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Application of social case work to Japanese culture

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THE APPLICATION OF SOCIAL CASE WORK TO JAPANESE CULTURE

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THE APPLICATION OF SOCIAL CASE WORK TO
JAPANESE CULTURE

A Study of the Historical, Ethnological, and Cultural Factors
Which Condition Social Case Work in Japan

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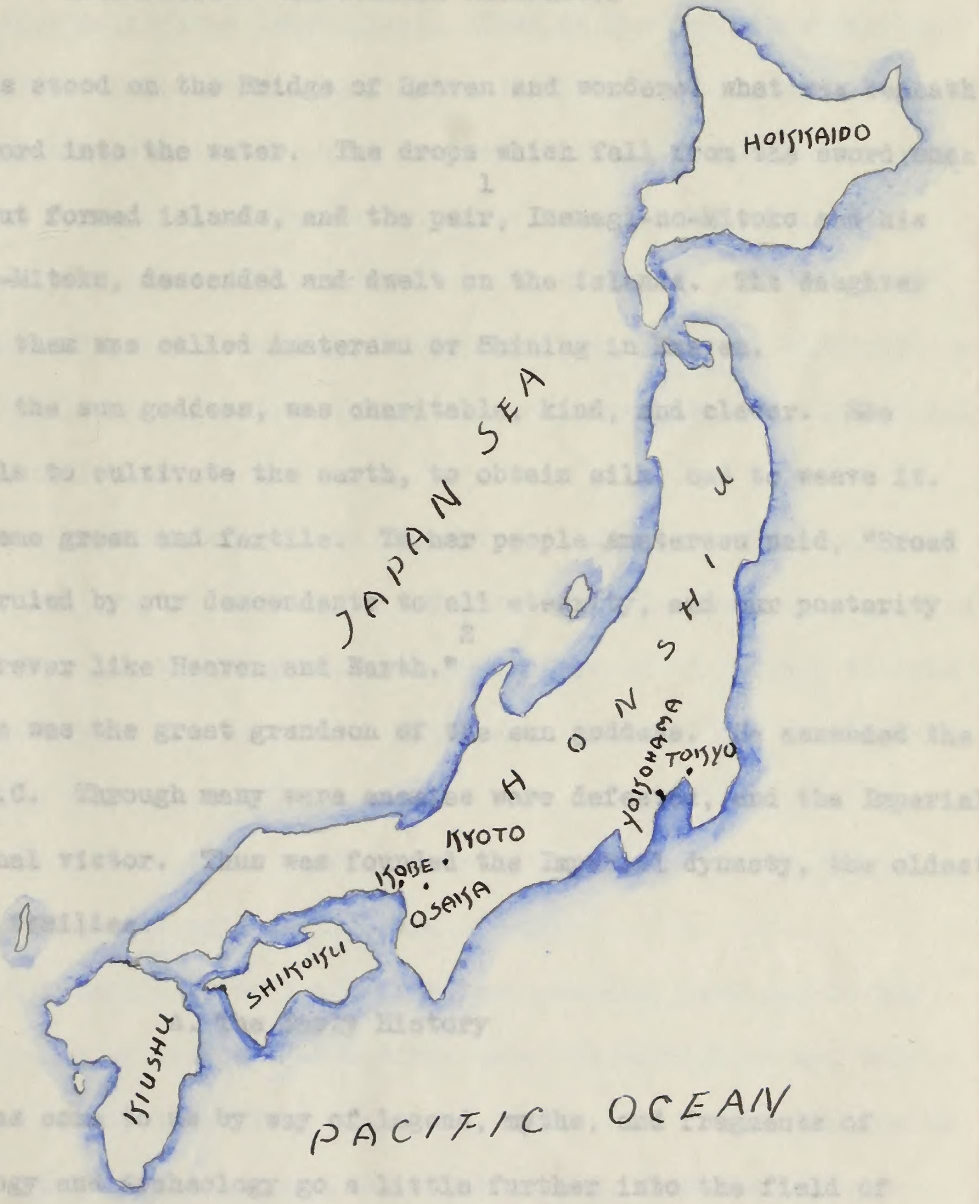
Map of Japan



Population of Japan proper:

69,254,148 as of 1935 census covering an area less than that of the State of California. 85% of the territory unarable.

The area of Japan is 147,651 square miles.

I

INTRODUCTION--HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Two deities stood on the Bridge of Heaven and wondered what was beneath. One dipped a sword into the water. The drops which fell from the sword when it was pulled out formed islands, and the pair,[1] Izanagi-no-Mitoko and his wife Izanami-no-Mitoko, descended and dwelt on the islands. The daughter who was born to them was called Amaterasu or Shining in Heaven.

Amaterasu, the sun goddess, was charitable, kind, and clever. She taught the people to cultivate the earth, to obtain silk, and to weave it. The meadows became green and fertile. To her people Amaterasu said, "Broad Japan shall be ruled by our descendants to all eternity, and our posterity shall endure forever like Heaven and Earth."[2]

Jimmu-tenno was the great grandson of the sun goddess. He ascended the throne in 660 B.C. Through many wars enemies were defeated, and the Imperial Army was the final victor. Thus was founded the Imperial dynasty, the oldest of all reigning families.

A. The Early History

All this has come to us by way of legend, myths, and fragments of poetry. Ethnology and Archeology go a little further into the field of proven history. The first written record of ancient doings was written in 712 A.D. It accounts for the fundamental belief in Japan that their land is peculiarly the land of the gods, and their race therefore superior to

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1. Dilts, Marion M.: The Pageant of Japanese History, p. 13.
2. Saito, Hiroshi: The Japanese History, p. 8.

all others. Hence the intense patriotism which is typical of Japan is still in actual practice.

From earliest times, Japan has been an agricultural nation. Only recently has industrialization taken place. Even in the farming areas the nation is closely settled. With a population of sixty-two million to inhabit the small area of the islands, it could not be otherwise. There are therefore few isolated farms such as the United States has in the Middle West.

Urbanization took place, of course, with the growth of industrialization. The farmer, accustomed to rugged individualism, found it difficult to adjust himself to the new situation and so created a problem for himself and for society as a whole.

The intelligentsia are a class by themselves. They are the leaders in education, in science, and in many types of research. Emphasis on education is so strong in Japanese thinking that the percentage of illiteracy is less than one percent--lowest in the world. This means that the man on the street is extraordinarily well educated.

The very poor live in the slum districts of the large cities or in country places remote from cultural centers.

The earliest inhabitants of the island were probably cave men in the most primitive stages of culture. The Ainus were the aborigines and were hairy, flat faced cannibals without any known family life. With the coming of the Japanese people from the continent, from Korea, from the Mediterranean area, and from Siberia, the Ainus were conquered, and after a long series of wars, were driven back to the island of Hotkaido where a few still live as an inferior minority.

The Japanese of today represent a mixed race. The ethnology is proven by archeological remains. There are two main streams of origin and two types are still pronounced among them. The aristocratic, slender, light complexioned, with Roman noses and oval faces, form one type. The plebian with high cheek bones, flat faces, dark complexions, and stocky form the other.

B. Transition Periods

The culture was primitive enough. There were no cities, and the houses were loosely constructed. Writing was unknown, family life was patriarchial, and landed property was owned by the Emperor and a few nobles. There was some navigation in small boats and fish was a main part of the diet. Rice, grains, and other vegetables were also raised. The dense forests which originally covered the island were cleared away gradually. Cooking was done in unglazed earthen vessels. Silk was used for clothing, but the chief fabrics were made from hemp and bark. Cotton and wool were unknown. There was no money and little barter. Art was very crude consisting mostly of personal ornaments. The implements needed for the farm, in the home, and for war were very simple but showed the beginnings of an aesthetic sense. Artisans were organized by guilds. Slavery existed and justice was administered with torture and the cruelest kinds of punishment.

From the time of the Yamoto state, Japan was able to maintain authority over Korea by means of conquest and fierce warfare. The conquest of Korea was important for Japan because it brought about a relationship with the highly developed civilization of China. From China writing and literature were brought into Japan. Chinese architecture was adopted, coming through Korea. The weavers and tailors brought their industry, and the production

of Saki from rice was direct from Korea. Japan thus appropriated and stamped with her own genius the culture of China and Korea. The extension of this culture and the flourishing of art and literature in China thus affected all Asia.

From this same source, along with the culture, came Buddhism. The introduction of the Buddist religion came about during what is known as the Nara period. Nara became the capital and was the residence of the Emperor. It was a small city the architecture of which was simple, colorful, and aesthetic. The people were interested in art, in music, literature, the dance, and were extravagant in their spending. Rapid progress in native art through the influence of China and India was brought about. Literature began to find expression in poetry. The period was one of greatly expanding culture.

But in 806 the fiftieth Emperor was not satisfied with Nara as a residence. He laid out a large modern city which came to be called Kyoto which means Metropolis. It continued to be the residence of the Emperor until 1869.

With the flourishing of the arts and increased prosperity came luxurious modes of living. The nobles of Kyoto vied with each other in the display of splendor and luxury. Many families who hitherto had held high positions lost their place through their extravagance. Others attained greater power than ever. The Fugiwara family was finally left at the top of the social strata in the capital. They no longer considered the state but thought of their own advantage and their own magnificence.

They granted privileges to the nobility of the provinces in return for favors granted to them. So the territorial nobility became powerful. They gained extensive lands, property, and forced peasants to serve them. In this way feudalism grew up.

A distinguishing factor of the period was the rise of local centers. Small villages grew into towns, towns into cities. Landlords grew wealthy and powerful, bound to the central government only by formal allegiance to the Emperor. They levied their own taxes and quarreled and fought with each other. By the end of the eleventh century, the central government was ready to collapse. Taxation laid upon the peasants became intolerable. Robbers and bandits infested the land. This love of luxury led to disaster and the decline of the feudal system. Japan began to be sufficient unto herself and to lead a hermit life, with little contact with the outside world.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Tokugawa, a member of the ruling class, finally brought about internal and external peace. Feudalism, military in its origin and purpose, now directed its strength toward the suppression of war. Though the forms of feudalism persisted, the Tokugawa system did away with war among the clans and brought about national unity.

With order insured, the state began to encourage agriculture and improve roads. Enriched living this time left no abject poverty in its wake. Schools were established, and the sons of rough soldiers became polished men of the world. For the first time in the history of the nation, the avowed followers of Confucius became numerous. The old Samurai class began to decay and even the Tokugawa regime at times was dominated by the other ministers. The surrender of the fiefs in 1871 was followed by the Imperial edict which finally abolished feudalism as a system.

In 1868 began what is known as the Meiji era which means "enlightened government." This is one of the interesting periods of internal transformation, characterized by political and constitutional development, foreign relations, economic progress, intellectual, educational, and literary innovations, as well as religious and ethical changes.

The end of the Tokugawa regime was the first step toward the reorganization of the government. For nearly eight hundred years the Emperor had delegated his authority. Now he must regain his power and centralize the authority of the state. The capital was again moved from Kyoto to Tokyo, and the Emperor took up his abode in the castle of the Tokugawa. He no longer kept himself in veiled seclusion but rode out openly to receive the homage of his subjects. Tokyo is near the center of his domain and on the coast--indicative of his new attitude toward his own people and toward foreign nations.

Social distinctions were lessened or removed. The difference between civil and military classes was abolished. The new aristocracy was national. By 1877, the Samurai had given up ancient rank, and in the eyes of the law became the equals of all other citizens. From the Samurai class, however, came most of the leaders of the new Japan. Because of their character and tradition, they were to dominate and guide the nation for years to come.

The Japanese people who were influenced by occidental models--the example of Germany being particularly strong--formed the national code of laws. The criminal code was completed by 1871 and abolished the use of torture and the cruel practices then existing as punishment. A judiciary was instituted, and every effort was made to increase its effectiveness. The currency system was reorganized and nationalized. The decimal system was introduced as well as the plan for a national paper currency. Shintoism, which is the oldest Japanese religion, came into National favor and was made to emphasize more than ever the memory and achievements of the Emperor's ancestors. Patriotic and religious enthusiasm were combined to bring about a more potent national unity.

A national postal system was established during the era of feudalism and was continued and constantly improved. The school system was made national. The new leaders saw the importance of admitting foreigners and the importance of adjusting the nation to new ways of thinking. All this centralization was a long and difficult task and was not completed without a struggle.

C. The Effect of Historical Events Upon the Culture of Japan

In spite of these radical changes in the national life, certain social values have persisted. The family still forms the social unit, and in the mind of the Japanese people is of fundamental importance. Their pride in their Emperor lies largely in the fact that his has been the ruling family for three thousand years. To the Japanese people the state is a sacred institution, and loyalty to it is the highest attainable virtue. Religious freedom is and has been strictly maintained, and an attitude of tolerance toward any form of religion precludes interference by the state.

Education and marriage are strictly civil affairs.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A. Political

Count Okuma says in Fifty Years in New Japan, "With the exception of England there is possibly no nation in the world at once so aristocratic, and yet so democratic as Japan."[1] History has centered around its Imperial House, which people have regarded with reverence and pride since the earliest beginnings of the Japanese nation. The higher classes belong to the nobility by right of birth, and there is no enmity or hatred between classes in Japan. This democracy begins in the school system with the earliest teaching of the youth of the land and has remained throughout the ages one of the fundamental principles of Japanese culture. Furthermore, intermarriage between upper and lower classes during many generations has welded the whole together with an infusion of aristocratic blood and the sturdy virtues of the lower classes. This democratic attitude among the nobility and the high ideals found in the other classes underlies the whole history of Japan.

The system of feudalism in Medieval Japan was very close to perfect. The office of Shogun (similar to a dictator) was inherited but had to be formally confirmed by the Emperor. The feudal chiefs had local jurisdiction as a lifetime possession. Thus was one absolute power limited by another power above or below in each unit of government. During this period there was peace and tranquility throughout the land. The country was closed to foreign influence, and the general quiet deadened the progress which would otherwise have taken place.

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1. Okuma, Shigenobe: Fifty Years in New Japan, Vol. 1, p. 133.

Both the nobles and the common people inherited their occupations and were never allowed to choose a new career. Besides the court nobles attached to the Emperor there were feudal chiefs to whom Samurai were attached as hereditary vassals.

The influence of Western culture in the second half of the nineteenth century made possible the restoration of power to the Emperor which came about in 1868. The reformers belonged to the lower ranks of the Samurai class. They experimented first with the local governments, but with the fall of Tokugawa, the Emperor took the new power into his own hands and unified the whole Empire. A strong government was essential, not only to keep away the "dreaded foreigners" but also to express the collective wisdom and the collective will of the nation.

Ito, the maker of the new Constitution, created a balance of power by establishing and distributing that power among the Cabinet, the Privy Council, the Upper House and the Lower House. The members of the Lower House were elected by popular vote. Others came into being in the old traditional Japanese style by the achievement of distinction or by selection on the part of authority. In this way the Constitution extends the methods already existing and gives a modern slant to traditional system.

The Prime Minister is responsible directly to the Emperor. He chooses his colleagues without reference to political party. No ministers except the Prime Minister and the head of the Army and Navy who must be generals or admirals can hold office unless they have been members of the Civil Service and have passed the required examinations. The House of Representatives exercises but little control over the government. Parliament is powerless in financial questions. With whom, then, does the power rest?

Nominally, the Emperor is absolute in authority. In the minds of the people he is the Son of Heaven, Tenno-Heika. His office is idealized, and his people are intensely proud of the Imperial House based on an unbroken line of descent for three thousand years. This sentiment has made possible the growth of the present system of government.

Even after the promulgation of the Constitution, power continued to reside not with the Emperor, nor with Parliament, but indirectly in an extra-Constitutional body called Genro. These elder statesmen, only one of whom is still living, formed the most interesting and peculiar feature of Japanese political life. They became the real source of authority in the Empire. They select the Prime Minister. They advise the Emperor in time of crisis. The whole nation looks to them for guidance. However, the Genro have never played the part of tyrants. They have always been peculiarly sensitive to public opinion.

The power of the Genro represents the old Feudal system. Within the past twenty years the growth of other groups has been marked. As the industries of western type became established, business men of Tokyo and Osaka, who had held subordinate positions in the old Feudal days, became powerful economically. Many of the Samurai, too, established themselves in banks, in commerce, in industry. With their rapid economic development came wealth and power. With this power and this wealth came authority in governmental affairs. So an industrial bias was given to national policy. In most matters, perhaps, Big Business sees eye to eye with the militarists, but intermittently, industrial prosperity has been the focus of attention.

The growth of large-scale industry has produced a class of workers unknown in feudal days. Class consciousness has grown up, labor unions have been formed, and Socialist propaganda has had considerable influence in the

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The growth of large-scale industry has produced a class of workers unknown in feudal days. Class consciousness has grown up, labor unions have been formed, and Socialist propaganda has had considerable influence in the big cities. Strikes during the last twenty years of industry and the attitude of hostility between the peasant farmer and the landlord has accompanied industrial growth. The government censors very strictly the type of propaganda that is brought in. The governmental policy is subtle. Recently, it has introduced a bill to legalize trade unions while prescribing the rules to which they must conform. This policy is now being applied to religious bodies as well as political.

The power of labor is bound to be of slow growth since agriculture still remains the major occupation in Japan. Since 1924, the trend of government has turned the swing back to militarism. The Immigration Bill which shut the Japanese people from America was a serious blow to Japanese pride as was the building of the Singapore Base by Great Britain. These influences served to bring back the power of the militarists. At present it seems that the power of the Genro will pass to the Privy Council. The Militarists and Bureaucrats are able to work through the Council which has the constitutional power and also by means of intrigue among the political parties. So the Japanese form of government becomes an adjustment which varies from period to period between the claims of rival groups. The Militarists and Bureaucrats express their policies through the Genro and Privy Council and are still a powerful influence in the government. The demands of the industrial group have led to a slight increase in power for the Lower House. The people as a whole take little interest in political technique; yet, the power of public opinion has weight.

Allen says in Modern Japan and Its Problems, "It is foolish to imagine that an Eastern people with an entirely different social background from that of the West should respond politically in the same way as Western people do to the stimulus of economic change. The East cannot be expected

to work the machinery of Western political systems satisfactorily in an unsympathetic atmosphere. Oriental institutions, in fact, have their own laws of development, which may be very different from those of Europe; and progress lies, not in slavishly copying what may be quite unsuited to the temperament and social organization of the race, but in the discovery of those laws and in obedience to them. In Japan's case, it seems probable that some form of compromise between a parliamentary system of the English type and government by functional bodies and groups will ultimately emerge."[1]

For a time following the establishment of the Constitution, ideas of freedom and liberty were popularized. Public meetings in which political questions were freely discussed were held extensively. Political parties began to be organized everywhere. Because the press severely criticized the government and mercilessly denounced certain of its policies during this transitional period the government issued a press law. This restricted freedom of speech and pen. Later the government enacted a law restricting public meetings. Thus the central power of the government is maintained.

Up to 1925, suffrage in Japan was not universal but depended upon the property tax of the individual. Equal suffrage has not yet been granted to the women of Japan.

Somebody has said that the western nation may be compared to a pyramid of individual stones. Japan is a pyramid of pyramids, each of which merges in a larger until we have the completed form--the nation with the Emperor at its head. The old clan ties have not been quite dissolved for even the rulers are chosen from old family groups. When we understand this, the paradoxes of the political system can be resolved. The Restoration-Revolution

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[1] Allen, G. C.: Modern Japan and Its Problem, p. 76.

of fifty years ago did not subvert any of the accepted ideas of society. The prime cause of the transformation of Japan was not the pressure of a subject class, but the necessity for strengthening the government in the face of a foreign menace. The new government required the support of all elements in the nation, and so unity was brought about. The idea of equality and freedom from the French Revolution, the pattern of the German constitution, and the progress of economics and industry have all laid their special stones in the pyramid of pyramids.

Various theories of government have had their influence upon the politics of Japan. With the development of capitalism and the progress of industry, the reaction took the form of socialism in 1897. Following the period of socialism came Marxism. With the Manchurian emergency in 1932 as the turning point, the spirit of Fascism saw great activity.

Premier Senjuro Hayashi once said, "The development of culture has the closest relation with the rise and fall of the national destiny. In Japan there exists a culture based on the spirit handed down to us from ancient times and ancient history. With the progress of the world, we must all the more emphasize the glory of our culture. Japanese culture at home must contribute to the development of national destiny, and in international quarters exert its influence upon world culture as a whole."[1]

B. Industrial

1. The Rise of Industry

In 1868, at the beginning of the Meiji era, Japan had been isolated from the world for nearly three centuries. What foreign trade there

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[1] Hayashi, Senjiro

was was carried on almost entirely through the Dutch merchants at Nagasaki. The mercantile class in Japan occupied a very lowly position in the social scale. It was their business to serve the feudal lords. Thus, the Japanese merchants were totally inexperienced in foreign trade. The simple mode of life required for the most part only such articles as could be made by the workers of the household.

The chief industrial products were articles of luxury and military implements. These were produced by craftsmen organized in guilds and controlled by the feudal lords. Such industries as woodcarving and inlay, hammered work, embroidery, lacquer, and pottery making are still done by hand.

Nitobe says "The arts and crafts are pursued not by mere artisans but by artists and usually on a small scale; i.e., under the direct control of the masters. You have heard of the porcelain maker. Seifu, whose workshop is his private house, where he and his family live and share with his half dozen pupils food and lodging. You look in vain for large kilns; but see only two or three small ones under which the master himself may be building the fire. His products are not turned out en masse. Every imperfect article is discarded, and those that pass inspection bear his name and the impress of his personality. The same is true of the productions of other master workmen. Labor, especially mechanical labor and drudgery, forms only a small fraction of their exertion, and even in the execution of inferior artisans, labor is not degraded into a mechanical process. It is for this artistic element of our manual work that Japanese manufacture is most admired by the West, and I assure you it will not be lost; but will be kept up as a sacred inheritance, of the race, in spite of commercial produc-

tion on a large scale."[1]

Family industry as well as arts and crafts is still an important part of the Japanese industrial economy. Umbrella making, such sewing enterprises as sock making, lantern and clog making are carried on as the work of the family. The raising of silk worms has always been a family task, and undoubtedly will remain so, since great care is needed in the nurture of the worms. Because of the patience and skill required in the handling of the worms, western nations will never be able to compete with the cheap labor of Japan.

2. Commercialized Industry

Beside the three sacred treasures, the Mirror, the Sword and the Jewels, agricultural and weaving implements were preserved by the Emperor in the sacred treasure vaults. In these early days, 92 B.C., the Imperial interest in industry is thus apparent. From that time forward during many successive reigns, industrial enterprise was dependent upon the ruling classes. Often manufacturing was carried on at the Emperor's palace. Experts in silk weaving were brought over from China in 470, and the Empress herself gave encouragement to this industry.

In 493, experts in hide tanning were brought in and the leather industry organized. During the Nara period when Buddhism was flourishing in all its power, a new splendor invaded the land. Manufacturing was greatly stimulated, particularly for the requirements of the temples and priestly robes. Many articles of Indian, Chinese, Greek, and Korean manufacture were brought in. During the period from 794-1184, luxury in all its forms was rampant. Gold lacquer work, paper, embroidery were all required. Craftsmen

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[1] Nitobe, Inazo: The Japanese Nation, p. 221.

changed and improved their methods. The art of that period shows a notable influence from Greece. Later, as trade grew, ship building became an important industry.

From the time of the Restoration five periods mark the evolution of industry. To the middle of the eighties, the government itself took over the field since the merchant and manufacturing classes had been subservient to the nobles and so lacked initiative and capital. In the second period the rise of banking and transportation, the changing regard for business as a profession, made it possible to transfer the management from the state to the individual. Then came the third epoch and the Chinese War. New industries in connection with ammunition and food supplies burst forth. The fourth epoch dates from 1904-1914. Industry received a great impetus from the World War. Innumerable companies and factories were set up. By means of the trade boom, although the moral tone of the country suffered, the Japanese government was enriched. With the end of the war the trade boom stopped, but the new psychology went madly on. The earthquake came, but in the fifth period imports did not diminish though exports ceased for a time. Gradually, however, industry recovered.

Nitobe says "That the country is making long strides toward industrialization is proved by the constantly increasing proportion of provisions and raw materials in the list of imports and the constantly increasing proportion of manufactured goods in the list of exports."[1] The chief import is cotton with iron, wool, lumber, and rice coming next. Raw silk is the chief export, and cotton cloth, silk cloth, refined sugar, knitted goods, and porcelain are sent all over the world.

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1. Dilts, Marian M.: The Pageant of Japanese History, p. 325.

Japan's uneasiness for the last two hundred years has been due to the economic situation in the Empire. With a population half as great as that of the United States to maintain on a small group of islands, about as big as the State of California, is a staggering task. The traditional mainstay of the nation is agriculture, though only about fifteen percent of the country is tillable land. According to the government census of 1929, forty-four percent of the total population are farmers and eighteen percent engaged in industry. Early attempts at trade had made serious inroads on the supplies of coal and iron, and though much of the country was covered with forest much of the timber is not easily accessible because of the thickness of the forest. "Japan's chief resources are still the silkworms, the potential power of her rivers, and the energy and skill of her loyal people."[1]

Industry has developed and expanded on the basis of these resources supplemented by a large amount of imports. Resources of iron are scanty, though in the northern part of Hondo are deposits of iron sands from which the old Samurai swords were made. Some attempts have been made at using this material in the modern economic system but so far have not been successful. It is certain that eventually, even considering these, that Japan's iron supply will be depleted. Manchuria, however, now under Japanese control, contains considerable deposit.

The coal supply, on the other hand, is sufficient though of poor quality, and coking coal is still imported. Again, Japan has control over the two richest coal mines in Manchuria. Crocker warns us that the resources of Japan must be considered in the light of its enormous

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[1] Dilts, Marian M.: The Pageant of Japanese History, p. 325.

population. The general paucity of such resources in the Far East make them difficult to obtain, and for that reason industry on the scale in which it is carried on in the west is impossible.

Compensation for the dearth of minerals lies in the plentitude of hydro-electric power assured by the mountainous nature of the Empire. Although not yet fully developed, more than half of the motive power in Japan's factories is electrical.

The change from an agricultural to an industrial nation has been so swift in the last decade that urbanization has increased sixty percent in Tokyo and ninety-six percent in Osaka. The textile industry predominates. Silk weaving comes first--eighty-five percent of it done in power-driven factories. The rest is done in the country districts by hand.

From time immemorial silk has played an important part in the national economy. Two-thirds of the world's raw silk comes from Japan. Because of the degree of hand labor involved, she is likely to have few rivals in the field. The only cause for concern lies in the substitution of rayon for silk.

The cotton industry in Japan is an important one. It comes next to silk, not only in the number of its employees, but also in the amount of goods exported. Wool and rayon and hemp complete the list of textile industries. These employ fifty-one percent of the total workers in Japan. Factories are small for the most part; the average number of employees per factory is forty-six persons.

The most important manufacturing centers are located at Osaka and Kobe where the population is densest. Osaka has long been the chief industrial center of Japan. Cotton and spinning industries center here. Wool, iron and steel manufacturing, and ship-building are carried on at Kobe. Tokyo

and Nagaya are also centers of industry. All are clustered on the southern coast of the main island. All have excellent ports, but none lie close to the coal fields.

The distinction between old and new industry lies in the method of organization and in the type of labor. The skilled craftsmen are still hard workers. Labor in the factories is largely unskilled and consists mostly of women and girls. The employment of women gives rise to social problems. Because of the difficulty in securing labor close to the factories built in country districts, dormitories have been attached in which the girls employed from the surrounding farms are sheltered. The discipline in these dormitories is very strict. Often the living quarters are unsanitary and food is inadequate. Conditions have improved since the World War, and some employers have become conscious of their responsibility toward their workers. The absence of freedom, which would be intolerable in the United States, is less obnoxious to the Japanese women who have been unused to freedom. In the larger and more modern factories conditions have been greatly improved with many things done to make leisure time pleasant and profitable for the workers. Courses are given in the tea ceremony and in flower arrangement as well as dressmaking and domestic science.

The most difficult of Japan's economic problems lies not in the adoption of giant concerns or of huge trusts and combines patterned after the West, but in an attempt to adjust the old family system to the new industrial conditions. Domestic industry to some extent has declined, but the family group still has important functions.

It is in these ways that through its social organization Japan is able to assimilate economic changes with a minimum of distress. There are trade unions in Japan, but the number of organized workers is still small. Though

there is no department of labor in the Imperial government, there is a strong paternalism in the field of industry.

Japan's ability to produce and export goods, particularly in the textile industry, at a very low price lies in the fact that a large part of her labor in industry is done by women and children. "At present about ten percent of textile operatives are girls under sixteen."[1] Law prohibits child labor up to the age of twelve when it interferes with school attendance. Much of the child labor is used in the home industry. The very strict laws regarding school attendance are something of a deterrent in the employment of children. There is, however, a great need for the awakening of the social consciousness in this field.

C. Religious

If we consider Confucianism as a code of ethics, there remain three forms of religion in Japan. Shintoism, the oldest religion, was established with the very beginning of the nation and has existed from hoary antiquity to the present day. It originated in the peculiar religious temperament of the Japanese people and is so much a part of that temperament and mind that it cannot be displaced or eradicated by conflicting religions from without.

Shinto means literally "the Way of the Gods." Kami or Way has both a religious and a secular meaning. The religious term is used for gods or deities and sometimes for souls or spirits. The secular connotation is "higher" or "superior." These two conceptions, the religious and the secular, are welded together and form the first tenet of the Shinto religion.

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1. Nitobe, Inazo: Lecture on Japan, p. 295.

Thus in Shinto a man of ethically high or noble character may be worshipped, not because of his human nature, but because of his superior divine nature which in reality is above and transcends that of humanity. So in Shinto, man worships the divinity in humanity.

There are two things invariably found in every Japanese home however poor. These are two shrines: one of an ornate make covered with black lacquer, and bright with gilded designs which is Buddhist, and the other of plain wood which is Shinto. The deities of Shinto are worshipped by practically all Japanese people. It is not a matter of worshipping something new and different, but a matter of intensifying the devotion to ancestors or superior spirits.

The Nationalist movement and the return to ancient ways followed the Restoration. In that decade came the high days for Shintoism. "Messengers of Religion" were appointed to preach the Way of the Gods, and in 1872, a code was formulated which was condensed into these three points: first, to practice the principles of love for country and reverence for the gods; second, to make clear the reason of heaven and the way of man; third, to accept gratefully the rule of His Majesty and to obey his will.

The Shinto shrines are simple in structure and typically Japanese in type of architecture. They are of plain wood without color or ornament. The influence of Shintoism is exerted through ritual, that is, through established rites. It is concerned, not so much with man's relations to the gods, but with ritualistic forms. The sanctity of its ritual is inviolable. More advanced adherents give a moral interpretation to its legends and rites and attempt to elevate the ancient faith.

"Shintoism" says Nitobe "may be summed up as the ensemble of the emotional elements of the Japanese race."

Not so old as the Shintoists in Japan are the Buddhists, and their number far exceeds that of any other religion. In 1934, there were some sixteen million Shintoists in the Empire and forty-one million Buddhists.

Buddhism originated in India and came into Japan by way of China. There it took root and has formed the nucleus of the spirit of the Japanese nation. In order to see Japan as she really is, somebody has said, it is necessary that one should have the right conception of Buddhism for it permeates the fields of politics, economy, arts and culture in general.

Buddhism was introduced into Japan in 552 A.D. and spread rapidly due to the influence of the Prince Imperial. He was a man of the highest character and of great ability; he was statesman and saint combined. It was he who reconciled all the conflicting faiths of the time calling Shinto the root, Confucianism the flower, and Buddhism the fruit of the tree of life. He established orphanages and built temples which are still standing.

There are two kinds of Buddhism, one emphasizing the teachings of the historic Buddha himself, the other teachings which grew up later about him. The later form which came to Japan collects these teachings into the Tripitaka which is to Buddhism what the Bible is to Christianity. It was the Buddhist priests who disseminated learning. Only the men who had learned to write beautifully were allowed to copy the texts. Besides writing the people learned from the priests medicine, civil engineering, the science of blending metals, and the art of casting and engraving them. It was the Buddhist priests who encouraged the raising of silk worms, silk weaving, and dyeing.

The teaching of Sakya-Muni, priest of Buddha, is embodied in these sentences uttered as he came down from the mount of meditation, "There are two extremes which he who has renounced the world ought not to follow--

habitual devotion to sensual pleasure . . . and habitual devotion to self-mortification. There is a middle path discovered by the Buddha which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace, to insight, to the higher wisdom, to Nirvana . . . ."[1]

The Buddhist view of life is pessimistic, but offers much to deepen the sense of pity and compassion, and to strengthen the moral actions resulting from these motives. The great merit of Buddhism lies in its stressing of the fundamental conceptions of life. Life is evil only because it is a bundle of desires and passions. Nirvana becomes freedom from these evils, and whoever attains to this Nirvana is not afraid of life or death or evil. His mind is filled with compassion in place of fear, and pity for his weaker brothers is his duty. Moderation in all things is the highest and most useful doctrine.

For some years following the Restoration the religious trend in Japan was toward Christianity. In 1934, began the Buddhist revival, and in that year also was held the second conference of young Buddhists. The Japanese Broadcasting Corporation began broadcasting lectures on Buddhism; publications on Buddhism began to appear. About the middle of 1936, the rising tide began to recede, because the keen young minds of the Japanese youth were unable to reconcile its teachings with scientific thought.

Buddhism remains, however, the most widely accepted of the religions of Japan, and undoubtedly the most influential. From whatever source its moral doctrines have been drawn, from the native Shinto, from the ethics of Confucius, or from the Buddhist sutras, religious tolerance has been maintained. There have been no wars among the religions of Japan.

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1. Nitobe, Inazo: The Japanese Nation, p. 145.

In the very early days, however, Christianity was suppressed by the Shogunate. The Jesuit priest, Francis Xavier, had brought his religion into the Empire in 1549. He was accompanied by other Portugese priests and converts and found a ready response among the Japanese people. In its ceremonial, doctrine and organization, the Roman Catholic Church seemed not so different from the Buddhism to which they were accustomed. Buddhism at the moment was at a low ebb; the country was ripe for an awakening, morally and spiritually. Thousands of people adopted the new faith. But its missionaries were intolerant and insisted on the use of force to stamp out Buddhism and Shintoism. Other Christian forces had come in, and they too began to stir up strife among themselves. The Shogunate definitely disapproved of the new system, and in 1638, all followers of the "evil sect" were ordered to leave the "sacred soil of the divine land." By the end of 1639, not a Christian was left, foreigners were forbidden to enter the land, and the Japanese people were forbidden to leave. Only in secrecy did Christianity survive the ban.

It was not until just after the Restoration, in 1870, that the government abandoned its hostile attitude towards Christians and adopted a more tolerant viewpoint. The foreign missionaries considered this the opportunity they had been waiting for and returned to the work. The first Protestant church in Japan was built in Yokohama in 1872, and in the same year a translation of the Bible into Japanese was begun.

At this time, Westernization was taking place. Travelling was encouraged, various improvements in the fields of art, literature, and drama came about, and with it all, a change in the mode of living. Mission schools were established, and Christianity was encouraged. At the end of another twenty years, however, came another period of inactivity. Theological

controversy, opposition on the part of educators, the waning trend of popularity in the western world, all worked against the forces of Christianity in Japan.

Nitobe says that the greatest contribution made by Christianity to Japanese culture has been in the field of education. The personal influence of men who were utterly sincere in their devotion to their cause could not help but make its mark upon the lives of the youth of Japan. He goes on "Next to their educational work, Christian missionaries must be credited with the initiation of voluntary social welfare work. I shall not dilate upon the demands made upon the rather scanty purse of missionaries or upon the liberality they have shown in the midst of their own privations. But the Christian institutions of relief--day nurseries, maternity houses, homes for the helpless, hospitals, work in slums, etc., even if they do not equal the present-day public institutions in scope or number, may at least be given honor in two respects: for pioneering effort, and for the spiritual element they have infused into their work, a quality notoriously wanting in bureaucratic activities."[1]

D. Educational

1. History of Education in Japan

The Japanese system of education was founded on an elaborate basis as early as the eighth century. The influence of Buddhism and Confucianism was fresh and vigorous. In the Nara era, from 708 to 770, we first find a written expression of Japanese learning. Up to that time myths, legends, and tales handed down from mouth to mouth was the only existing literature.

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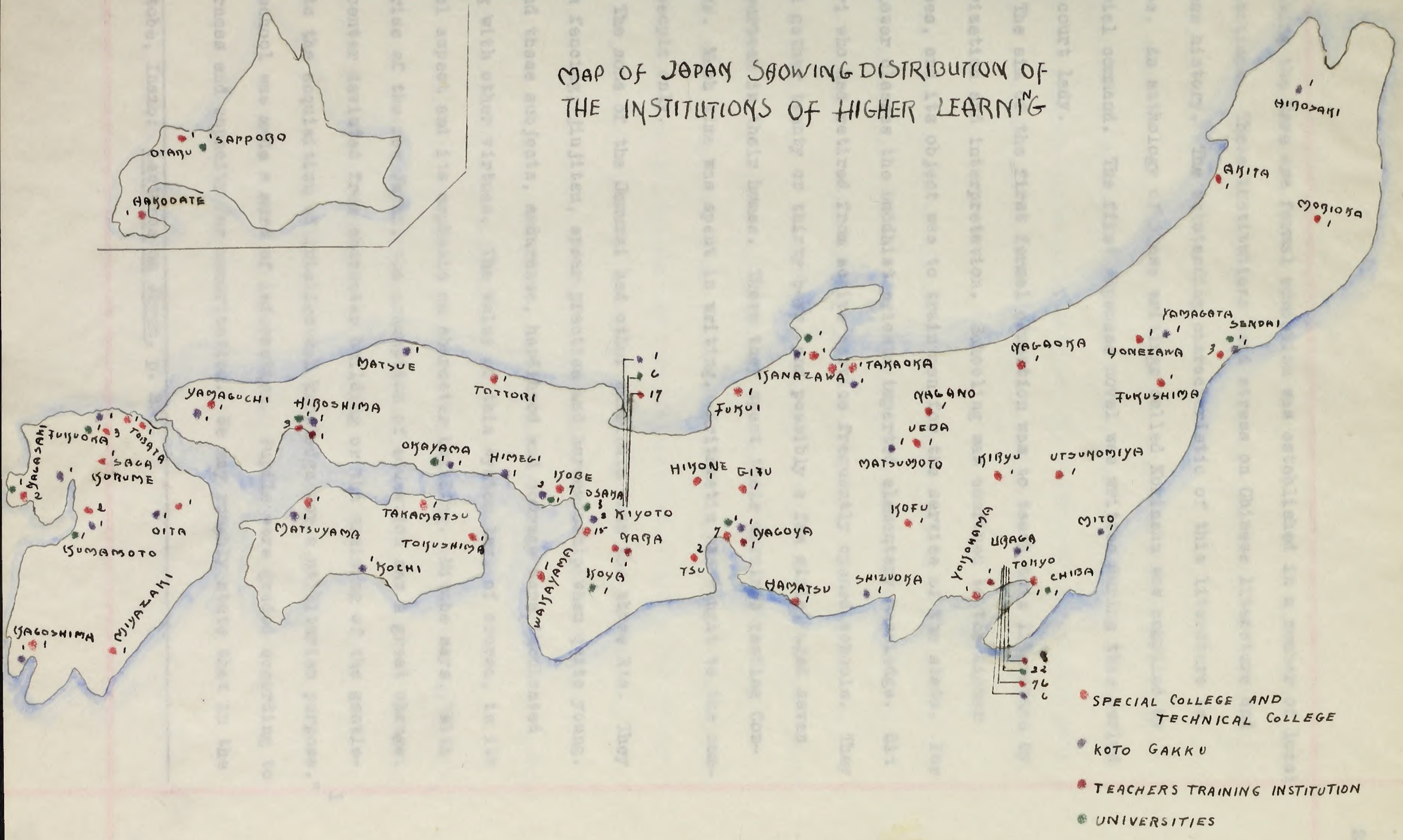
[1] Nitobe, Inazo: Lecture On Japan, p. 172.

MAP OF JAPAN SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING



Following the Nara era formal education was established in a number of local institutions. These institutions laid stress on Chinese literature and Chinese history. The outstanding characteristic of this literature is pathos. An anthology of these writings called Kokinshu was compiled by imperial command. The first Japanese novel was written during this period by a court lady.

The aim of the first formal education was to teach this literature by memorization and interpretation. Schooling was confined to the higher classes, and its object was to train men for the service of the state. For the lower classes the Buddhist priests imparted elementary knowledge. Old Samuri who had retired from active service frequently opened schools. They would gather twenty or thirty boys, and possibly a few girls, aged seven to fourteen in their homes. There they spent their mornings reading Confucius. Much time was spent in writing. Arithmetic was taught to the common people only.

The sons of the Samurai had other curricula than the three R's. They began fencing, jiujitsu, spear practice and horsemanship when quite young. Beyond these subjects, endurance, hardihood and courage were inculcated along with other virtues. The value of this system lay, of course, in its social aspect and its emphasis on character building. Nitobe says, "With the rise of the new Japan, the conception of education saw a great change. Its center deviated from character building or the training of the gentleman to the acquisition of intellectual knowledge for a utilitarian purpose."[1] "The school was made a mart of information. Pupils were graded according to cleverness and capacity for memorization. We may roughly state that in the

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1. Nitobe, Inazo: Lectures on Japan, p. 291.

Nara and Kyoto days man was valued for the manner in which he did things; in the feudal times for what he did or could do, and after the Meiji period for what he knew."[1]

In summary, then, the ancient Japanese education consisted chiefly in the diffusion of Chinese art and ideas. The classics were the texts, poetry was read for pleasure, writing was for enjoyment. Mathematics were military sciences, and memorization and rhetoric were the objects of learning.

The first schools in the ninth century under the direction of the monasteries trained priests and young men for public service. Chinese was used as a medium of expression as Latin was in Europe. Later came the schools established by monks for the children of laymen. Poetry and stories connected with it made up the beginning of Japanese literature.

In the new Japan two great leaders, Okubo and Kido, visited the western world in the year 1871 and carried back to their native land a new conception of education. They so influenced the Japanese government that a Code of Education was issued in 1872, in accordance with which no village was left without a school which every child must attend for at least four years.

2. System of Present-day Education

Education in Japan is mainly controlled by the state. Part of it, however, is entrusted to local public bodies, the object being, as in other administrative affairs, to meet local needs by adequately dividing educational control between the central and self-governing administrations. Private individuals, too, are allowed under certain conditions to found schools and other educational organs.

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[1] Nitobe, Inazo: Japan, p. 232.

In addition to government-controlled schools are a few private institutions such as Doshisha University in Kyoto and Kobe College for Women. Doshisha University is unique in that its scope covers the total period from the kindergarten to college level.

With its newly growing concept the government insists that all elementary schools shall be publicly controlled. Attendance at nursery or kindergarten is not compulsory though encouraged. Attendance in primary schools from the ages of six to twelve is required by law. Not only because of government requirement but because of the general attitude of the people, the average attendance in the elementary schools ranges from ninety to ninety-nine percent.

There is no tuition for the elementary schools. After that the child may continue for two more years in what is called the higher elementary, or he may go on to the middle schools, which are often private. The middle school is expensive; the child may or may not live in a dormitory. The middle school course is five years, but if the child has continued in the higher elementary he may be admitted by examination for the last three years only.

The middle schools for boys and for girls are separate. The girls' high school, which corresponds to the middle school for boys, offers a course of four years. A girl may go to a normal school for five years after finishing the higher elementary school. The normal school is controlled by the state. Beyond these institutions the boy enters High School. Parallel to these schools are the technical institutions providing specialized education of secondary school grade. Beyond these are the higher schools, the special higher schools and the universities. Outside the regular schools are the seinen gakko, youth schools which provide supplementary education

for those who have completed the elementary courses. The Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.C.A., together with lecture courses, mothers' meetings, and labor organizations, furnish opportunity for both youth and adult to continue their education.

3. Curriculum

The early education of the Japanese child is begun in the home as it is in all countries. In Japan, particularly, the child has the place of honor in the home. Their education is the important duty of the parents. Festivals mark the stages of the child's growth, not merely as an expression of family affection but as a definite celebration of the passing of these stages.

Outside the home, the nursery school, founded about twenty years ago is indispensable in Japan as it is in the United States. Day nurseries are under the direction of the Home Department, not the Department of Education as one would expect. They are provided for the children of parents who must work. In the city they are well equipped and care for children whose parents work in the factories. In the country they are simple and care for the children during the busy season on the farms. In either case, the children are cared for during the day but return to their own homes at night.

As soon as the child reaches kindergarten age he is promoted. The Kindergarten, established sixty years ago, under the supervision of the Department of Education is subject to the laws and regulations which govern the elementary school system. The stated purpose of the kindergarten is to further normal and healthy growth of the child supplementing the education received in the home. They are established by cities, towns, and villages, or interested individuals. They care for children of the ages three to six. They play games; they study music, observation, story telling, and manual

training are part of their curriculum. The young child usually spends from one to three years in the kindergarten. In 1935, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two kindergartens had been established with children enrolled numbering 143,469.

Japan's interest in and emphasis upon childhood education is manifested in the expressed purpose of their elementary schools. The Code of Education says, "While paying due regard to the normal growth of the child and providing the foundation for both national morality and education, it is for the imparting of such knowledge and arts as are necessary for the child in finding his place in life."[1] These are the basic institutions for the educational system of the country. They are governed by definite laws and regulations covering their establishment and their equipment. School attendance is compulsory between the years of six to twelve. Most elementary schools are established and maintained by the local government assisted by the national department of education.

Elementary education in Japan compares favorably with the systems of the west. The course of study given in these schools is fixed by government regulation. The following subjects are taught: morals, language, arithmetic, Japanese history and geography, science, drawing, sewing for the girls, gymnasium for both girls and boys. The higher elementary schools add handcraft and technical studies for boys and domestic science for girls.

Textbooks are published and edited by the Department of Education. While this uniformity may seem too rigid in some ways, it does insure an equalization of teaching in all sections. Recently an attempt has been made to avoid too strict conformity to this teaching, meeting the particular

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[1] Yoshida, K.: Education in Japan, p. 69.

needs of any given locality.

Buildings and equipment of the schools have also received considerable attention. City schools are usually built of concrete, those in the country of wood. City buildings have large well-equipped rooms, lecture halls, gymnasiums, and special rooms for the handicapped. Except in the remote mountain districts, all schools are graded completely; there are no one-room schools as there are in the rural districts of the United States. The methods used include the integrated, project, and self-directed study.

The elementary school is well organized and has made a great contribution to the cultural life of Japan. In the country, especially, it is the center around which all other cultural interests gather. Teachers of these schools are respected and enjoy an enviable position.

A volume entitled "America and Japan in Amity" published by the Japanese government in 1938 states the following: "According to the statistics covering our elementary education we find that there are 7,078 ordinary elementary schools, 18,821 schools having both ordinary and higher elementary courses, and 172 devoted solely to the higher elementary grades. This gives us a total of 25,771 schools in the empire. The number of pupils is as follows: in the ordinary elementary grades, 9,612,564; in the higher elementary 1,619,512, making a grand total of 11,232,956 children under such institutions."[1]

Secondary schools are not coeducational. The school for boys is called the Middle School, and it is intended to provide a general education for boys. The special emphasis is on the development of national morality. The course is five years in duration and includes the following studies:

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[1] Yoshida, K.: Education in Japan, p. 68.

morals, civics, language, Chinese classics, history, geography, foreign languages, mathematics, science, music, drawing, technical studies, and gymnasium. The core of regular studies is supplemented by complementary courses. These are for those students who would enter active life and include practical studies and service.

The other source is college preparatory and lays emphasis on foreign languages and mathematics. In recent days, we may find the Middle School offering both types of work: gymnasium, practical shop work, gardening, summer camps, and similar developments along with the classics.

The total number of middle schools throughout the empire according to 1935 statistics is 555, and the students enrolled number 330,992. Of these schools 117 are private and the rest public schools. These latter are maintained by the educational fund of the prefectual governments.

The girls' high school has placed special emphasis on the development of national morality and the cultivation of womanly culture. Here again we have the division of the purely practical and cultural courses. The girls study morals, civics, languages, Japanese and foreign history, gymnasium, mathematics, science, drawing, domestic science and music. To these may be added the principles of education, manual arts, and technical studies. For many years the boys' schools were the models for the girls'. Recently such practical studies as sewing and cooking have been receiving particular attention. Business school subjects and physical training may be added to the curriculum. Special courses are given: flower arrangement, calligraphy, Japanese poetry, tea ceremony, music, and the folk dance.

Their number has reached 970, far exceeding the boys' middle schools. The total number of students is 388,939. Unlike the middle schools, the girls' institutions are increasing in number year after year. This is due

to the fact that there are very few technical schools of this grade, so the girls' high school fills a very important place in providing the girls of the empire with such knowledge and culture as is necessary for their place in the homes of the land.

Technical schools have been established for those who plan to enter practical life. The special type of school depends upon the locality, industrially and socially. In this group we find agricultural, commercial, industrial, marine, and business schools. The course is from two to five years in duration for the student who has had six years of elementary school; for those who have had eight years of elementary training it requires from two to four years. These schools have developed correspondingly with the development of industry. They are in number 1,069, with students totaling 342,914. This is easily twice the number of the middle schools. A great variety of courses are offered with an equal variety of textbooks. This is essential since practical training must go hand in hand with advancing industry.

Parallel with these institutions which prepare the youth of the land for living in the practical world are the governmental training agencies such as the merchant marine stations, colonial training stations, which teach practical navigation and colonization.

The third step in training Japanese youth follows the completion of the secondary school course. These institutions are of two grades: special schools, Senmon Gakko, and high schools, Koto Gakko; secondly, the university grade, Daigaku. Graduates of the secondary schools are admitted to the higher special schools; graduates of the higher special schools enter the university. The special type of school may be termed a practical college. It closely resembles western universities with a special trend toward

business and industrial training. The course is three or more years and must be approved by the Department of Education. Among this group we find a college of pharmacy, foreign language schools, dentistry, fine arts, and music. Schools for girls specialize in literature, household economics, domestic art and sciences. There are 100 of these schools and 173 special technical schools (agricultural, commercial, and merchant marines) with a total of 94,195 students. Graduates of these institutions take place in industry as leaders in the practical world of affairs or in the field of agriculture.

The universities are composed, for the most part, of several departments: law, medicine, technology, etc. Post graduate courses are provided, and where they are needed, preparatory courses. They are of three years duration, and the degree given, Gakushi, corresponds to the Master's Degree. Graduates who complete three years of further study may submit a thesis and after being examined by the faculty concerned, may receive a Doctor's Degree. This degree is sometimes granted without examination upon the completion of a thesis. There are forty-five universities in the Empire with students enrolled numbering 48,069. Among these, six are Imperial universities, two are governmental, twenty-five are private, and twelve are single-department schools such as medical institutions or schools of liberal arts which are frequently carried on by religious organizations. There is no uniform type of organization or curriculum in the universities.

A. F. Thomas says, "The university thus forms the crowning feature of our complete educational system. The entire course from entrance into the elementary school to the earning of the Gakushi degree covers from sixteen to eighteen years. Then, for those who hold this degree, there is the privilege of further study either in the post graduate or the graduate

university. Beyond this we can find in many universities, provisions for further research in various fields. Those opportunities for research are offered by the universities, form the very apex of our educational culture, and fulfill a two-fold mission, that of discovering, and that of imparting truth."[1]

Kobe College for Women is typical of Japanese colleges. It was founded in 1875 by Eliza Talcott and Julia Dudley. At that time Japan was pushing forward with education as the keystone of its swift new development. The new school grew slowly at first, and at the start had an enrollment of only thirty-five people. Soon, however, with the unfolding of the nation's new governmental policies, foreign education, foreign religion, as well as foreign language became popular. The college grew so rapidly that new buildings were necessary, and the teaching force had to be enlarged. New courses were opened--among them domestic science, hygiene, and such Japanese arts as flower arrangement and the tea ceremony. In 1899, the school was licensed by the Department of Education. Later music, homemaker's courses, and a department for teachers were added.

The present plant is situated on a beautiful site between Kobe and Osaka. Twenty buildings, all in Mediterranean architecture, are the embodiment in stone of the newest trends in education and the further progress of the Japanese people in the field of education. There are separate buildings for the library, for the tea ceremony, for science, and for the High School. Cherry blossoms and pine-clad slopes, "clouded with the mauve haze of wild azaleas" make the campus a bower of beauty.

Its students now number 718 and its teachers, 65 Japanese and 13 foreign.

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At present a senior college, a junior college, music, and high school constitute its departments. The stated purpose of the institution is "To provide for women the essentials of education, founded upon the Christian religion, and Christian morals and to train womanly character in accordance with those principles and with the principles of the Imperial Rescript on Education."[1]

Kobe College in itself is a living comment on the attitude of the new Japan toward the new type of education. Her majesty, the Empress, takes a keen interest in her daughters' education. The present system of education is their pathway to a definite place in the new world. The interest of the Empress is indicative of the general interest in education since the earliest history of the Empire.

In 1890, was issued what is known as the Imperial Rescript on Education. It forms the basis of all moral teaching in the schools of Japan. It is, moreover, to the childhood of that nation what the Gettysburg Address is to the children of the United States. It has been translated as follows:

> Know ye, Our Subjects:
>
> Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtues. Our subjects, ever united in loyalty and filial piety, have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory and the fundamental character of our empire and herein also lies the source of our education. Ye, Our Subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate the arts and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial throne, coequal with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

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1. Deforest, Charlotte B.: <u>Educational Work</u>, p. 12.

E. The Family

From time immemorial the Japanese people have taken delight in genealogy. Family was everything and the individual was regarded only in his relation to it. He worshipped the gods of his household but none of his own. The fear that the family might come to an end dominated all of life. The retainers of the family were not hired servants but part of the family property to be handed down from generation to generation. All this was a part of the great desire to keep the house undivided. If there were no son, one was adopted to continue the family. If the son were unworthy, he was expelled, and another was put in his place.

Until the time of the Restoration, the family formed the unit of the community. Obedience to family rules and customs was essential. At present, while the old attitude toward the family underlies all action and all thinking, a new emphasis is being placed on the individual. Where once social rank was emphasized in order to maintain order, now equality and freedom are ruling principles. This is the change that has resulted in the new emphasis upon the individual--his rights and his responsibilities. The person is coming to be the unit of society now. While the new attitude is not yet strong, it shows the trend of Westernization now taking place in the Empire.

In any case, by the family we mean not merely a man, his wife, his children, but a whole group of relatives, often as many as four generations being represented. It is the highly developed and vigorous part of the social organization. The welfare of the family is still more important than the welfare of the individual. The family will dictates education, marriage and a career for its sons. If the individual attempts to oppose the family

will, he can be dismissed. This does not mean that the head of the family is necessarily a strict autocrat. He is, rather, the instrument of the family machine. The family council is the deciding power in any question. With all the relatives gathered together, smoking, drinking tea, discussion goes on until a common decision is made. This may dull the initiative of any individual, but the decision is likely to take into account the special ramifications of a particular case as the state could not do.

Any household in Japan is likely to consist of at least three, possibly four generations. Of these the eldest is the most considered in the home. The oldest have most authority. They are consulted in any crisis, financial, religious, or social. The best the family can afford in the way of food, clothing or any material comfort is offered to them first. This reverence and consideration for the eldest in the family is a part of the ancestor worship which is so typical of the Japanese people.

Allen says, "Ancestor worship induces a sense of family and national continuity, and adds immensely to the power of custom. It serves to point the common purpose and interest of the group, for around the family and the village, and the national shrine, cluster traditions of each community, and the memories of the dead. On all the important occasions of life, offerings are placed before the family shrine, and the ancestors are called to take part. At the O-Bon festival held annually in August, when all the ancestors are supposed to return to the shrines, the members of each family assemble and light fires to attract the spirits to their homes."[1]

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[1] Allen, G. C.: Modern Japan and Its Problem, p. 49.

the family. The family always hopes that the first born will be a son. The place of the eldest is important because he will at some time become the head of the clan. The other children in the family are also important, and their education and training are given consideration. The girls from earliest babyhood are trained in the womanly arts of homemaking. They are taught to be always obedient to the eldest, to follow the ceremonies and customs of the family. The aesthetic side of life is not neglected. The tea ceremony and flower arrangement are an important part of a girl's education, as are cooking and sewing.

The dolls' festival is a celebration of a girl's holiday. It is an ancient custom and became national in scope during the eighteenth century. The dolls used are not the ordinary ones with which the children play, but special ceremonial ones, handed down from generation to generation. This is often called the Peach Blossom Festival because the fragrance and pastel shades of that flower are supposed to suggest the feminine characteristics of gentleness and grace. Many interpretations are given to the festival. It is often observed to encourage filial piety, ancestor worship and loyalty. But above all else, it expresses the parents' love for and joy in their children. It is as much a part of the childhood of Japan as Christmas or birthday parties are in the West.

The boy, on the other hand, particularly the oldest, has his own position to fill. He must be trained for his special responsibility. There is great rejoicing when the first baby arrives in any family, particularly if it is a boy. Celebrations which call in relatives and friends bearing gifts are held. The child's name is announced, and the family is congratulated. On May 5, the Tango is held. This is the Boys' Festival which corresponds to the girls'. A figure of a carp in paper or cloth symbolizing courage and

strength flies at the top of a pole. The custom originated more than two hundred and fifty years ago. It was first an expression of rivalry on the part of the common people against the armed classes who displayed on this day war streamers and arms. The commoners who could make no show of arms were, nevertheless, concerned for the welfare of their male children and displayed the carp as a symbol of high mettle and fearlessness which they wished to inculcate in their sons.

The place of the oldest son is accepted by the other brothers and sisters without jealousy. Others are educated to go out and carve their own fortunes. Their portion of the inheritance will be small since they do not have the responsibility of supporting the clan. If there is no boy in the family, a daughter takes the place of the oldest son, and a second or third son of another family will marry and take her name. In that case the position is not considered an enviable one, for, though he has some prestige, he is for the most part merely "the husband of his wife" and not rightfully the head of the family.

A part of the education of both boys and girls is the ritual of the family worship. The first two servings of rice in the mornings are prepared for the ancestor and for Buddha. With special care they are placed reverently upon the altar before them. The whole family gathers at once before the shrine, and prayer is offered by the father. Again, after dinner, evening prayer is observed. At any meal the oldest members of the family are given preference. Then the father and the sons, the daughters, and finally the mother are served.

For the past three thousand years, home has been the haven for Japanese women. Any other profession than homemaking is secondary in the life of women. All of her education and training fits her to be a submissive wife strength flies at the top of a pole. The custom originated more than two hundred and fifty years ago. It was first an expression of rivalry on the part of the common people against the armed classes who displayed on this day war streamers and arms. The commoners who could make no show of arms were, nevertheless, concerned for the welfare of their male children and displayed the carp as a symbol of high mettle and fearlessness which they wished to inculcate in their sons.

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For the past three thousand years, home has been the haven for Japanese women. Any other profession than homemaking is secondary in the life of women. All of her education and training fits her to be a submissive wife and a gracious hostess. She has no place in political life in her country. Only recently has she begun to enter the work-a-day world. Very few women in Japan continue to practice a profession after marriage. Though she may have been a skilled doctor, dentist, or teacher before marriage, she gives it all up and becomes homemaker after marriage.

The new forces in economic life of the country are forcing women of the present day outside of their homes. Until forty years ago, it was enough for any woman to rely upon the support of father or husband. The difficulty of finding suitable husbands, and insecurity in the field of finance have forced many women to assist in the economy of the household. Eleven percent of the women who work do so to maintain their own individual life. This is shown in the adoption of customs and manners.

The family system in Japan is so deeply rooted in Japanese life, finding its expression in customs, sentiments, attitudes, that its importance cannot be denied even in the face of the newest trends. It would be preposterous to speak of its collapse under the pressure of modern times, yet it must be admitted that its abiding power has been somewhat relaxed of late.

Why family life has been so successful in Japan is not easy to say. Possibly it is because of the differing conception of the sphere of woman. Though it is assumed that she will be the wife and mother with definite responsibilities and privileges, she is by no means the servant of the household. She is "the honorable lady of the house," chosen by her husband's family to continue that family. The quiet affection which is so characteristic of Japanese families is a stabilizing influence. "The system of social relationships in Japan" says Crocker "has been a very great achievement, and perhaps no part of it has been greater than the family system."[1]

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[1] Crocker, W. R.: The Japanese Population Problem.

SOURCES OF SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL CONFLICT

III

SOURCES OF SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL CONFLICT

A. Old Versus New Culture Patterns

At the beginning of the Meiji era it became popular to adopt Western ways. Ambassadors were sent to the West to study the ways of foreign peoples, to England to study statemanship, to Germany to study their constitution, to France for the educational system, and to the United States for industrial methods, manners, and customs. Throughout the West they studied the system of military offense and defense.

Youth is always quick to take on new ideas. In these days Japanese youth see the third-rate movies and musical comedies from the West and try to imitate the manners and customs portrayed in them while most of their families cling to the old tradition. Conflict between the generations is universal, but more marked in Japan, especially at this time. Along with the changes in dress came equally radical changes in attitudes. In order to adopt new types of foods, new dress, even foreign languages, changes were required in the underlying viewpoint. When young people first started to kiss each other in public, the police were undecided whether to arrest them in the old manner or whether to allow it in the new. A general view of a restaurant today would disclose the old conservative folk still eating with their chopsticks, others with knives and forks after the English fashion, still others with forks alone in the American style. The young girl who wishes to be correct in social usage finds it difficult to decide which manner to follow. In general, it is, of course, youth which adopts the new

ways and age which clings to the old.

The conflict between the old and the new finds its most frequent expression in the family life. Many families have gone so far as to build themselves a Western house while still maintaining one of the old Japanese architecture. Others combine the two architectures in one house: a Japanese structure containing one room which is typically Western and furnished with chairs, piano, etc., or a Western house with one or more Japanese rooms. Foreign guests can be entertained without requiring the removal of their shoes which is necessary upon entering a Japanese home. New type of clothing added another problem to the family life. The man of the house wears Western clothes at business and the more comfortable kimono at home. His daughter wears her middy blouse at school, her kimono at home. This is an expensive procedure and keeps the whole family, as well as the individual in a state of "two minds." The whole family situation seems to be in conflict between the old and new in its manner of adjustment to the problem of Westernization.

The new idea of emancipation of Japanese women tends to disintegrate the Japanese family life. Japanese men, accustomed to the submissive, naive type of wife are concerned when they see in her place a woman who follows the custom of the West, not only in the home but in the street and other places. She wants to enter the house first; she wants to be waited upon--doors opened for her and packages carried for her. The emancipation of woman has also resulted in the preference for second or third sons as marriage partners because a woman marrying the oldest son of a family must live with his parents and in-laws and carry on the responsibility of the family. Her economic independence allows her to demand more and more freedom to which the Japanese men are not accustomed and which they often resent.

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B. Family Versus the Individual

From the beginning of the Meiji era, the individual has come to recognize his own importance. While the family was formerly held in highest esteem, the young person now feels he is of prime importance. His opinions and conduct often come into conflict with established family tradition. In old Japan, the authority of the parent was unquestioned. Today the daughter may come home from school with a knowledge of Home Economics and question her mother's management of the home. A farmer's son, who is expected to remain with the soil as did his ancestors, may decide to go to the city to become an industrialist or a doctor. The study of science and of social organization opens to the youth of Japan new areas to be explored. Much of this learning is diametrically opposed to the beliefs of his parents.

Among the customs which have changed most radically since the Meiji era is marriage. The old pre-arranged type is still predominant but it is the cause of conflict in many cases. With Western ways has come the idea of love marriage. The lad in true moving picture fashion finds a sweetheart. When their families refuse to consent to the marriage, there is likely to begin an illicit relation which all too often ends in double suicide--the easiest way out when the individual and the family come into conflict.

In the field of religion, we find many examples of family conflict. A daughter brought up in a Buddhist home observing the old traditional rites and customs was converted to Christianity. At the death of the oldest member of the family, she refused to wear the Buddhist mourning robes or to observe the funeral rites. The family was upset and the daughter faced a situation to which it seemed impossible to adjust. A son of another family

went away to school and was also converted to Christianity. He wanted to become a minister, but his family was outraged and immediately disowned him. In Japan this is a much more serious matter than it is in the United States, for it means severing all the old family tradition as well as care and protection.

C. Idealism Versus Materialism

The Japanese people have been idealistic for centuries. Their youth are forever seeking something to live for or to die for as their forefathers did in the days of old. During and after the World War, however, great changes began to take place. Western materialism had already penetrated into the life and customs of Japan, but the World War brought about an increased contact with other nations. There came to Japan a period of industrial activity and material prosperity. Industries were developed and enormously expanded even though Japan had entered the industrial world after machines and techniques were fairly well developed. Some gained millions almost over night and were able to own cars and many other things imported from the West. Automobiles were very expensive to operate, and the poor people looked upon the owners with hatred. On the other hand, there were many people who had no share in this prosperity. They were ill fed, ill clothed, and ill housed. Strikes began to occur. The people were troubled because the price of rice was entirely too high. The condition of the lower class was almost unbearable. In 1917, when prices were soaring and the people were starving, a group of fishermen's wives led what was called the "Rice Riot." A riot was a very unusual occurrence in Japan, and it was more unusual for women to be leading it because women were supposed to be submissive and obedient. This was a definite expression against capitalism and

materialism.

This conflict between idealism and materialism is a very serious one. It is impossible to eradicate centuries of idealism, yet this materialistic culture is certainly to be reckoned with. The conflict with its problems is illustrated by one of the best sellers after the World War, a book entitled "Kongiki Yasha" which might be translated "the Golden Demon." Miya, a very beautiful girl, was engaged to Kanich, a poor university student. One night they went to a party to which was also invited a very wealthy young man, Tomiyama who had traveled in Europe and around the world and who, above all, was wearing a dazzling diamond ring. He, of course, was the center of attraction and his attention was centered on Miya. The girl's parents decided he would be a better match than the poor student. When she became the wife of a wealthy man, she found that wealth did not bring happiness. Kanichi, on the other hand, lost his idealism when he lost Miya, and he became a lender of money and by hard and coarse methods accumulated all he could. He no longer cared for his education or the finer things of life. The Japanese people, especially youth, were greatly in sympathy with Kanichi.

D. Autocracy Versus Democracy

Before the beginning of the Meiji era, Japan had been under a dictatorship of the Tokugawa family. But with the coming of the Western Civilization, the country has risen out of its feudalism and isolation and gradually certain democratic principles are working their way into the Japanese mind. One of the outstanding results is the agitation for wider suffrage and since 1890, the number of people with a vote has been gradually increased. The Manhood Suffrage Law of 1925 extended the right to vote to all males over thirty years of age. Within thirty-three years, the franchise of Japan

increased twenty-four times. When the vote was first extended only half the qualified electorate really voted in Japan. Sennosuke Yokota illustrates the rise of a poor man to exacted rank. Most of the leaders of Japan came from the Samurai class, but he was from the lower class and by his ability and character made his way to the Cabinet as Minister of Justice.

Democracy also has its effect upon the home. The father who always has been autocratic now lets the members of the family have a voice in deciding important matters, though some remain as that of old days.

One of the villages in western Japan gives us an excellent example of democratic procedure. A school was needed but there were not sufficient funds. Both the wealthy and the poor of the village met to debate the possibilities of acquiring the needed money. It was suggested that drinking be given up for a certain length of time. After much discussion, it was decided to do this. However, many were dubious as to the outcome. To their surprise, all abided by the decision and a lesser value was given up for a greater value.

The Emperor of Japan has always held a unique place in the hearts of Japanese people. Most of the people would commit suicide rather than desecrate his name in any way, but in 1910, there was a conspiracy entered into by a group of anarchists to overthrow the imperial throne by force. This created a great sensation, and the government felt warranted in prohibiting any social movement. Prominent leaders of socialistic or anarchistic bent were all arrested, and the germs of political criticism were destroyed. Since then the word "social" came to be a synonym for "treason." Thus, any kind of social thinking was crushed during the budding stage.

Because of the influence of the World War and the Russian Revolution of 1917, social and labor problems came to the foreground of thought.

Japan heard the direct echoes of the Russian Revolution. It was during this period that the word "democracy" was interpreted to the people by Sakuzo Yoshino, an instructor of Political Science at the Imperial University at Tokyo. He was supported by the university students and won their sympathy. The stream of thought of the intelligentsia could not be stopped by the dam built up by the Autocratic force. Then the nationalists were alarmed. These two diametrically opposing parties ran neck to neck until the United States Immigration Act of 1924. Once again democracy was pushed back. When one considers the history and social and political institutions of the Japanese people, one is not surprised to find that the modern democratic movement has made rather slow headway.

Today "Intelligent Japanese youth realizes that the ultra-nationalistic program will result only in cutting off his own country from the life of the world, that communism is too great a menace to the culture and genius of the Japanese people, that even democracy, which thrilled his father must wait until the demos, the great mass of Japanese common people, obtain greater self-consciousness and develop a real desire for self-expression in government. He realizes also that there stretches out before him a time in which Japan must find its soul again, must achieve an idealism adequate to sustain and support the weight of its material accomplishments, must sift the true from the false in the hastily adopted civilization of the West, and blending the best from the Occident with the best of the traditional culture, form a civilization that will be truly Japanese."[1]

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1. Lamott, Willis Church: "The Youth of Japan--Whither," The Missionary Review of the World, 1934, p. 463.

SOCIAL WORK IN JAPAN

IV

SOCIAL WORK IN JAPAN

A. Early Efforts

The Japanese people often look at the picture of Emperor Nintoku as he stands at the top of his palace surveying his Empire. The story runs that as the Emperor looked, he noticed, though mid-winter, only a tiny bit of smoke coming from the chimneys of his subjects. Because the smoke made a tiny wreath, he felt that his people must be poor and that year exempted them from taxation. It was the year 316, and from that time on, the Imperial household has given attention to relief. It was the Emperor Monmu who issued a definite edict for the regulation of relief which included the crippled, the disabled, those taken ill while journeying, military relief in time of war, and the visiting of the families of the generals at the front. From that time on each Emperor has given some form of relief.

With the introduction of Buddhism and its priesthood various institutions for the poor were founded. So the religious element entered into social work in Japan. During the Nara Era (710-799) Buddhist relief work was at the height of its development. The Empress Komyo established a dispensary called "Seyaku-In" and an almhouse called "Hiden-In." The Emperor Koken (749-758) founded an asylum for dependent children. His sister also founded an asylum called "Hokin" for over eighty orphans and devoted her life to social work. An asylum for poor travellers was established by the Emperor Kanmu (781-806). The Empress Danrin after the death of the Emperor Junna (823-833) shaved her head and gave her life to the care of the

foundlings and orphans of the capital.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, Portuguese clergymen visited Japan and showed interest in relief work. At first they established an asylum for lepers and then one for orphans. This was the first piece of Christian Social Work in Japan. Later, a group of missionaries from the same country established a temple for the poor and sick and gave medical relief. They also cultivated medicinal plants in the neighborhood of Kiyoto which became useful for healing.

During the Tokugawa Regime (1605-1867) relief work was started among the people themselves who formed together in groups of five to help each other, especially in time of famine. This spirit of mutual help was portrayed through the establishment of lodging houses for beggars where they were taught industry and farming and encouraged to migrate for the purpose of agriculture, and through the Coolies' Home which received released criminals and other homeless people.

B. Present Status

At the dawn of the Meiji Era, there was a revolutionary spirit prevailing among the people and the hatred of old systems. The new government was very busy adopting the material culture of the West. The self-defined society people who had been the supporters of private charitable institutions suddenly stopped aid. Hospitals for the sick and poor were abolished with the exception of one orphan asylum. Many of the old laws and regulations regarding the care of indigents and the giving of medical and material relief were revised. The charitable organizations of today were started after this period.

After the World War, the increase in population and the accompanying problems caused new difficulties in the social life of the people. The growth of monopoly capitalism had concentrated greater wealth in fewer hands. The number of the disadvantages had increased with every recurring crisis of unemployment. This condition necessitated the growth of social work which is based on scientific methods. Thus, the government took over the task. The Home Department of the Japanese Government organized the National Social Work Association in 1919, and its purpose was to unify all social work institutions in Japan. Since then the Home Department has held an institute for social workers each year. Today the Government Social Service Institutions have a wide range of activity including those of the social settlement houses, clinics, lodging houses, pawn shops, semi-public housing for the poor, institutions for the crippled and the handicapped, public restaurants, markets, employment exchange, and various forms of child welfare work. The scientific investigation of social conditions has become one of the most important phases of social work in Japan.

There are two kinds of relief work in Japan: public and private. The public work is based on the laws of the country and is done by controlled bodies. The private work is promoted by various interested groups of people. Under the indoor relief we find that the aged, infants, disabled, sick, crippled and dependent children are cared for in the poor house. Necessary medical treatment has been given to the poor. Outdoor relief, on the other hand, consists of money and the necessary material aid that is given to the indigents at home. Under this type of care, recipients are encouraged to become self-supporting. Other than the general relief program, there are two types of special relief work. The first is aid that is given at the time of famine and other disasters such as floods, earthquakes, etc.;

and the second form that of military relief. Military relief is to help the incapacitated soldiers or their families in need. The Japan Red Cross founded in 1877 has become one of the most powerful relief agencies and is carrying out a large program.

Medical social work has been greatly emphasized from the beginning. In 1879, the first Christian hospital was established and soon after many others were built, including hospitals for tubercular patients, for the insane, for lepers--all of which are serving a great number of indigent patients. Christian workers in the medical field have directed interest mostly toward leprosy and tuberculosis.

As soon as the preventive work was emphasized, the importance of child welfare drew the attention of the people. The earliest work for children was mere material relief work as it was in any other field. It was given chiefly to orphaned, delinquent and dependent children. Today organized nurseries are prevalent in the congested sections and near the factories.

The Reformatory Department, belonging to Tokyo City Asylum for the poor, is also for the correction of delinquent children. This is a Shinto institution. The children from eight to eighteen who are delinquent are taken into the reformatories and may remain until the age of twenty-two. There is a National Reformatory under the control of the Home Minister for the more deprived children under the age of fourteen. Most reformatories are run on the cottage or family system with primary and supplementary schools which teach manual training and farming.

In considering the application of social case work to Japanese culture, the writer is first reviewing social case work as a way of helping.

C. Defining Social Case Work

Every child comes into this world with his own unique inheritance and no other child is exactly like him. The uniqueness of the individual is emphasized further by his environment. No two people will have the same experiences, and the same incidental remark or look will affect each individual differently. Some children enter life under very favorable conditions: well equipped physically, mentally, and emotionally; others enter life with handicaps: physical deformity or a mental deficiency. Even those with sound bodies may be prevented by poverty or poor personal relationships or maladjustments in their environments from finding their proper places in society.

The social worker's task, then, is to recognize the individual differences of her clients and to stimulate their "maximum effort" to use their own resources.

Social work may be compared to block printing. One of the most difficult things in carving is to cut clear square corners; one of the most difficult tasks in social case work is to penetrate to the farthest corners of the case. It requires skill to cut a graceful curve in the linoleum. So does it require skill to handle a human problem with tact and grace. While one tool may be needed to cut a corner, a very different one is necessary to make a curve. In case work, one skill may be needed for a certain task while another task will require a very different tool. Some linoleum may be hard and require more pressure. In working with individuals, we must know the texture of the individual and find the best way to bring out his latent possibilities. Superior block prints are made by one who has

mastered the scientific knowledge of the field and whose skill was mastered by wide experience.

Let us examine the following tools that the social worker has to manipulate in dealing with a case. They are interviewing, listening, observing, recording, correlating, and an understanding of community resources. Interviewing is one of the most important skills of the social scientist. It is practically his only means of getting to understand an individual, his peculiar situation and problem, and his attitude toward his problem. It is a most difficult and delicate art because tact, understanding and insight are so necessary. The eseential in establishing rapport is to be really interested, to convey the fact without saying so in words, and to be sincerely direct and open minded. The worker must withhold judgment and should not measure another's social or moral standard by her own. At times the worker should allow release of emotion, and at other times it is necessary to relieve anxiety or fear and to reassure the client. At another time the worker has to present facts and help the client face reality courageously and squarely.

The central point in interviewing is to establish a relationship beneficial to the client.

Another important tool is listening. The opportunity to give an account of his difficulties may provide much needed emotional release. As the client tells his story, he may clarify his own thinking and thus aid in the solving of his problem.

Observation is another skill that the social case worker must acquire. She must be alert to the client's action and feelings. Certain muscle movement may give clues to the client's feeling toward his problem. Observation should be accurate and should be free from prejudice.

Records are important as they help us to understand the individual's total situation. They are also important for the new worker who continues the case or when other agencies wish to get information. They are valuable to help a worker keep the main facts of a case clear in her own mind, especially when she is handling many different cases at the same time. In recording the worker must select the significant elements and omit unnecessary details. Good recording must be concise and form the basis on which treatment may be prescribed.

The interviewing, observation, listening, and recording done on a case must all be put into a coherent and integrated picture. All known facts thus secured must be related and the individual and his problems must be seen as a whole. The correlation of the data on a case is a most important aspect of social case work. From this the worker is able to draw some idea about the client's latent potentialities, capacities, interests, aptitudes and needs, limitations and handicaps.

A social case worker must know the community in which she works. She must have knowledge of its resources both public and private so that she may refer clients to the proper source without wasting time of the client and the agency she represents.

D. Difficulties in Applying Social Case Work to Japanese Culture

When we consider the various skills of social case work and the background of the Japanese people, we may well wonder how it is possible to reconcile the two. Indeed, it is a most difficult task. Let us think of a Japanese garden with its highly cultivated shrubs and trees many of which are cut into graceful curves and beautiful shapes. Suppose that we try to transplant into our garden a tree from Hawaii. The soil and the climate

will be different and perhaps unfavorable to the best growth, because it has been used to the freedom of wide open spaces and the tropical sun. Here in our garden it may be crowded and must conform to certain patterns. It may die completely. Will its contribution to the garden be great enough to warrant this care? Will it add to the beauty of the garden?

Transplanting this tree from another climate to Japan is like trying to apply social case work method to the culture of Japan. First of all we have to consider the soil; it must be ready to receive it. Tradition and cultural background must be understood. The tree may not grow well at first. Its leaves may turn yellow and fall. Its growth may be stunted by its change of location and climate. It may take case work a long time to get established. It may undergo serious difficulties. As the tree needs care and attention social case work needs long and patient hours of cultivation, because individualism and personal liberty are still luxuries in Japan. I am sure its contribution will in time well repay the effort put forth.

The following cases illustrate some of the problems Japanese social workers are facing.

> Mrs. A. was brought up in an ideal Japanese home. As a child she was disciplined by her mother to develop into a good wife and mother. In her early schooling she was trained in morals and traditions. Later she attended a mission school where she acquired new ideas of the equality of men and women together with a new idealism in building a home of her own. However, she married according to the old marriage custom and went to live with her husband's family. She was expected to conform to their family tradition and to be shy, obedient, and submissive. The relationship she experienced in her home was not that of two supplementary personalities but that of master and servant which is the relationship between absolute possession and property. Because of her education, she was unable to fulfill the family's expectations even though she

> tried. She felt ashamed of her failure to adjust to this new situation and realized that it would be an unspeakable disgrace to return to her mother. As a result she determined to commit suicide. She was stopped by a policeman and was taken to a social worker.
>
> The interview is a very difficult one because she was extremely sensitive, shy, and did not wish to disclose her family name because of the disgrace.

Her problem was that of cultural conflict--conflict between the West and the East. Her earlier education taught that Japanese women ought to endure almost any hardship rather than to give up or bring disgrace on the family. But Western education stressed individual freedom of action and thought. She tried to gain freedom from encumbering old tradition and social customs. She has an intellectual grasp on modern liberal thought but emotionally she was a woman of feudal time. She knew that she could not escape the pressure of her own environment which was culturally playing upon her. She was not able to face reality and tried to use suicide as an escape mechanism. "Since I was a small girl, my mother used to repeat the proverb--woman has no other place but her husband's house to live." This indicates that there is an old cultural pattern which is still a part of her. Since the problem was brought about by a combination of restriction from without and inhibition within, the worker had to stimulate self-direction and her maximum effort. This was necessarily a slow process and not readily responsive to social case work.

> Takeo was a Japanese youth who was trained to be patriotic and "Chu" loyal to his sovereign, both at home and at school. His father had been a member of the army. Takeo was sent to the training camp by his family with great expectations of his following in his father's steps. However, before going to camp he had done considerable thinking about peace and war with several friends who shared his view of pacifism; but there was no alternative to his taking training. While in service he complied with the rules sufficiently to avoid notice by his superiors but inwardly he rebelled at his daily tasks. There was no one whom he could take into his confidence and all these conflicts between ideals and practices were bottled up inside him until he became depressed and melancholic. The personnel director of the camp noted this and had an interview with him but could not find out very much. Takeo was taken to the mental hospital where the social worker had contact with him.

This case indicates that the client was afraid to tell the real reason for his feeling depressed because of the censure, not only of the camp officials, but of his family and his community. If he told his view of pacifism he would disgrace his father who was very desirous that he take his training. It was difficult for the worker to get at the source of the difficulty. During the interview the following isolated remarks gave the clue: "O, why do people have to fight?" and later, "My parents want me to serve the State . . . and I do not want to disappoint them." The worker must be able to correlate these statements to see the whole picture--the conflict of his ideal of pacifism and his desire to fulfill his parents' expectations. Of course, he considers his parents' will of first importance yet his ideals hinder him. Since his physical findings were negative he was sent back. The worker knew that placing him back in the same environment would precipitate a recurring depression, but freedom of opinion and individualism in Japan have not reached the place where any other plan was possible.

> Hanako, fourteen years of age and rather attractive, was considered by her friends "boy crazy." Her action and attitude had caused much comment among the neighbors and at school. Her home teacher interviewed Hanako but unable to secure very much information, she felt that she should see Hanako's parents. Both her parents were very conservative and raised on the old Confucian doctrine which declares "Male and female children should not be together after the age of seven." The present-day schools which allowed this were beyond their comprehension. The parents wished to take the responsibility for disciplining the girl, but they showed a lack of understanding of adolescent problems.

In their experience, boys and girls had always been separated and there was no way by which these parents were able to guide normal associations with the opposite sex. The social worker wished to help Hanako develop a wholesome attitude toward boys and yet use discretion, but the family was so

upset that a solution seemed almost impossible. The worker knew that she must work with both the girl and her parents in an effort to find a common ground for a solution.

The following case, carried by the writer during field work, brings out some of the differences between the two cultures.

> Mr. P., a widower sixty-two years of age who walked on crutches because of amputation of his left leg above the knee, was admitted to the hospital for a much needed operation complicated by diabetes. He had two daughters one of whom worked in domestic service, the other married twice with two sons by the first husband and two sons by the second. His grandson, twenty-two years of age, was married and established in his own home where Mr. P. lived until he went to the hospital. Mr. P. stated he wished to go home very much "but there is no home." The granddaughter-in-law said that Mr. P. had lived with her for four months and she felt that the daughters should take some responsibility. She suggested that the daughter who was doing domestic service making five dollars or possibly six dollars a week to come to her home and take care of him. None of the family was willing to take the responsibility of caring for Mr. P. It took a great deal of interpretation and persuasion before one of the daughters finally accepted responsibility for his care.

Such a problem as this would be very rare in Japan because of ancestor worship, and the responsibility for the care of the aged falling on the oldest son. The Japanese people respect the family tree and for that reason the father and mother have the first consideration.

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