

The Japanese College-University Education and the Problems of Student Guidance

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This is dedicated to our President Dr. Yuasa, recollecting his deliberate statement on Student Political Activities last June which I esteemed and supported with all my heart.

I. Postwar Educational Reform and the College and University

In August 1946, one year after the termination of World War II, the Educational Reform Council was set up. It was one of the fundamental policies of the New Education to let the Council undertake investigations and deliberations on important matters on education. As a result, in March 1947, the Fundamental Law of Education and the School Education Law were enacted. The former, replacing the Imperial Rescript on Education which was the highest authority of the prewar education, sets forth the basic principles of the new education, while the latter provides for the idea and programs of the new school system. The prewar education stood on ultra-nationalism, the primary objective of which was to make people the means of national prosperity, whereas the new education based on the Fundamental Law of Education aims at bringing up each member of the nation in social solidarity respecting the personality as an end itself.

The prewar educational system set up six years' elementary school education as compulsory, and had three programs as its super-structure: a) the orthodox program leading to the university which emphasized academic study, b) the collateral program

leading to the professional college which emphasized technical education and c) the popular program which emphasized the training of vocational life; each of which had its branch programs. As the interchange among these three was very difficult, the prewar system tended to divide the people into classes according to their education.

The new school system aims at simplifying, to the greatest extent, such pluralistic programs and removing blind alleys by setting up a unitary program of 6-3-3-4. In pursuit of the principle of equal educational opportunity for the people according to their ability, compulsory education is extended for three years, and co-education is adopted on every stage abolishing the discrimination between men and women.

The structure of the Daigaku (college and university), which is the last stage of the 6-3-3-4 system, however, still remains rather complicated. In general, the Daigaku operates on a four year program, but the medical and dental courses have a six year program. In addition, it also operates a two year junior college course as a part of the old professional college.

According to the statistics of the Ministry of Education as of April 1960, there are 245 four year Daigakus (governmental, 72; public, 33; private 140) and 280 junior colleges. The departments of Daigakus number 656, and are classified into 53. The number of Daigakus which have a graduate school is 84 (governmental, 25; public, 11; private, 48). As of April 1958, the number of students in four year Daigakus totals 582,000.

II. *Issues and Problems of the "Old System" University*

Japanese higher education bears two heavy and peculiar burdens. One is the inevitability of learning complex and irregular Kanji (Chinese characters) and the other is the necessity of learning European languages which have structure and flexions quite different from Japanese. In order to enter the university, students had to

be equipped with special preparation in foreign languages and basic learning in the "old system" higher school or preparatory university course. Once they entered the university, they were forced to launch on the study in the fields of distinct specialization. As they advanced, they concentrated their effort in the study of further specialized subjects more deeply and narrowly with little attention to other fields. They were proud of being good at elaborate analytical judgment. Trained in such a way, they could contribute to the development of science and technology in some special fields in the role of small cogwheels in the tremendous machinery of society.

On the other hand, such specialized education engendered evils. It produced specialists, lacking in broad and comprehensive understanding as well as perspective on the over-all situations. What was worse, some of them were ignorant even of the problems in their adjacent fields.

In an age of democracy there shall be no training of such intellectual cripples or deformed men—the so-called specialized fools who are useful only in specific fields and no more. In the old system, the tradition and the spirit of the higher schools could barely prevent the production of such specialized fools.

III. *Aims of the New Daigaku (college and university)*

In view of such defects of the old system university, the new educational system makes high schools, colleges and universities undertake the roles played by the old system higher schools. It is the aim of the new education to make colleges and universities the institutes which provide the students with a broad and rich cultural background in order to enable them to see a problem in its entirety.

In the curriculum of four year colleges and universities, one-third is allotted to general education, two-thirds to the study of

major fields. The general education program consists of three fields; humanities, social sciences and natural sciences. Students are required to take 12 units or more in each of the three fields, a total of 36 or more units. In this general education program it is intended to 1) maintain the balance among the three fields, 2) help the students acquire the humanistic and comprehensive understanding of the world, 3) help them understand correctly the inter-relationship among segmental knowledge and the meaning of each segmental knowledge in the whole, 4) and make them realize the social roles they must play in their special fields. The plan is to give professional and specialized education on this general and cultural basis in accordance with 1) the dispositions, ability and intentions of the individual, 2) and the development of the personality of each individual. It is planned in the hope to contribute to the betterment of the society by establishing a mutual supplement and cooperation among each individual.

Another characteristic of the new system colleges and universities is the adoption in the curriculum of physical education which had been neglected in the old system university and which provides the students with the theory and practice in the improvement and maintenance of health.

It is also to be noted that the extra-curricular activities are given an important part so that students may get an opportunity of supplementing the curricular activities, and develop their specific interests as well as to train themselves for social life. In other words, in adopting the extra-curricular activities as one of the main educational programs, the new Daigaku manifests its purposes of giving consideration to the students' problems and taking necessary steps for solving them. These projects, however, have been treading difficult ways. The main deterrents for its successful achievement are the conventional and inertial ways of the Japanese Daigakus. Moreover, there were very few experienced professors

to work out the pertinent plan of general education and operate it properly.

However, one of the most important but the least cared for in the new educational program is the student self-governing association which is related to the extra-curricular activities.

IV. *Background and Recent Development of Student Self-Government Activities (Gakusei Jichi-Katsudo) and the Political Movement of Student Self-Governing Associations (Gakusei Jichi-kai)*

It is said that the consecutive and organized student activities started with the organization of "Shinzinkai" (New Men's Association) in Tokyo University and "Gyōminkai" in Waseda University in December 1918, the year of the termination of World War I. The activities at the early stage had the mixed tendency of democracy and socialism. With the organization of the Japan Communist Party in 1922, the Student Association for the Study of Social Science, briefly called "Gakuren", which was the representative body of the students' "thought movements" at that time, took up as its main program the study of Marxism and went into the activities based upon its theory. The then Ministry of Home Affairs, by force of the Law for the Maintenance of the Public Peace enacted in 1925, severely oppressed the Communist underground organization, the labor movements associated with it, and the leftist student movements. Corresponding to this measure in October 1928, the Ministry of Education instituted Student Directors in the colleges and universities under its jurisdiction for the purpose of supervising and controlling the students' "thought movements" by force of laws and regulations. In spite of this, however, the student Marxist movements were not quelled. On the contrary they flared up in frequent strikes from 1929 to 1931. Since the outbreak of the Manchukuo Incident in September 1931, the Ministry

of Education had constantly and strenuously been trying to weaken the movements by indoctrinating the nationalistic ideology. Since the outbreak of the China Incident in July 1937, it had been throwing energy into double-attacking the student movements by means of drilling for Japanese fascism on one hand, and on the other hand, by trying to strengthen the power of the "thought" police and intensify the military training under the state's power. Such efforts succeeded in nearly suffocating the freedom of thought. During World War II which broke out in December 1941 it was nearly impossible to stage any organized movements under the military oppression. The only possible means during the War was the passive resistance by silence. Toward the end of the War all the students, whether they willed or not, were mobilized to give labor services in factories and farms.

With the unconditional surrender in August 1949, worn-out students and pupils who barely survived the severe War returned to ruined or burnt down homes and to the devastated schools with their hearts full of memories of miserable experiences. By the directive of G.H.Q., the extreme ultranationalists and militarists in the educational fields were purged on a large-scale. To the campus returned one after another the teachers who had been ousted by reason of so-called dangerous thought of liberalism, anti-militarism, or communism. What were found by those who returned to their homes and campuses were distrust in the state's power, the denial of the tradition and order, and despondency. In addition to them, there were privation, fear of inflation, profound humiliation under foreign military rule and the weak government of fallen prestige.

It is not hard to assume that under such circumstances the authorities of universities, higher schools, and professional colleges, while enjoying the emancipation from the military oppression, had to tackle various new difficulties of one kind and another.

It is only natural that they remained passive toward the problems of student guidance because of the present difficulties and hideous memories of the past.

Students, on the other hand, strived desperately to get rid of privation in which they were always in fear of starvation, while full of deep resentment to the war leaders. What was more, they had no principle to which to hold fast. All of a sudden the slogan of freedom, equality and democracy came sweeping over the country.

When we consider the situation, it is well understood why students were apt to make many exorbitant demands, resort to irresponsible actions and be fascinated by the ideology rooted in class antagonism and hostility.

Under such a situation, in October 1945 the Association for the Study of Social Sciences was formed in Tokyo University. In December the Student League of Kyoto was organized with a view of realizing national independence and reconstruction. Their immediate purpose was to have a voice in school administration as well as to democratize the campus and remove the difficulties of student life. In July 1947, almost simultaneously with the formation of the Japan Teachers Union—Nikkyoso—, a nation-wide organization of student self-governing associations was announced. In November 1947, the All Japan Governmental University Student Self-Government League—Kokugakuren—was organized. In the course of time the student movements gradually began to take up nation-wide political problems as well as campus problems.

In the first half of 1948, protesting the raise of the tuition fee in the governmental schools, they staged the non-payment campaign. At the same time they joined the Educational Revival Movement of the Japan Teachers Union caused by the shortage in the educational budget and finally jumped into a nation-wide strike. In the latter half of the same year, taking the opportunity of

Anti-Tuition-Fee-Raise Movement staged against the Private Universities Association, the All Japan Federation of Student Self-Governing Associations—Zengakuren—was formed comprising the students of governmental, public and private universities and colleges.

The professed purpose of Zengakuren is to give practical effect to the reasonable request of the students throughout the country by democratic means and to contribute to the establishment of the democratic Japan through the Educational Revival Movement. It apparently sounds fair, but its real motive lies in applying Marx-Lenin-ism in the social life of Japan.

There are three characteristics of Zengakuren. First, the basic principle is of communism. Though they advocate democracy, their democracy is not the democracy of the Western type. It really means “the government of the proletariat.” Their anti-war claim presupposes the one-sided view which arbitrarily states that Russia and Communist China are peace-loving nations and labels America as war-loving nation. In the name of democracy they justify “collective intimidation.” Their declaration that legitimacy depends on power reveals their true intent of “revolution by violence.” They are skilled in struggle tactics and use every means, good or evil, for achieving the purposes.

The second characteristic is that it is a vast organization for political struggle which unites the universities and colleges while spreading deep roots in each of them. It therefore is beyond the right of the autonomy and supervision of the universities and colleges. According to its announcement the number of student self-governing associations which joined it at the time of its formation was 268 (governmental universities, 168 ; public, 31 ; private, 67 ; uncertain, 2), the number of students being 220,000. This figure is apparently an exaggeration. It is also well imagined that the figure includes no small number of blind followers not trained in reasoning, critical judgment and independent thinking.

The third characteristic is the existence of "invisible penetrating organizing power" based on Marx-Lenin-ism among its leaders and in their background. Democratic-minded students, on the other hand, in general, are of independent minds and do not organize themselves. They have no inclination for offensive and tactful organization and feel it troublesome to be engaged in an ideological controversy which leads nowhere.

Zengakuren as a "political body" has been conducting fierce political movements at every opportunity. Its history is traced in the following remarkable incidents: movements against; the College-University Bill, educational budget, Public Safety Regulations of Tokyo Metropolis (1946), Red Purge (1950), Peace Treaty with Free Nations, Bill for Preventing Subversive Activities, Military Bases; movement for immediate withdrawal of the Occupation Force; and other Anti-America movements; struggles with policemen in Tokyo University; May Day Incendiary Affair; throwing of bottle grenades and vitriolic bottles (1952). With the change of tactics of the Japan Communist Party it also changed its course which is seen in the subsequent series of movements. Among them are: Anti-War and Safeguard-Peace Movement; movements in protest of the military bases of Uchinada, Asama and Myogi (1956); movement against the minor electorate system; movement against three laws of education; movement protesting hydrogen and atomic bomb tests (1956); movement against teachers' rating system; movement against Police Duties Execution Law (1958); movement against the revision of the Mutual Security Act (1959-1960); demonstration for safeguarding democracy; rioting into the Diet; movement against President Eisenhower's visit to Japan; attack on Mr. Hagerty; movement to overthrow the Kishi Cabinet.

Though they sometimes had to modify their struggle tactics, Zengakuren for the past ten years and more has constantly devoted itself to the political movement of communistic radicalism in alli-

ance with labor unions taking advantage of a flowing wave of democracy. The estimate of the Ministry of Education shows that as of February 1959 there were 250 student self-governing associations in 110 Daigakus which were affiliated with Zengakuren. The membership totalled 290,000 including 2,000 communists and 2,000-3,000 sympathizers. It is seen in the estimate that the total number of communists and sympathizers only account for 0.6-0.7% of the total membership.

There is another radical student organization which is linked with the leaders of Zengakuren. It is called the Association of Socialist Students—Shagakuren. It is an organization of individual students whereas Zengakuren is that of student self-governing associations. It admits as the members those who hold the principle of “peace, independence and democracy” and who act consciously on their own accord for the cause of socialism. In comparison with Zengakuren, it aims at providing political guidance both in theory and practice. The estimated membership is 1,800 including 1,000 communists.

In December 1958 the Central Committee of Zengakuren broke with the Japan Communist Party by reason of discord in regard to struggle tactics and formed the Communist League.

V. Reappraisal of the Problems of Student Movements

In the colleges and universities which have student self-governing associations affiliated with Zengakuren, the autonomy of the Daigaku itself is always threatened by the outside directives. There is the danger that the political strife and disorder will be brought into the campus at any time, by which the teaching and study, the primary function of the school, will seriously be disturbed. It is no easy task to deal with it wisely. The effect of the control by mere force of laws and regulations was fully evidenced in pre-war days. The need was felt for reappraising the problems of

student guidance and reconsidering the principles, methods, techniques, facilities, and organization of student guidance.

For the period of September 1951 and July 1952, the Ministry of Education organized seminars on student counseling in Kyoto, Kyushu and Tokyo Universities with Dr. Wesley P. Lloyd of Brigham Young University and six other American specialists as the leaders. From June to August 1955 it organized a special seminar in Tokyo University again with Dr. Lloyd. From March to May 1956, Tokyo University organized a workshop on "Theory and Practice of Counseling" led by Dr. Edmund Griffith Williamson of Minnesota University. Meanwhile, in an effort to open the way for interrelationship among the persons in charge of guidance, the Ministry and various Daigakus formed an association for student personnel service. The Ministry in this way sought to develop the principles and methods which can be applied in the Japanese situation.

At the same time, the Student Welfare Council was formed on the basis of the blueprint drawn by Student Affairs Section of the Ministry of Education. In June 1958 the Council clarified where the problems existed and drew out the program.

"The Report and Recommendation to the Minister of Education" prepared by the Council contains the following items ;

1. Improvement of organization and administration of counseling.
 - a) Purposes and significance of student personnel work.
 - b) Improvement of administration and organization of student personnel works.
 - c) Model plans of improvement.
2. Improvement of health service.
 - a) Purposes and significance of health service and its present situation.
 - b) Improvement of health service.
 - c) Model plans of improvement.

This report, being the result of the careful study and deliberations by men of learning and experience, is the most trustworthy document which correctly analyzes the situation and indicates the concrete policy for improvement.

VI. *Educational Policy*

Since the student self-government movements have developed into off-campus political movements as I already described, it is necessary to get them restored the right way.

1. Daigaku Autonomy and Student Self-Government Activities.

Most of the student self-governing associations were started as a part of the Daigaku educational program out of educational necessity. The new students, therefore, are automatically made members. As long as the associations conduct their business under the autonomy of the Daigaku, the Daigaku is responsible for giving them educational guidance and administrative supervision. Therefore, the activities of student self-governing association should be confined within the limit of the principle of autonomy of the Daigaku.

A student, when admitted into a Daigaku, automatically accepts a special relationship to it. Herein arises his right and obligation. The student has the obligation to abide by the regulations and rules of his school and to keep the order prescribed in the pledge. The student should first of all be made conscious of this obligation. It does not mean, however, that the regulations and rules of the Daigaku are infallible. They should be revised from time to time through proper procedures.

The next thing the student must be conscious of is that as a student he is inevitably under some restrictions in his action, whereas as an individual citizen he can exercise the freedom of joining an association as guaranteed by the Constitution. The Daigaku therefore should take every precaution against interfering in

the student's joining in any political party, as long as he does so in the capacity of an individual citizen, not as a student.

2. "Political Neutrality" of the Daigaku.

Article 8, paragraph 1 of the Fundamental Law of Education stipulates, "The political knowledge necessary for intelligent citizenship shall be valued in education." It connotes that the comprehensive understanding of the political situation, the critical understanding of political theories and ideas, the correct evaluation of methods, and practical ability of dealing with obstructions lying in the way of achieving the ideal—these are essential for making appropriate political judgment. In order to acquire them it is necessary to study history, experiences and theories of politics from general and unbiased points of view. This study should in no way be connected with the propaganda of any specific political party. Paragraph 2 reads, "The schools prescribed by law shall refrain from political education or other political activities for or against any specific political party." Some interpret "the schools prescribed by law" as the authority responsible for school administration excluding students. Some others, on the other hand, interpret the wording "school" as the educational institution including students as the objects of education. Even if we accept the former interpretation, the educational power or responsibility of the president and other responsible officers of the school covers the conduct of the students as long as they are acting on the campus. In this connection, it should be strictly prohibited to bring specific political activities into the campus. Therefore, when the student self-governing association joins some off-campus organization or when it is engaged in political activities in cooperation with off-campus organizations in the name of the student self-governing association, it should have received the approval of the Daigaku authority in advance. To leave such procedures loose, may jeopardize the autonomy of the Daigaku.

3. Relationship between the Student Self-Governing Association and the Individual Student.

The purposes of the student self-governing association which is a part of the educational program of the Daigaku can be varied. The spheres of extra-curricular activities of the students vary according to the kind of the school and the students' interests. They may involve 1) cultural concern for art, thought and science, 2) physical concern for health, games, sports and recreation, 3) practical concern for food, housing, living environment, schools, expenses, side jobs and placement, 4) social concern for social intercourse with others and social problems. Each individual student who accepts the basic principles of student self-governing association will be engaged in the activities of his individual interests in cooperation with and in mutual supplement with his fellow students. He will respect the independence and dignity of other students. In so doing, he will have the opportunity of training himself as a member of society. Because of its nature, the student self-governing association must be operated in a democratic way. For this purpose there must be the working rules for the student self-governing association. The working rules to be clarified are :

- a) Aim and purposes of the student self-governing association.
- b) Organization and conditions for operation such as :
 - (1) a quota for a general assembly
 - (2) conditions for putting the decisions into effect
 - (3) competence of committees
 - (4) methods of election and collection of fees
 - (5) extent of power
 - (6) procedure in dealing with the problems
- c) The right and responsibility of the individual to the organization.
- d) The limit of freedom and responsibility of the organization.
- e) The extent and conditions of participation of the organ-

ization in off-campus activities.

4. Necessity for Educational Leaders Responsible for Student Activities.

In order to deal with the above-mentioned problems properly and effectively, the Daigaku must have a sufficient number of faculty and staff in proportion to the number of students. They should have contact with the students not only as seniors in the scientific and technical study in a specific field, but also as "the educators of the next generation."

Since it requires much time and energy to contact and give guidance to the students, it is necessary to form a proper organization of "specialists in counseling and guidance." In order to gather competent specialists in this field and to let them carry out their duties concentratedly, we must establish "status of function for specific service" and give them the "treatment and status of educators" equivalent to those of professors and assistant professors.

Then what are the qualifications for such personnel? The first and fundamental qualifications are a deep love and understanding of youth, and personality able to secure the confidence of the students.

In addition to this fundamental requirement, there are three further requirements for the specialists in student counseling. The first is adequate knowledge and experiences in philosophy, social thought, politics and political economy. This is particularly important in Japan where, in the face of fierce ideological controversies between democracy and communism, they must secure the freedom of conscience and independence of personality and guide the students to stand the training in critical thinking.

The second is the scientific training in counseling and guidance to deal with adolescent psychology. It is necessary for such personnel to acquire insight not only into the problem peculiar to youth but also into the possible tendencies of student groups. They, therefore, should be equipped with the scientific skills in controlling and guiding them appropriately. They must not resort to mere experience and intuition.

The third is practical ability to deal with the problems of

student welfare in order to improve the living conditions and environment of the students.

Since one single person cannot hope to have all these qualifications, there is a need of organization in which each counselor works cooperatively and supplements his colleagues.

There is also a foremost need for leaders and authorities competent in administration in order to integrate such an organization. It is necessary to bring about friendly relationships between the organization and the authorities such as faculty meetings, meetings of board of trustees, deans, the president, and the business office, and to realize the unity of opinions and policies of the whole *Dai-gaku*.

5. The Establishment of the Training Institute of Specialists in Counseling and Guidance.

It is necessary to set up the official status regulations for specific service if we hope to get qualified specialists in counseling and guidance. At the same time it is necessary to establish a training institution in order to provide further qualifications for those who are engaging in counseling and guidance as well as to offer courses of the same kind in graduate schools in order to train prospective counselors. It is to be regretted that last year the program of establishing such an institute planned by the Ministry of Education and one of the universities was not realized because of misunderstanding and lack of understanding among professors and administrators.

(This was originally prepared for the Keio Conference of Asian Educators, October 18-25, 1960 and was translated by Mrs. Sanuki. I presented, however, only about one-third of this content because of the limit of time. In publishing this article in *Educational Studies* 7, I am most grateful to Dr. Marie Bale who gave time to go over the translation and to make it as acceptable as possible to those who will read it in English.)