]

Japanese university authorities were made acutely aware of problems in student adjustment as a result of major incidents and student strikes motivated by leftist student groups during the early 1950's. The issues which were brought forth by students were aimed not only toward the university, but encompassed the political and social structure as well.[3]

One suggested remedy to the adjustment problems of students was the establishment of student personnel services, including counseling, which would involve trained personnel dealing individually and with groups of students in a non-authoritarian fashion. The aim of the guidance and counseling services was to better develop the personality, character and ability of individual students, rather than prevent student unrest directly. According to Henry Borow, an American who helped introduce counseling to Japan, the counseling process is carried out by technically trained personnel and is characterized by the following:

> . . . it encourages wholesome personal and social relationships of a purposeful nature between young people and adults; it provides for gathering and evaluating facts from which decisions may be made;

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[2]W. M. Wise, "With Roots in the Sand: Japanese University Students Today," The Personnel and Guidance Journal 40 (November 1961) : 273.

[3]Wesley P. Lloyd, "Student Personnel Services in Japan," The Educational Record 34 (July 1953) : 283.

and it gives a better understanding of the students' motivations, anxieties, or fears.[4]

Early Developments

Counseling and various other student personnel services, as they exist today, were started in the reconstruction period after World War II. In 1946, American leaders, who were trained and particularly qualified in student personnel work, arrived in Japan. Work was done to provide adequate education and guidance for women students who had received little attention in the past; measures were taken to establish guidance centers in various universities; in 1949 and 1950, conferences were conducted by the Higher Education Unit, which was composed of American education specialists, in order to introduce various aspects of student personnel services; Dr. Helen Hosp, in 1949, started an intensive course for training women counselors in institutions of higher education. These women were later instrumental in setting up programs of orientation, guidance and counseling for beginning university women.[5]

In 1951, another team of six American specialists was sent to Japan with the purpose of training Japanese university faculty members in the technical phases of student personnel work and administration. The American specialists, with encouragement and cooperation of the

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[4]Wesley P. Lloyd, Student Counseling in Japan: A Two-Nation Project in Higher Education (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1953), p. 72.

[5]Walter C. Eells, "Student Counseling in Japan--Pioneer Work," The Educational Record 36 (October 1955) : 355-358.

Japanese Ministry of Education and Japanese universities, set up the Japanese Universities Institute for Student Personnel Services.[6]

> Emphasis of the institutes was on the administrative organization of effective services, and members of Japanese university faculties were given training in the fields of student orientation, student organizations and activities, counseling, faculty advising, student health, student housing, student employment, and scholarships and financial aids. The program of the institutes also included a basic methodology in group procedures.[7]

One important aim of these institutes was to make the Japanese university officials aware of the needs of students in areas other than academic training. In the pre-war universities, there was strict obedience to and largely unquestioned respect for the professor and other university authorities. In the post-war universities, the democratic concept of authority was to prevail. Students were quick to accept the freedom that went along with the wider availability of higher education as well as the right to voice their opinions. The American education specialists felt that an improved program of student personnel services, including counseling, would help to lessen the importance of scholastic formalities and to create an interest among university officials in the individual needs of students. Counseling and other personnel services, as prescribed by the American authorities, was aimed toward (1) achieving better faculty-student relations, (2) reducing wasted student time and energy, (3) aiding the student through scien-

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[6]Lloyd, Student Counseling in Japan, p. 4.

[7]Lloyd, "Student Personnel Services in Japan," p. 282.

tific procedures better to understand himself, and (4) assisting the student in his educational planning.[8]

Specific recommendations were made by the American educators in order to implement the student personnel services. The following recommendations were related to the development of counseling services:

1. It was recommended that the Ministry of Education, the principle financing agency of Japanese universities, the National Association of Universities, and the National Organizations for Public and Private Universities, provide adequate financial and moral support to meet the needs for the development of counseling and other student services.

2. It was recommended that the newly formed professional organizations for counseling and student personnel services (a) give major emphasis to setting up and improving professional standards for members of student personnel staffs; (b) encourage the establishment of academic courses for training of professional workers; (c) emphasize the need for in-service training of staff members through seminars, institutes, and workshops; (d) conduct applied research in Student Personnel Services so designed as to improve the techniques of personnel work and, by that measure, the services rendered to students, and (e) establish working relations with like organizations of other countries.

3. It was recommended that in the leading universities of the country academic offerings in Student Personnel Services, including counseling, be established on the undergraduate and graduate level. Under this recommendation was the suggestion that selected members of student personnel staffs be given the opportunity for advanced training in the United States.[9]

Typically, the Japanese who met with and developed plans concerning services for university students accepted with enthusiasm the proposals offered by American advisors. In the opinion of one American

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[8]Lloyd, Student Counseling in Japan, p. 148.

[9]Summarized from Lloyd, Student Counseling in Japan, pp. 141-148.

education specialist, the acceptance and integration of student personnel services into the campus pattern in Japan met with remarkable progress.

> Few nations have faced so realistically their need for new practices, and the universities of no other nation have made so much progress in one year in student personnel services as did the universities of Japan in the single school year 1951-52.[10]

With the departure of the American specialists who had set up the Japanese Universities Institute for Student Personnel Services, the Japanese were left on their own following 1952 to further develop their own system of counseling.

As attempts were made by Japanese educators to carry out the plans for establishing counseling services, problems with this task became apparent. The job of convincing other educators and administrators of the importance of counseling proved to be much more difficult than was anticipated. Faculty members were not at all anxious to abolish the traditional system which was the source of their own prestige. Devotion of time to duties other than classroom lectures and research was felt to interfere with opportunities for academic advancement and faculty salary increases.[11]

Another problem which became apparent was the reluctance with which students embraced the idea of receiving counseling from university staff. The habit of seeking advice in making personal decisions was very widespread in Japan.

> Because it is understood that people do not take serious decisions by themselves and because the normal rule is to seek someone else' advice, the behavior of the individual tends to be

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[10]Lloyd, "Student Personnel Services in Japan," p. 282.

[11]Lloyd, Student Counseling in Japan, p. 9.

> modelled on the views of those around him; conversely, insecurity, self-distrust, and the need for others lead to the development and perpetuation of an institution which enable everyone to open his heart to others concerning his most intimate problems, and expect them to provide a solution.[12]

In some respects, this attitude of confiding in others would seem to bring about conditions favorable for the counseling setting. However, Japanese students, although freely confiding in others, tend to seek assistance with personal problems only from family members or close friends. To discuss difficulties with faculty members or counselors working in student personnel offices is often seen as a sign of weakness by students. Faculty members and counselors are often looked upon as authority figures. Students are therefore very hesitant to reveal to those in authority that they are having any difficulties for fear of being looked upon as being inferior to other students. The Japanese trait of strong obedience to those above them in the hierarchal system thus created some reluctance from students to seek out the services of counselors.[13]

The other trait of dependence upon others to provide solutions to problems also hampered the development of creativity and spontaneity in the counseling relationship. Patterson, in discussing "What is Counseling," says that counseling is a formal relationship between "two persons who may, and perhaps preferably, have no other relationship."

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[12]Jean Stoetzel, Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword: A Study of the Attitudes of Youth in Post-War Japan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 230.

[13]See Chapter III for discussion of obedience toward superiors.

At the same time, it is undesirable for students to become dependent upon those providing counseling to the extent that the counselor is expected to provide the solution to the difficulty rather than the student.[14]

There also existed a certain amount of distrust toward those persons serving in counseling roles due to the former functions performed by guidance staff. Prior to the end of World War II, the guidance, or sodan office had been referred to as the "Thought Control Bureau." The function of this office had been to censor and control the thoughts of students and faculty. In every university, these offices had the power to censor reading materials, to expel or even imprison students who engaged in discussions which were not in sympathy with the Japanese was effort. The memories of this period were vivid. Although the counseling services which were being established in the 1950's were totally different in purpose from the "Thought Control Bureaus" of pre-war days, some resistance was seen as student personnel staff sought the cooperation and support of faculty and students.[15]

Additional Assistance from the United States

As more and more difficulties arose, Japanese educators once again turned to the United States for assistance in establishing a program of counseling. In the summer of 1955, a team of American education specialists arrived in Japan to establish another training

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[14]C. H. Patterson, Counseling and Guidance in Schools: A First Course (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962), p. 111.

[15]Wise, "With Roots in the Sand," p. 274.

institute as a followup to the institutes held in 1951-52. This team included Francis P. Robinson, Edward S. Bordin and Wesley P. Lloyd. Included in the training sessions were workshops in basic counseling, vocational counseling and advanced counselor training.[16]

The Americans concluded the three-month session with a list of requisites for the continued development of counseling and other personnel services in Japanese universities. Included in these requisites was the need for greater flexibility in meeting new problems. For example, many universities were simply ignoring the nonacademic needs of students by continuing to place great emphasis upon the traditional lecture system. The second requisite concerned the need for technical training and professionalization of counseling and other student personnel staff members. Included was the need for special attention and research in the fields of psychology and sociology and the organization and administration of student personnel work. The third requisite was the need for support from the Ministry of Education as well as individual universities in the financial support of counseling programs.[17]

Progress in Japanese Counseling since 1955

Having received additional assistance in the technical aspects of counseling from American authorities in 1955, the Japanese were once again left on their own to further develop a system of counseling in Japanese universities. Since that time, only a limited amount of

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[16]Wesley P. Lloyd, Student Personnel Services in Japan (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1957), pp. 28-32.

[17]Ibid., pp. 87-91.

information has been translated into the English language concerning advances made in Japanese counseling. The number of professional organizations which have been established in the counseling and student personnel field would seemingly point out the continued interest in the further development of counseling in Japan. Among these organizations are The Japanese Association of Counseling Science, The Japanese Association of Student Counseling, The Japanese Association of Student Personnel Services, The Japan Vocational Guidance Association, and The National Federation of Student Personnel Services Association. Such American authorities as Carl Rogers, E. G. Williamson, Donald Super, and John Krumboltz have been invited to lecture or demonstrate innovations in their profession at institutes or seminars conducted by these Japanese groups.[18]

The question as to how much progress has been made in the counseling field in Japan is, however, a difficult one to answer. In 1955, 57 universities in Japan were reported to have full-time counselors.[19] In 1961, out of approximately 450 universities, 63 were reported to have specialized counseling staffs. In the same year, W. M. Wise reported that, from visits to more than 15 of the counseling centers, there was little evidence that any progress had been made in meeting the needs of students. Use of counseling services was

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[18]Interview with Noriko Hiraki, Tokyo, Japan, 5 September 1970.

[19]Noriko Hiraki, "Counseling Japanese Students: A Study of Historical, Sociological and Psychological Backgrounds of Japanese Students Today" (Master's Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1963), p. 48.

reported so low that many universities were considering abandoning the attempts to provide counseling.[20]

In the summer of 1970, a three-day seminar dealing with student counseling in Japan and other nations was held in Tokyo. At that time, more than 75 colleges and universities, out of the more than 500 existing 4-year institutions were offering some type of counseling service for students.[21]

Even though the number of universities which provide counseling has increased over the years, there still remains the question of quality.

According to Dr. Junichi Kobayashi of Sophia University, most of the counseling which is provided in Japanese universities comes from individuals serving in "so-called" counseling capacities.[22] This means that many universities have established counseling programs without having qualified personnel to fill the counseling positions. Those who provide counseling are either part of the clerical staff or faculty members who are serving in a one-year appointment as counselor. In either case, there is a severe lack of formal training necessary to perform counseling. The primary reason for this is the total lack of any university training program in counseling in Japan. The training

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[20]Wise, "With Roots in the Sand," p. 275.

[21]Interviews with members of the Japan Association of Student Counseling, Tokyo, Japan, September, 1970.

[22]Interview with Junichi, Kobayashi, Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan, 21 August 1970.

which is available comes mainly from public or private workshops conducted by individuals who have received counselor education in the United States. Kyushu University and a few scattered other universities have made attempts to establish formal training programs for counselors. At these universities, basic courses in guidance and counseling have been offered as part of the psychology or education curriculums. However, none of these efforts have led to an established degree program for counselors. Those students who develop an interest in counseling must still travel to some other nation to obtain formal training.[23]

For those who have received training in counseling in the United States, employment opportunities are extremely limited in Japan. Due to the underdevelopment of counseling services, as well as limited budgets, Japanese administrators still rely upon faculty members appointed to one-year terms, or staff and faculty volunteers to fill counseling roles.[24]

Techniques of Counseling in Japan

One of the most noticeable trends in the counseling movement in Japan is the widespread interest in "client-centered" or "Rogerian" techniques of counseling. This technique of counseling is based mainly on the theories of Carl R. Rogers. This approach to counseling stresses the counselee's ability to determine the issues important to him and to

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[23]Personal Interview with Hideo Nishimura, Tokyo, Japan, 3 September 1970.

[24]Personal Interview with Noriko Hiraki, Tokyo, Japan, 3 September 1970.

solve his own problems. There is a minimal effort on the part of the counselor to actively intervene in the decision making of the client or student.[25]

Probably one of the main reasons for the interest in client-centered counseling in Japan is the fact that the works of Carl Rogers were the first of the counseling theories to be translated into the Japanese language. At the same time, other counseling theories, which have witnessed increased interest in the United States, have not been translated into Japanese.[26]

Recently, criticism has been aimed toward those in Japan who have continued to rely solely upon client-centered counseling. The advocates of client-centered techniques in Japan have been accused of adopting an approach which outwardly seems easy to apply while failing to understand the practical applications of the theory and thus failing to meet the needs of Japanese youth.[27] At the same time, it is felt that client-centered counseling represents a truly American approach which fits into the American democratic traditions while failing to take into account the traditional authoritarian nature of Japanese society.[28]

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[25]Carlton E. Beck, Philosophical Foundations of Guidance (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), pp. 20-21.

[26]Interview with Noriko Hiraki, Tokyo, Japan, 3 September 1970.

[27]National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 24th Annual Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, interviews with representatives from Japan and The University of Minnesota, 2-5 May 1972.

[28]Ibid.

While other techniques of counseling, such as behavioral counseling, are being translated and distributed among counselors in Japan, the main techniques employed continue to be based upon the theory of client-centered or non-directive counseling.

Continuing Obstacles to the Growth of Student Counseling

Many of the important problems that hamper the maturity of counseling services in Japan have been previously mentioned. There are, however, additional obstacles which must be overcome if the development of counseling in Japan is to continue.

First, student counselors in Japan have difficulty keeping abreast of the needs of students and methods of dealing with these needs and problems. During the early 1950's, Japanese educators were being trained by American specialists in counseling. At this same time in America, counseling was only beginning to emerge as an acceptable solution to the adjustment problems faced by students.[29] In succeeding years, as counseling has grown to become a widely accepted function of higher education in the United States, there has also occurred numerous modifications as a result of continuous incorporation of new techniques and emphases.[30] Counseling staff members have been constantly learning about new techniques of counseling through reading relevant literature, conducting research, and attending conferences. Changes which have

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[29]E. R. Oetting, Allen E. Ivey, and Richard G. Weigel, The College and University Counseling Center (Washington, D. C.: The American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1970), p. 7.

[30]Ibid., p. 8.

occurred in counseling and other student services in United States universities have not been easily transmitted to student personnel workers in Japan. The lack of formal training, financial resources, and widespread interest, has hampered the transmittal of information relating to counseling from English into Japanese.[31]

Second, the vast differences between the social conditions and traditional structures of Japanese society and American society present an extremely challenging problem in adapting the methods developed in the United States to the practical problems of Japan. Although the authoritarian type society which existed in pre-World War II Japan has been radically altered, traditional values are still embedded among the Japanese society.[32] One of the reasons for the lack of acceptance and use of counseling services may be due to the inherent conflict between the values of Japanese students and the values that are implicit in the counseling process. For example, one of the most essential functions of the counselor is to help the student reveal his problems so that the problem might be discussed freely and that sufficient insight will be gained to allow the student to develop the self-reliance necessary to resolve conflicts. This becomes extremely difficult for the Japanese student since his culture views personal problems and shortcomings as being due to a lack of resolve and determination by the individual. Consequently, the Japanese student may feel that taking his problems to a counselor is a sign of weakness. The Japanese feel that problems and

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[31]Interview with Haruo Tsuru, International Christian University, Tokyo, Japan, 2 September 1970.

[32]For a discussion on this subject see Chapter III.

conflicts of family members are to be resolved within the family. Therefore, the admission of personal inadequency, even in a counseling setting, is a sign of familial defect, and this brings shame to the family.[33]

The third obstacle to the growth of counseling in Japan pertains to the historical background of Japanese universities. Education has historically served as a tool for the production of leaders of the Japanese nation. The privilege of receiving a higher education has been limited to those students from the elite segment of society in the past. For those who were able to reach the university level, there was little opportunity to develop individual talents or potentialities. The system of higher education has encouraged a passive attitude of acceptance toward formal authoritarian techniques of teaching. Knowledge imparted from the instructor was to be accepted without question by students. The student-teacher relationship was a reflection of the superior-subordinate pattern which was characteristic of Japanese society.[34]

The post-World War II democratic emphasis on the individual as the most important single factor in the educative process has not been easy to blend into the Japanese system. In one respect, the Japanese

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[33]Edward Kaneshige, "Cultural Factors in Group Counseling and Interaction," The Personnel and Guidance Journal 51 (February 1973) : 407-410.

[34]Haruo Tsuru, "Japanese Universities in a Changing Society: A Study of Some Historical, Sociological and Psychological Bases of Student Personnel Work in Japanese Universities" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1958), p. 380.

have successfully made the transition to a democratic system of higher education with more than 450,000 students now entering the more than 800 institutions of higher education in Japan each year.[35] Educational opportunities which were once limited to the minority have quite definitely been broadened. Yet, the university has not reached the all important task of providing an environment for the individual development of students. A university's prestige continues to serve as the main avenue toward desirable employment. Within the university, there is practically no opportunity to switch from one department to another when one's interests or abilities are found to be inconsistent with one's original choice made prior to entrance into the university. These and other rigidities which have been historically established within the university system serve to dilute the democratic significance of the wider availability of higher education to Japanese students.[36] These same rigidities also may be looked upon as factors which limit the development of individual freedom and responsibility among students and thus handicap the development of effective guidance and counseling services.[37]

During the 1970's, educators, administrators, and counseling personnel will be striving toward overcoming the above mentioned and other obstacles. Their concerted efforts could well determine the future of counseling services in Japanese universities.

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[35]T. J. Tempel, "Evaluating Japan's Mass Higher Education," Japan Quarterly 18 (October-December 1971) : 349.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Interview with Haruo Tsuru, International Christian University, Tokyo, 20 July 1970.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

From the information presented in the earlier sections of this chapter, there is no evidence that the services provided by counselors have responded to the needs of students in Japanese universities. From interviews with individuals serving in counseling roles, it is obvious that counselors, when they are utilized at all, are mainly expected to serve as agents who will assist students in conforming to the existing patterns of education and society. This assisting role, along with the lack of importance attained by the counseling profession, allows little opportunity for individuals or groups of counselors to serve as agents of change when certain standards or practices may be objectional.

To assist students in adjusting to a societal and educational system is not counseling, in the American sense, when neither the educational system nor society responds to the individual needs of students. Under the Japanese system, adjustment serves to conceal consciousness of the problem, as well as to rid anxiety, by stressing acceptance to authority and avoidance of individual responsibility.

As examples, two of the more frequently faced conflicts of students are the results of the competitive entrance examinations and the lack of flexibility within the university which discourage the pursuit of study in areas other than one's major which was selected in high school. The student, who may experience dissatisfaction with

having to undergo extreme sacrifices in order to prepare for entrance examinations, is consoled by the fact that if he does pass the examination, he will then be afforded the opportunity to attend a university which will serve as an avenue toward the securing of an important position with a respected firm following graduation. If the student develops other interests after his major has been selected, he too may be reconciled to the fact that leading companies often place little value on academic training, other than the level achieved, and the type of work performed should be based upon the desires of the company, not on the interests of the student.

The goal of obtaining a university degree and a position with a reputable firm thus become an end within itself. There is no place for individual initiative, only the ability to conform to the guidelines and procedures established by tradition.

Many students tend to rebel against the traditional patterns which have been established by society. But universities do not seem to be working in the direction of restoring confidence in these students. Authority, rather than reason or free choice, has usually been the prevailing attitude by university and government officials. Universities seem to strive only to perform the traditional role of providing education and training, containing those students seeking change, and to maintain the present system of education and society. Students attending the universities either conform to the accepted standards or become more nihilistic under the pressure of the establishment.

Counseling, as a part of education, is an agency designed to carry out the values of the society it serves. The Japanese society

tends to be autocratic, although developing toward democracy, and one that values the group over the individual. The Japanese society, due to its strong emphasis toward submission to authority and neglect toward the development of individual responsibility, has not encouraged free and open communication between individuals. It is not surprising, therefore, that counseling, which is based upon emotional expression and the individual worth of each person and his growth toward maturity, has not developed as a helping profession in Japan.

Before counseling, as it is defined in the American sense, can continue its growth and development, there is a need for drastic change in the university system as well as in societal values. As Krumboltz has stated, " . . . persuasion, reason, and peaceful means must be used to change the system. We must be radical in our attitudes to bring about change but we must be conservative in our efforts to bring about changes."[1]

Changes may be slow in occurring due to the strong traditional forces which tend to oppose change. In the meantime, counselors and educators who are striving toward the continued development of the counseling profession in Japan might consider the following suggestions:

1. Counseling methods and practices which are based upon American philosophies are often inadequate in the Japanese setting. Counselors, in America and Japan, must be aware that some of the conditions and goals of counseling, as they

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[1]John D. Krumboltz, "Practice on Counseling I," lecture presented at the 8th Conference on Student Counseling in Japan, Tokyo, Japan, 7 September 1970. (Typewritten transcription.)

have developed in America, often run counter to some of the values of Japanese students. Therefore, to be effective, counseling practices must be based on philosophies that reflect Japanese thinking.

2. The actual need of Japanese students must be determined. Japanese students, although faced with conflicts in their daily lives, are generally able to resolve their difficulties through existing means rather than seeking the services of a counselor. Japanese students often rely upon family members or close friends to provide advice and direction. In these cases, it may be wise to explore, in addition to the needs of individual students, the possibilities of developing "peer counseling programs" or group counseling activities involving family members.
3. Other counseling techniques and philosophies must be explored. For example, the most prevalent counseling practice in Japan has been based upon the humanist point of view taken by Rogerian philosophy. A philosophy which assumes more determinism and less freedom than the Rogerian philosophy is behavioral counseling. Efforts should be taken to learn more about behavioral and other types of counseling which may be more closely related to Japanese cultural and educational patterns.
4. Efforts which have been made to establish counseling as a helping profession in Japan should not be wasted. Renewed attempts to establish university curriculums in counseling

should be made. Further exchange of persons and ideas with other nations should be encouraged. Although Japan should strive to develop its own counseling system, there is a continuing need to stay abreast of changes occurring in other nations.

In summary, counseling has not developed in Japan due to certain values in society which have not produced an environment conducive to free and open communication. There is a need for these societal values to undergo change if counseling, in the American sense, is to develop as a helping profession. It is felt, however, that counseling may help students in Japan to become more aware of himself and his place in society if due consideration is given to the needs of Japanese students in his own environment.

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