

**Campus Violence In Japan :  
With Special Reference to Juvenile Crime  
in Japanese High Schools**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the Degree of  
**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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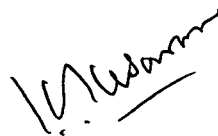
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C E R T I F I C A T E

I have the pleasure to certify that Miss Tara Ramteke, an M.Phil student of the Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, JNU, has pursued her research work and prepared the dissertation entitled "Campus Violence in Japan : With Special Reference to Juvenile Crime in Japanese High Schools", under my supervision and guidance. This is the result of her own research and to the best of my knowledge no part of it has earlier comprised any monograph, dissertation or book. This is being submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Japanese Studies, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the said degree.



CHAIRMAN



Dr Lalima Varma  
Supervisor

To

My Teachers

late Shri Raghunathji Rangari, Shri  
K.J. Chouhan, Manohar Golpelwar, Devidas Ghodeswar

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## P\_R\_E\_F\_A\_C\_E

Juvenile crimes in Japan has shown three high tides since the end of of the World War II. The first tide came in 1950-51 when the nation's post war reconstruction got under way. The second wave in the middle of the 1960s when Japan experienced a high rate of economic growth which had its impact on the society. And the third wave was higher than the previous two, started around 1974 and continues to swell till today. This social problem of such great magnitude is causing concern to all sections of the society. Children are the future of the country and it is necessary that they be brought up in a healthy physical and social environment. The purpose of this dissertation is to study the factors responsible for juvenile crimes among the school children in Japan and the efforts made by the government and non-governmental agencies in trying to find a remedy to this problem.

The study is divided into four chapters. The first chapter deals briefly with the historical development of the education and its impact on the society, while the second one surveys the by-product of it and the involvement of the youth in juvenile crimes. Chapter three studys the steps that are being taken to minimize the violences and to

foster the understanding among students by the government and voluntary organizations. The concluding chapter examines the results and briefly comments on the future prospects of the efforts in resolving the issue.

The nature of the study is descriptive and the sources used are of two types, i.e. primary sources and secondary sources. In the primary sources government reports on youth, education and crime and other commissions' reports are included whereas secondary sources consisted of books, articles and newspaper clippings.

A word about the Japanese names used in this dissertation. I have followed the Japanese method of rendering surnames first.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to my Supervisor, Dr Lalima Varma, who not only gave me the benefit of her advice at every stage of the work, but also helped me to fulfil the task which otherwise would have been impossible.

My thanks are also due to the staff of Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Japan Cultural and Information Centre, Chinese and Japanese Language Department - Delhi University, and Indian Council of World Affairs for their willing co-operation and help.

All my friends for their constant attempts to keep me in high spirits especially Vinod Rangari, Kishor Gandotra, D.B. Damle, Arundada Mate, S.V. Savarkar, B Ashok, Anuradha Deshmukh, Geeta, Sony and Laxmi for lending a helping hand.

I thank Mr D.K. Pahwa for typing the dissertation and my brothers and sister for their encouragement and lastly to my parents to whom my gratitude can never be adequately expressed.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Tara Laxmanrao Ramteke', with a long diagonal stroke extending from the end of the signature.

4th January 1987.

Tara Laxmanrao Ramteke

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Crimes committed by the youth is one of the most delicate and serious social problems confronting the world today. In Japan too, this problem of violence in the campus and crimes committed by the children in schools has assumed unprecedented heights in the post-war period. It has become a cause for grave concern to the parents, teachers and the government. In understanding the reasons which have given rise to this problem, it would be necessary to briefly survey the development of the educational system, changes in the values, and economic growth since the pre-war period.

#### Section I

##### Education

Japan's relations with its close neighbour China can be traced back to the fifth or sixth century or even earlier. Chinese culture, religion, art, architecture and literature greatly influenced the Japanese in the earlier period. The fact that Japan extensively borrowed and copied everything Chinese is more than evident in Japan's ancient art, architecture, literature and religion.



E.O. Reischauer rightly observes: "Culturally Japan is the daughter of the Chinese civilization."<sup>1</sup>

Before Buddhism came into Japan Shintoism was the only religion prevalent in the country. Shinto did not answer to the queries raised by human beings. For instance, there was no answer to the question "what happens after death"? Unlike in Shintoism, Buddhism offered convincing explanation to all the queries. There was plenty of written material which the Japanese priests, travellers and traders brought from China which the educated class read most voraciously.

The teachings of Confucius entered Japan almost at the same time as Buddhism. Since then Confucianism has had a profound impact on the thinking and behaviour of the Japanese. Its philosophy was eagerly observed by the ruling class whose interests it upheld. Confucianism laid down a well defined pattern of behaviour for the subjects towards the ruler, for the son towards father etc. Consequently, every individual's place in society and at home was clearly established which enabled the rulers to rule smoothly and extract maximum loyalty and obedience from their subjects. These norms were so deeply entrenched in the thinking of the Japanese through the centuries that their traces can be seen even today.

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1 Edwin O. Reischauer, Japan: Past and Present (New York, 1953), p. 6.

The Japanese also studied the Chinese language. In fact, all intellectual pursuits were possible only in the Chinese language. The native language, on the other hand, was also enriched by the inclusion of the Chinese words. Chinese was learnt by the elite in ancient Japan.

In fact, education was limited only to the elite class (Kuge) and the priests. Besides the schools for the elite and Samurai, education was imparted to the common people in the temples. Temples besides being religious places were also centres for learning. Consequently, besides teaching to read and write, the focus was on teaching religion. However, there were no formal schools as such supported by the ruling class to educate the common man.

A skeletal framework of formal education system came into existence during the Tokugawa period. After the unification of Japan as one nation under Ieyasu Tokugawa in 1615, there was comparative peace in the country for the next two hundred and fifty years. During this period, education received the attention from the Tokugawa rulers. "Along with the development of intellectual activity, Tokugawa Japan also witnessed a steady growth and spread of education and literacy among the people."<sup>2</sup>

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2 P.A. Narasimha Murthy, The Rise of Modern Nationalism in Japan : A Historical Study of the Role of Education in the Making of Modern Japan (New Delhi, 1973), p. 69.

The Shogun's government called the Bakufu or tent government who administered the affairs of the domains (provinces) with the help of the Daimyos (feudal lords - the head of the provinces). There were 280 domains also known as hans at the time of Japan's unification as a state. This newly formed state needed firm control which was only possible by the efficient administrators, who would establish rapport between the Shogun and the Daimyos and also to check their activities in order to prevent them from revolting against the Shogunate. Besides the Samurai class, which had so far been involved in continuous warfare had no job to keep them occupied. Thus large percentage of this class was absorbed in the administration.

In order to equip the Samurai to maintain their position and efficiency as the governing class, schools meant especially for them were established which were officially supported and carefully watched.

#### The Schools for the Samurai

The Shoheiko in 1630 was the first private school run by the Hayashi family to receive official recognition. "This became the supreme institution of Confucian orthodoxy and was influential in both the domain and the private confucian academies that grew up later."<sup>3</sup> With the

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3 The Shoheiko was mainly teaching Chu Hsi version of Confucianism, which became official Tokugawa doctrine, it was formally forbidden in 1790 to teach other -/-

encouragement of the Government the hans began to establish their own schools and many previous private academies called Juku had been shifted to formal schools in the provinces. The Jusha (Confucianist master) was appointed to look after the administration of each fief school "who not only served as instructor but also occasionally tendered advice to the Daimyo on matters of fief administration. Between 1624 and 1871 as many as 272 fief schools came into existence".<sup>4</sup>

At the age of 7 or 8 years, the children of the Samurai used to go to school and remain there till the age of 23. The period of their stay was divided between the lower and the advanced courses of study. The curriculum of these schools contained the subjects of the martial arts and the literary arts. In the martial arts, the subjects taught were archery, gunnery, horsemanship, spearmanship, swordsmanship, etc., whereas training in the literary arts was entirely Confucianist in content and consisted of a study of the four books and the five classics, Chinese and Japanese history, poetry and jurisprudence. "After completing a course in Japanese syllabary, the pupils went on to the Four Books, which they first committed to memory without attempting to

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doctrines. In Herbert Passin's, Society and Education in Japan (Columbia University, 1965), p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Murthy, n. 2, pp. 70-71.

understand what they read. This was followed by an attempt to read the four books with explanation. In the advanced stage, the pupils not only read the Five Classics with explanation but interpreted them as well."<sup>5</sup> However, the emphasis was given to military education than to literary subjects almost in all fief schools.

Even after Meiji Restoration these schools continued to flourish and some of them turned as the institutions of higher studies. Apart from these schools there were specialized schools at major cities like Kyoto, Osaka, Nagasaki and Edo (Today's Tokyo) for imparting training in the military arts, Western studies (including medicine and surgery) and Japanese studies. The students who had done very well at the fief schools were sent to one of these specialized schools at the expense of the fiefs. Though the Bakufu followed a policy of "isolation" Japan came in touch with the outside world through the Chinese and Dutch who were permitted to enter Japan. Japanese realized the importance of some subjects like Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy etc. These subjects were gradually included in the curriculum of several schools.

Broadly speaking, the educational system of Tokugawa Japan helped to inculcate the moral values among the Samurai through the three systems of thought, i.e.

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5 Murthy, n. 2, p. 72.

Shinto, Buddhist and Confucian teaching. However Confucianism had significant effect in making them loyal towards the authority. They had the highest regard for values such as Chu (loyalty), Ko (piety), giri (duty), ho'on (service), bugen (status), and na (honour). Parents of the upper class of the Samurai (Bushi) were so conscious about the status that they used to train their children in discipline at home only. Moreover, Confucianism also taught them to be secular and more rational while advocating at the same time to be guided by one's own consciousness. As per the Western education is concerned, they learned practicality of solving problems and to give importance to the state. This resulted in shifting their loyalty from hans to the Bakufu which later transformed into the loyalty to the country when the Meiji Restoration began in 1868.

#### Education for the Public

Common man also had access to some kind of education during the Tokugawa period. There were terakoya schools or temple schools, gogaku (both for Samurai and commoners), Shijuku (meant only for common man), and Shingaku run by scholars privately.

Although these schools could not receive any direct official support, "they drew sustenance from certain Bakufu

policies pursued under able Minister like Matsudaira Sadanobu and Mizuno Tadakuni"<sup>6</sup> Their growth was rapid in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries due to the people's demand who knew reading, writing and arithmetic. At the time of the Meiji Restoration, there were as many as 11,000 commoner schools and they survived in one form or the other till the second decade of the Meiji era and some of them became a part of the new national school system.<sup>7</sup>

Lastly, another important contribution of education was to produce a talented Samurai group, which played a very important role in Japan's advancement during the Meiji period. They merely formed two per cent of the total population and received the best education at the schools, particularly built up for them. "As a result, the members of this class advanced into the newly opened modern occupations on the strength of their intellectual ability which had been developed through the intensive education they had received. In the field of new education, for instance, ex-'shizoku' (Samurai or Warrior) members accounted for 73 per cent of the teachers at middle schools and 40 per cent of those at primary schools in 1883."<sup>8</sup> They were highly motivated people

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6 Ibid., p. 76.

7 Ibid., pp. 76-77.

8 Makoto Aso, Ikuo Amano, Education and Japan's Modernization (Japan: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1972), p. 6.

and placed great value on education. This resulted their initiative in Western studies obviously advancing into new occupations and rising in society.

### Education During Meiji Period

The Preamble of the Education Code or Gakusei of 1872, the first official policy on education in Japan stated that "From now on, education should be spread among the people at large (peers, ex-warriors, farmers, artisans and merchants as well as women) so that there may be no illiterate family in villages and no illiterate member in families."<sup>9</sup> The Japanese government aimed at hundred per cent literacy. The Japanese leaders had a somewhat liberal outlook which was reflected in the Gakusei. The curriculum included science subjects, foreign languages and moral studies. There was decentralization and the control of Education Ministry was not so strong.

The result of the decentralized administration of the government was that there were a number of incidences of indiscipline among the students. The Emperor accompanied by his Confucian teacher Nishimur Shige Ri surveyed the schools throughout the country and expressed his anxiety over the growing indiscipline among the students. The result of the Conservative counter attack was that the education

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9 Ibid., p. i.



policy was changed and teachings of morals were given top priority in the school curriculum. The role of education was to inculcate a feeling of nationalism, a sense of obedience and discipline in the students. The teachers too were trained in normal schools where strict discipline was maintained. They were taught to be ideal teachers and were expected to set a good example for the students.

Consequently even though Western studies etc. were taught, studies of morals, history and culture of Japan enabled the Japanese to retain their identity and love for the country. "Compulsory and state-directed education became a powerful means in mobilizing human resources for the great socio-economic tasks undertaken in the course of the efforts to make Japan a first-rate power comparable to the best in the West."<sup>10</sup>

The international, and the national political and economic environment in the 1930s called for extreme national pride. Education once again was used to achieve this purpose. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-45, the educational policy became ultranationalistic and later acquired extreme military nature.

With the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, the militaristic education became even more stronger. Hence,

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<sup>10</sup> Murthy, n. 2, p. 1.

when the war intensified compulsory military drill, student mobilization and the evacuation of school children to the countryside, maintenance of national entity were given highest importance and dealt with deepest conviction. Peace-time educational function of all schools was disrupted.<sup>11</sup>

### Post-War Education

After its defeat in World War II, Japan came under the occupation of the Allied Powers. The Allied Powers aimed at demilitarizing, disarming and democratizing Japan. Article 26 of Japan's democratic Constitution promulgated in 1946 provided for equal right to education, all guardians were obliged to send their wards to schools and compulsory education was made free, in compliance with the spirit of the Constitution. The Fundamental Law of Education of 1947 stated the basic aim of education was the development of personality and have an healthy spirit and body, who are filled with an independent spirit, respect the value of individuals and love truth and justice. Thus the process of democratic education began with implementation of 6-3-3-4 schooling that stood for six years of elementary school, three years of middle school, three years of high

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11 Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, The Role of Education in the Social and Economic Development in Japan (Japan: Ministry of Education, 1966), p. 44.

school, and four years of university. The compulsory education was extended till middle schools. The principle of co-education was established and broad network for education was created.

In these ways the new educational reforms carried out decentralized control of education, authorized autonomous private schools and encouraged the development of community education.

The system that has been established by the Fundamental Law of Education continues till today. Of course there have been demands for its renewal in response to social and economic changes that have occurred since late 1940s, so the central Council of Education was created for reviewing the system but so far no changes had been made. Recently due to the problems created by the excessive entrance examination, a considerable percentage of young people have began to lose the hope of living day by day and are becoming a dispirited lot. To save the youth, the Advisory Committee had been appointed by the Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone in 1984. The Panel is working on the problems.

Soon after gaining independence in 1957 there was an attempt to reverse the course of democratic education system set up during the occupation period. Bills were passed through the Diet which enabled the central government to strengthen its control over local education. Efforts were

also made to pass a bill in the Diet which would change the manner of selecting textbooks but this was not possible. There were also attempts to reinstitute the moral's course as in pre-war days. Finally in 1958 moral education was revived as a regular part of the curriculum in primary schools. However, the contents and purpose of this course are today quite different from those in the pre-war period. Nationalistic morality is no longer to be seen and mostly individual and social morality is emphasized. The objectives of moral education are "to cultivate in children morality which serves as a basis for developing a personality which will never lose the consistent spirit of respect for one's fellowmen, will realize this spirit at home, in the school and other aspects of life in the society which strives for the development of a democratic nation and society and which is able to make voluntary contribution to a peaceful international society."<sup>12</sup>

While studying the entire educational pattern in post-war Japan in its face value seems to be very impressive, still in reality the story is quite different. We cannot take primary or secondary school in isolation. The process leading to the period of employment is a continuous process, as getting employment depends upon ~~~~~ gaining admission

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<sup>12</sup> Shimizu Ikutaro, "Post-War Education", Japan Echo, vol. 2, no. 1, 1975, p. 108.

to good academic institutions. The problem of gaining admission to good academic institution is not peculiar to Japan. Students who fail to gain entrance to good institution probably are disappointed everywhere in the world. What strikes one about Japan is the intensity and severity of the problem. Besides this competition affects an individual psychologically and emotionally and disturbs family life etc. These points will be dealt with in greater detail at a later stage. R.P. Dore has very appropriately written: "Education seems to have become the major mechanism of social selection at an early stage of industrialization in Japan than in Western countries. Learning was the royal road not only to the profession and to government, but also to business as well."<sup>13</sup>

## Section II

### Industrialization and Social Change

During the Tokugawa period the efforts of the Shogunate were directed towards preserving the state hierarchical social order based on the teachings of Confucius. However, in spite of these efforts important economic and social changes took place within the society.

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<sup>13</sup> R.P. Dore, Education in Tokugawa Japan (London, 1984), p. 293.

These economic changes that took place had a vital impact on the society as well. Agriculture was the main occupation of the people and the peasants formed vast majority of the population. However, during this period, the merchant class - the lowest among the four broad social classes in Japan prospered. During the peaceful years, demand for luxury items increased which in turn led to increase in trade and prosperity of the merchant class. Industries in a number of domains were being built. In the cities restaurants, theatres and recreational centres cropped up to cater to the fancies of the feudal lords. The result of these changes was the spread of the monetary economy. Money gradually replaced in the currency.

The Samurai class gradually lost its control over the economy. Many members of this class were indebted to the rich merchants. This led to the marriage between these two communities which in turn created a dent in the then prevailing social order.

The spread of education during the Tokugawa period also created consciousness amongst the people which led to many revolts against the establishment and an increasing urge to change the political and social system. Almost all sections of the society desired a change which ultimately led to the downfall of the Shogunate and the abolition of feudalism. Thus began the era of Meiji Restoration.

The Western oriented and liberal Meiji leaders set about the task of modernization with the aim of achieving "Fukoku Kyohei" (rich country and a strong defence). Consequently, the Meiji leaders plunged headlong into industrialization, determined to accomplish in a few decades what other nations had taken a century or more to do. The Meiji Government faced constraints in both labour and capital in setting up industries. There was lack of skilled labour and also hesitation on the part of the rich merchants to invest in projects from which they were not confident of getting sufficient returns. Thus, Japan had begun to move towards industrialization during the Meiji period.

One of the major impacts of industrialization was the migration of people from the rural to urban areas. In the primogeniture system followed by the landlords, the eldest son inherited the land, the younger sons who had no stakes at home came to the city to take up jobs in the newly set up factories and industries. Along with them many women also migrated to the city to earn a living.

The peasants who had wholeheartedly participated in the movement for the restoration of Meiji Emperor had expected that their lot would be improved under the new government. They hoped that the taxes would be reduced and the burden of tributes and debt lightened. They were, however, disappointed.

Meiji government having set before themselves the task of industrialization needed capital which the merchant class was not willing to invest. They preferred to remain in trade, banking and credit operations. Thus the initial steps had to be taken by the government. The main source of income turned out to be taxes from agriculture. In fact, Meiji land tax was heavier than Tokugawa land tax. It is rightly said that industrialization during Meiji period took place at the expense of agriculture. Cultivation hence was no more a profitable profession and many farmers preferred to shift to the cities and seek employment in the factories, foundaries, glass or cement works. This resulted in the over crowding of the cities.

The Meiji government keeping in spirit the modernization programme also adopted a civil law in 1890 which articulated the basic concept of social equality among people. Discrimination against women was modified, and her position in the household was made second only to that of the husband, displacing the male lineage priorities. However just as in the case of education where due to the newly given freedom and equality, the youth began to act contrary to the advice of the elders which was not tolerated by the elders because of the adverse affects of the new civil law it was raised in and old family system, where the male heirs were favoured, as the head of the family was



Nevertheless, in spite of the government's efforts to preserve the old social and cultural systems and values, the younger generations were passing through a period of experiencing a new kind of independence. A survey made in 1920 in Tokyo revealed that 72 per cent of the men in the fifteen to nineteen years bracket and 69 per cent between twenty and twenty-four years were not living with their families.<sup>15</sup> For their entertainment recreational facilities like cafes, bars, dancing halls and theatres were opened. These youngsters were called mobo and moga or emancipated "modern boy" and "modern girl" working together and mixing together led to individual selection of their marriage partners which was looked down upon by the elders. The values of the youth changed as they came in touch with western culture through education and social interaction with foreigners. Economic independence, urban life, and education did not favour the perpetuation of the old Confucian family system, favoured by the conservative civil laws.

There was a regular tussle between the youth and the elders with the former trying to break away from the conservative social system and elders constantly trying to impose it on them. As a result the youth revolved against

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15 Nobutaka Ike, *Beginnings of Political Democracy in Japan* (New York, 1950), pp. 204-8.

their parents and elders not only at home but also in schools and universities.

### Social Change in Post-War Period

Soon after the occupation of Japan, the Allied Powers set about the task of restructuring Japanese economic, political and social system. In the economic sphere the United States attempted to shatter the excessive economic power of Japan. Several laws were passed for achieving this purpose. But the prevailing international environment forced the US to review its policy. There was a shift in the American policy towards Japan from being an adversary. Japan was looked upon as an ally of the US. The American interests needed a strong Japan. So many of the economic policies were modified and efforts were made to strengthen Japan's economy. Japanese economy got the much needed boost during the Korean War of 1950. Since then the economic growth has steadily increased and at present its Gross National Product (GNP) is second only to that of the United States in the free world.

The process of social and political changes resulting from increasing industrialization which began during the Meiji period continued even in the post-war period. Cities like Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe etc. became densely populated. This has given rise to other problems like housing and breaking up

of joint families into nuclear families, thereby shrinking social cohesiveness and growing importance to individualism which has culminated in alienation. Another serious problem due to industrialization is environmental pollution which has given rise to health hazards. The impact of these on the family system on the whole and on the child individually will be dealt with in the second chapter.

Industrialization has its impact on the education system as well. In the post war period in the initial stage the business world required trained labour force but in the 1960s as the "double income" policy was followed and with technology advancement, there was a demand for more specialized labour. It is hence not surprising that the business community was interested in vocational educational policies. Consequently a number of vocational schools were started but there was need for more. This led to student unrest. The student community wanted the curriculum to suit to the needs of the time. The growing demand for higher education resulted in the opening of the private universities and colleges. Still they were unable to admit more students. This created imbalance between teacher and student ratio which was very high compared to public and national institutions. In addition, a number of private universities and junior colleges were established within a short span of time in the 1960s. "By 1970 there were 274 private universities and 426 junior colleges providing places for 80% of all students seeking higher



education."<sup>16</sup> Indirectly this affected other facilities like libraries and availability of reading material, which in turn created dissatisfaction among students.

Besides this, a bill was passed in 1968 which respected the university autonomy and placed major responsibility for solving problems in the hands of the university authorities. The bill gave the right to call the police inside the campus to crush any student demonstration. As a result in 1969 there was student unrest at Nihon University and Tokyo University which later spread to other universities in the country. "University disputes reached their peak in 1969, with 77 universities involved at the same time, 73 high schools were similarly embroiled. This was the first time when there had been such open student unrest on an unprecedented scale at high schools and at the universities at the same time."<sup>17</sup> However, violence in the campus is not a post-1950 phenomenon in Japan. Student unrest can be traced back even to Tokugawa period.

#### Origin of the Student Violence

With the establishment of Shinjinkai (New Man Society) in 1918 at Tokyo, the foundation stone of organized

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16 Lewis Austin, ed., The Paradox of Progress (Yale University Press, 1976).

17 Hisao Naka, Japanese Youth in a Changing Society (Tokyo, 1977), p. 82.

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student movement is laid. However even during Tokugawa era, "the student row was the oldest as well as the crudest form, having its roots in the Samurai schools, where a heavy stress on military training fostered pugnacious student attitude and frequent fights."<sup>18</sup> The student from Samurai class became hostile toward other classes in Japan. When Meiji Restoration began in 1868 through the various educational reforms education was made accessible to one and all. The 1872 education code attempted to promote line so as to achieve rapid economic development. The earliest strains were largely as stated earlier due to problem of cultural identity on which Kenneth Pyle has thrown sufficient light in his book: "The New Generation in Meiji Japan".

This generation, "new" relative to the "old men of Meiji" who had engineered the revolutionary reforms of the Restoration. Specially, they were "the first generation of Japanese to attend the new Western-oriented school of higher learning".<sup>19</sup> Before the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 the students who had this education had dilemma in getting along with old elites and in using Japanese heritage properly for modernization.

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18 Henry Dewitt Smith II, Japan's First Student Radicals (Cambridge, 1972), p. 21.

19 Ibid., p. ix.

The reflection of it is seen even at the secondary level. One classic chronicle namely Natsume Soseki's *Botchan*, pointed out the mischief of students at the provincial middle school at the time of Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. It further states that "an all-out fray between middle and normal school students, in the course of which several teachers are pummeled".<sup>20</sup> Rough and disorderly behaviour was very common among high school students.

Such were the makanai seibatsu (attack on the Government), a dining hall riot in protest against unpalatable food, or the *sutomu* (from English "storm"), a curious ritual in which higher school dormitory students would arise on signal in the dark of night and parade about with torches, shouting, fighting, breaking windows, and overturning furniture.<sup>21</sup> Though these violent incidences had little relation to later student political activity, the student protest was very much prevalent. With the changing time, students' rowdiness disappeared and they no longer rioted for the mere sake of rioting.

After Bolshevik revolution of 1917, Marxist ideology began to attract world-wide attention. In Japan too,

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20 Ibid., p. 22.

21 Ibid.

intellectuals were influenced by it. The Marxist ideology had profound effect on Japanese radical thinking, and consequently on the student movement. With the result, a well organized student movement first appeared in 1920 which had its inception in socialist thought. The capitalist economy had deprived labourers and farmers from their right share in the production.

These social problems came to attract general attention, university professors took a leading intellectual role in the ensuring debate.<sup>22</sup> And later students themselves joined with labourers and farmers participating in social action while forming them into a nationwide organization known as Zengakuren (All Japan Federation of Student Self-Governing Associations) in 1948.

Educational policies that were carried out by the occupation authority such as raised tuition fees caused tension among student community. For the first year after the founding of the Zengakuren the student focused its protest against various educational reforms of the occupation authority and won considerable attention of the public. In order to restrict growing political activities of students, the occupation government introduced the University Bill in the Diet, which Zengakuren opposed. As a result the Bill

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22 Hisao Naka, n. 17, p. 77.

was taken back. As the student resistance grew the government began to arrest student leaders. The student protested against this but Japan Communist Party decided that students should be kept away from such strikes. This gave birth to an ideological dispute between the Zengakuren leaders and the JCP. "The factional split within the JCP from this point (1950) between the mainstream and international factions also greatly weakened the Zengakuren."<sup>23</sup> Although in 1958, the majority of the students of Zengakuren merged with JCP, there were continuous fighting between pro-JCP students and their rivals in the anti-JCP factions.

However, "the efforts of the majority of student movements have been directed toward the ban of atomic weapons, struggle for the removal of military bases, calls for the normalization of Japan's relations with China and the USSR, and opposition to rearmament."<sup>24</sup>

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23 Henry Dewitt, n. 18, p. 252.

24 Hisao Naka, n. 17, p. 80.



## CHAPTER II

## JUVENILE CRIMES SINCE 1951

Juvenile delinquency is defined by Soeda Yoshiya as "a generic term used to refer to criminal acts committed by persons aged between 14 and 19, unlawful acts by children under the age of 14, and behaviour indicating criminal tendencies".<sup>1</sup> The causes for these juvenile crimes are to be found in the social system itself.

Preparation for Examination

In Japan the "long service" wage system (nenko) determines wages primarily by seniority and age. In many advanced countries the payment is according to the ability of the person but yet the structure of Japanese employment makes nenko a very efficient system for the employer. Wage according to seniority encourages a worker to stay in the same job. Moreover, the long on the job experience makes one more efficient. But in this seniority wage system it is difficult for the worker to change his job. Since wages and promotions are based on seniority the workers are promoted to respect and obey his employer rather than oppose him. Given

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<sup>1</sup> Soeda Yoshiya, "Changing Patterns of Juvenile Aggression", Japan Echo, vol. 10, no. 3, autumn 1983, p. 11.

this wage seniority, wage system in a hierarchical society like Japan, the efforts of the students is to get into the best schools, universities, corporations, institutions. Not only the students even the government agencies, business enterprises recruit the best executive trainees chosen mostly from among the graduates of only certain national universities such as Tokyo University and Kyoto University and a few other well-known private universities.

"In order to be accepted into a first rate university epitomized by Tokyo University, students spend their high school years preparing for university entrance examinations; and in order to get into the best high schools, children begin preparing for high school entrance examinations when they are in middle school or even elementary schools."<sup>2</sup> Thus whether a child takes his first nursery school entrance or college entrance, examination season consists of months of tension and requires years of long preparation and planning.

In the upper grades of primary schools, child's life revolves around school work. The system channels the school children into believing that passing the entrance examinations and getting admission in famous high schools

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2 Editorial Comment on "Are High Schools Failing Their Students?", Japan Echo, vol. 5, no. 2, 1978, p. 108.

and universities is life's ultimate goal. The students stop all activities and settle to a serious life of study. The students study for several hours a day after school. Even during vacations much of the time is spent in studying. Even the sixth grade students attend Juku (cram schools) after school hours lasting well into the late afternoon or evening and may often arrive home as late as 8 or 9 p.m. He will then study on his own at home. This means that student has no time for extra-curricular activities like sports, painting, drama etc. "A student ordinarily begins to prepare seriously about a year or two before the examinations that take place in January or February before the new school year begins in April. He studies several hours after school every day, and in the summer vacation preceding the February examinations, he spends most of the day and sometimes part of the night in study. He often gives up movies, hobbies, and other recreation during this year of preparation. Athletes usually are advised to drop their sports activities and music and dance lessons ordinarily are suspended."<sup>3</sup> In these ways all are set aside as children are forced to concentrate all their efforts on studying for examinations till they enter a university.

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3 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class: The Salary Man and His Family in a Tokyo Suburb (Berkeley, 1971), p. 47.

No play and study all day has adverse affects on the children. "We need hardly mention that forcing children to lead such lives impedes and warps their development, causing such pathological phenomena as delinquency, neurosis, and even suicide."<sup>4</sup> Motive for suicide peculiar to Japan is failure at school or failure in entrance examinations. Because once they fail, they are separated from their peer groups and have to face the condemning look of their parents and neighbours. Moreover their future prospects regarding higher education and employment opportunities in reputed institutions become bleak. These students who lose confidence in themselves and the will to continue their studies find other ways and means of giving an outlet to their frustrations.

The success or failure in the examinations is considered as not only the success or failure of the child but of his whole family. "The self-sacrifice, anxiety, excitement and happiness or sorrow that attend examinations are fully shared by the parents and siblings."<sup>5</sup> In order to avoid causing pain to his parents, teachers and friends, the

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4 Imazu Kojiro, Hamaguchi Eshun and Sakuta Keiichi, "The Socialization of Children in Post-War Japan", Japan Echo, vol. 9, Special, 1982, p. 18.

5 Vogel, n. 3, p. 54.

child does his best. Thus achievement motivation becomes an integral part of Japanese personality. "Motivation comes from inside and the student, mindful of his responsibilities to parents and school and concerned about his future, wants to learn so that he may be prepared for the entrance examination."<sup>6</sup> Thus, no single event determines the course of a youth's life as much as an entrance examination. The individual graduates of top ranking institutions can get job easily in any big company and parents with daughters choose these promising young men as their son-in-laws, Ezra Vogel observes in her Japan's new middle class. Hence people are found very much achievement oriented, considering the competition as one of the most decisive factor of their future well being. In contemporary Japanese society, as pointed out by Masaaki Takane, success or failure in these examinations is one of the most accurate indicators for forecasting the outlook of the person's job opportunities, marriage chances and all the rest of his future.<sup>7</sup>

#### Role of the Family

The role played by the family in the child's education is very significant especially that of the mothers.

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6 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan as Number One : Lessons for America (London, 1979), p. 164.

7 Masaaki Takane, "Competition and the Social Emphasis on Higher Education", Japan Echo, vol. 2, no. 4, 1975, p.15.

Japan's Kyoiku Mamas (education mothers) are well-known for their tenacious efforts in preparing the child for the competition. At the time when a child has to be admitted to the school, the mother invests money on entrance examination requirements and spends time in going through the schools' records in successfully placing their graduates. She visits schools, reads advice columns and books and collects information from friends.<sup>8</sup> After the child gains admission, she consults with child's teacher and other parents in order to assess her own child's abilities. So absorbed is the whole family in the child's examination preparation that a few weeks before the examination the mother skips all social activities and goes out only for necessary shopping and father also comes early from office to help the child in studies. All other social activities come to a complete halt.

Hence if a child has not fared well in the examinations the parents who on their part have sacrificed a lot are furious. Sometimes due to mother's nagging and pressures to study, the child gets disturbed and often reacts violently or becomes stubborn and refuses to obey.

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8 There will always be a few mothers who came the previous night and waited in line overnight, perhaps bringing sandwiches and cushions so that they will be the first to make the applications. See Ezra Vogel, "Entrance Examinations and Emotional Disturbances in Japan's New Middle Class", in Smith Beasley, ed., Japanese Culture

In case in a family there are two sons then the one who is more intelligent gets a lot of attention, more time is spent on teaching him and more money is spent on his tuitions. This child due to over-attention often becomes very tense. The other child on the other hand feels neglected. In both cases the children suffer.

With the nuclearization of Japanese family today, the group oriented outlook has disappeared, while respect to individual's right is increasingly given more importance. In a nuclear family the child is given greater care and attention by parents if he is not taught to be responsible regarding his duties toward others, he would transfer blame on others in case of failure. After World War II disciplining the children became problem for parents and teachers due to many reasons. According to Shimada Kazuo, Head of the Survey Team of the University of the Sacred Heart, a lack of sound judgement, or the ability to discriminate between right and wrong, on the part of parents is a contributing factor in many cases. "The parents of juveniles caught for shoplifting agree that shoplifting is wrong but are apt to argue that the wrong can be righted merely by returning the stolen merchandise or by paying for it. They tend to lack the basic ethical understanding that the act of stealing is by itself wrong."<sup>9</sup>

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9 Kitajima Tsukasa, "The Rise in Juvenile Delinquency", Japan Echo, vol. 9, Special Issue, 1982, p. 89.

Children in joint families unlike in nuclear families experience and witness success and failures, happy and miserable and are in touch with a large number of people at home. Consequently they learn to compromise, tolerate and share with a larger group. In this way they lay the foundation for the various aspects of their personalities that contribute to the integration of their character during adolescence. In nuclear families child only sees his father and mother. As a result he often finds it difficult to deal with different individuals and situations. As a result at times he reacts aggressively when he finds unable to cope with the society. Violence at home like beatings and intergang fighting have become a common phenomenon among the students of middle and high schools in Japan.

Likewise students who commit crimes generally come from disturbed homes where both parents are working and have little time for the children, thus leaving them to tend for themselves. In such cases, children grow indifferently than other normally brought up children who receive affection and guidance from both the parents.

The following table shows the causes responsible for suicides among middle school and high school students during the period of 1973-1976.<sup>10</sup>

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10 Thomas P. Rolhen, Japan's High School (London, 1983), p. 332.



Table 1

Causes Responsible for Suicides among Middle School  
and High School Students

Cause	1973	1974	1975	1976
<u>Middle School students</u>				
Family related	27.4	20.9	22.7	25.3
School related	10.9	20.9	15.5	24.1
Problems with opposite sex	2.3	4.7	7.2	1.2
Weariness of life	10.9	10.5	13.4	3.6
<u>High School students</u>				
Family related	10.1	12.3	8.7	9.4
School related	19.0	19.6	24.4	23.3
Problems with opposite sex	10.8	7.2	12.0	6.7
Weariness of life	12.7	12.3	8.7	12.2

Source: Data from Ministry of Education, Secondary Education Section as reported in Inamura (1978), p. 26.

The Table reveals that the middle school students committed suicide during the period 1973-1976, because of problems related to either family or school and each year they are the reasons which were more responsible than other factors. In case of high school students, family related

factors posed problems more than those concerned of the school. "Low academic performance, dropping out of high school and leaving school after ninth grade are closely associated with broken families, poverty, and other environmental factors, as well as with learning problems, personal instability and difficulty in peer relationship."<sup>11</sup> "With the higher age groups frustration outside the family appear to be more often responsible among them failure in academic or company entrance examination, unemployment, obstacles in the way of marriage and disappointment in love."<sup>12</sup>

#### Physical and Psychological Changes

In Japan physiologists have pointed out that middle school students today are developing much faster both physically and psychologically than in the past.<sup>13</sup> However, though they attain physiological and sexual maturity early, their psychological development is not evenly balanced. "They are self-centered, dependent, unable to persevere against odds, feel disoriented, impulsive and lacking in the urge to work toward an ideal."<sup>14</sup> Further even in the

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11 Ibid., p. 333.

12 Hisao Naka, Japanese Youth in a Changing Society (Tokyo, 1977), p. 65.

13 Iwai Hiroshi, "Delinquency in the Early Teens", Japan Echo, vol. 9, Special Issue, 1982, p. 47.

14 Ibid., p. 50.

physiological growth they differ remarkably. The following Table shows the changes among children:

Table 2

Major Physical Abnormalities observed Recently  
in Children

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By School Level

Primary School	Weak spines
Middle School	Fainting at morning assembly
High School	Back ache

By Environmental Type

Rural Schools	Yawning in the morning
Town schools	Yawning in the morning
	Weak spines
	Fainting at morning assembly
	Weak spines
	Allergies

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Source: Kodomo no Karala (Children's bodies), a survey conducted by NHK and Nippon College of Physical Education, September 1978.

Masaki Takeo of Nippon College of Physical Education, who conducted survey around 1000 schools throughout Japan, pointed out that "the most significant changes observed in children's bodies were weakened back muscles, weakened leg muscles, and the eventual development of backache (see Table 1). Our results correspond exactly with those obtained in the tests of physical strength conducted by the Education Ministry".<sup>15</sup> The children's back muscles weakened because of the use of luxurious household appliances such as television sets, cars, heaters, air-conditioners, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, beds, sofas, reclining furnitures etc. They began to spend their time in the house than going to playground. Regarding their cerebral activity "over 90% of the primary schools in the survey listed 'yawning in the morning' as the most outstanding abnormality observed in children today. Children who yawn during the morning are very likely to be lethargic, unmotivated to study and unable to comprehend fully what the teacher is saying".<sup>16</sup> Further their watching TV resulted in "the inability to see things stereoscopically, the ability to switch the focus of vision flexibly from one eye to the other, retarded formation of

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15 Masaki Takeo, "Physical Deterioration in the Growth Process", Japan Echo, vol. 9, Special Issuc, 1982, p. 80.

16 Ibid., p. 81.

the arch of the foot, abnormalities in the shape of the spine, increased incidence of tooth decay and obesity".<sup>17</sup>

Effect of mass media, rapid changes in technology and basic science, advancement of economy, easily available publication of western world, extensive communication network among the nations which have resulted in exchange of good as well as information regarding crime world, disparity in social and economic conditions and the SDF (self defence forces are exclusively meant for internal security whereas external security is governed by the USA as per the Security Treaty of 1950, due to it Japan's youth face identity crisis at the international level) are reasons for resentment among the university students. Indirectly these factors are also influencing young children of elementary and secondary schools.

#### Rate and Nature of Juvenile Crimes

Let us study the nature and rate of juvenile crimes that observed in the post war period.

During 1952-58 youth's suicide rate in Japan was the highest in the world (25.7 suicides per 100,000 of the population total in 1958).<sup>18</sup>

The following table indicates the suicide rates of the youth before and after the war.

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17 Ibid., p. 83.

18 Hisao Naka, n. 12, p. 63.

Table 3

Suicide Rates Among the Young in Japan  
According to Age and Sex

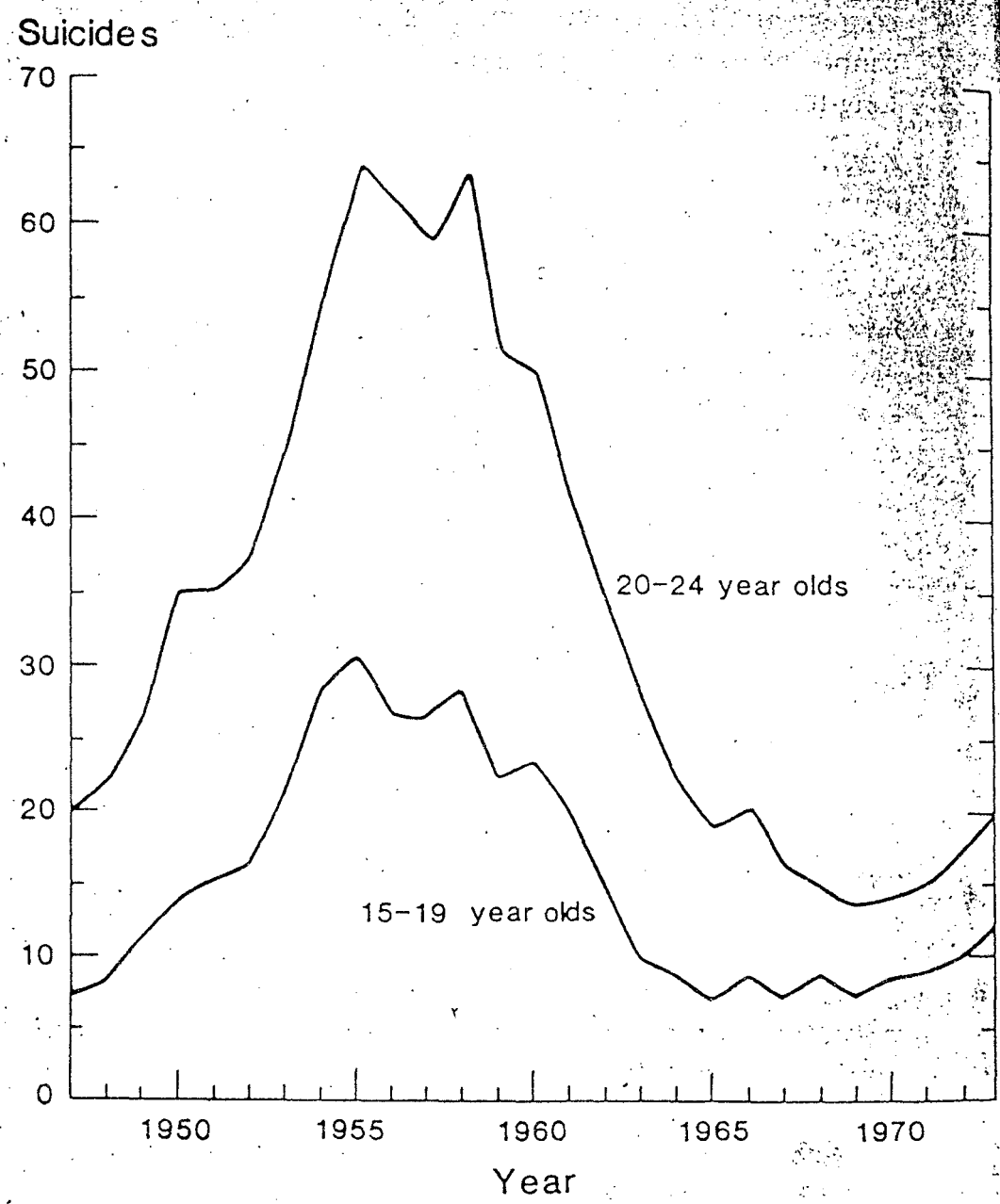
(Rate per 100,000), Years 1920-1974

Year	15 - 19 Male      Female	20 - 24 Male      Female	Average Age
1920	18.1      24.0	37.4      27.0	19.0
1930	22.0      21.4	44.3      31.3	21.6
1940	11.7      7.4	23.6      17.8	13.7
1950	17.5      13.0	44.9      27.8	19.6
1960	25.3      22.6	59.1      44.1	21.6
1965	8.8      6.1	23.3      18.3	14.7
1970	8.7      7.0	18.7      16.3	15.3
1971	10.4      6.3	20.3      16.1	15.6
1972	12.4      7.2	23.7      16.4	17.0
1973	12.5      7.5	26.1      17.6	17.4
1974	12.0      7.5	25.9      18.1	17.5

Source: Ministry of Health and Welfare, Vital Statistics.

In the early 1950s, the Japanese rate of juvenile suicide was spectacularly high by international standards,

Figure 1  
Suicide Rates per 100,000 Persons by Year and Age Group in Japan, 1947-1973



SOURCE: Data from Jisatsu Shibo Tokei, Koseishō, *Kosei Hakushō*, 1974.

but it dropped dramatically after 1959. In the international<sup>19</sup> rankings, Japan slipped down from first place in 1955 to fourth in 1973 for the age group fifteen to twenty-four as illustrated by the figure 1.

Running away from home, gambling, theft, use of drugs, sexual assault and tendency of revolt were on an increasing trend. By 1956, according to the statistics of the Ministry of Justice, more than 30 per cent of all crimes in Japan were committed by youths under twenty years of age.<sup>20</sup> Higuchi in his criminal report of Edo period has shown how through games junior high school students were prone to sexual misconduct. "Among delinquencyprone junior high school youth in playgrounds and public places", pink play, momoiroyugi, has appeared. This "pink play" sometimes takes the form of kissing or heavy petting - playing with one another's genitals - among thireteen or fourteen-years old. Such "pink play" is not considered acceptable among ordinary students, and willingness to indulge in it, especially by the younger girls, is considered a prodromal symptom of sexual delinquency. Some of these girls have been found later to develop toward prostitution.<sup>21</sup>

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19 Thomas Rolhen, n. 10, p. 328.

20 George A. Devos, Hiroshi Wagatsuma, William Caudill and Keuchi Mizushima, ed., Socialization for Achievement: Essays on the Cultural Psychology of the Japanese (Berkeley, 1973), p. 254.

21 Ibid., p. 272.



Although the use of narcotics and stimulant drugs is extremely rare, it became prevalent in post-war Japan. "According to the official figures, supported by the additional survey done by Shigemori, the number of juvenile addicts is low (a total of 75 males and 27 females) officially registered."<sup>22</sup> On the contrary there was rapid increase in the use of a drug called Philopon. "In 1952 there were 2,923 juvenile arrests. There were 2,923 arrests involving philopon; in 1953, 4,010; in 1954, 5,404; in 1955 the arrests dropped to 3,113, in 1956 to 547 and in 1957 to 640."<sup>23</sup> After 1957 due to rigid prohibition of the manufacture of this drug, this problem practically disappeared. As soon as the problem of philopon was solved, there appeared the use of sleeping pills for having longer hours of sleep during holidays for enjoyment among students in their early teenage (14 to 15 years old). "According to a survey made by Kato and Imada, among approximately 2,000 police contacts reported, the peak usage of the sleeping pill was found in the fifteen-year-old group."<sup>24</sup>

The incidences of tattooing was also common among the youth of those days. "According to Honjo, tattooing

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22 Ibid., p. 275.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., p. 276.

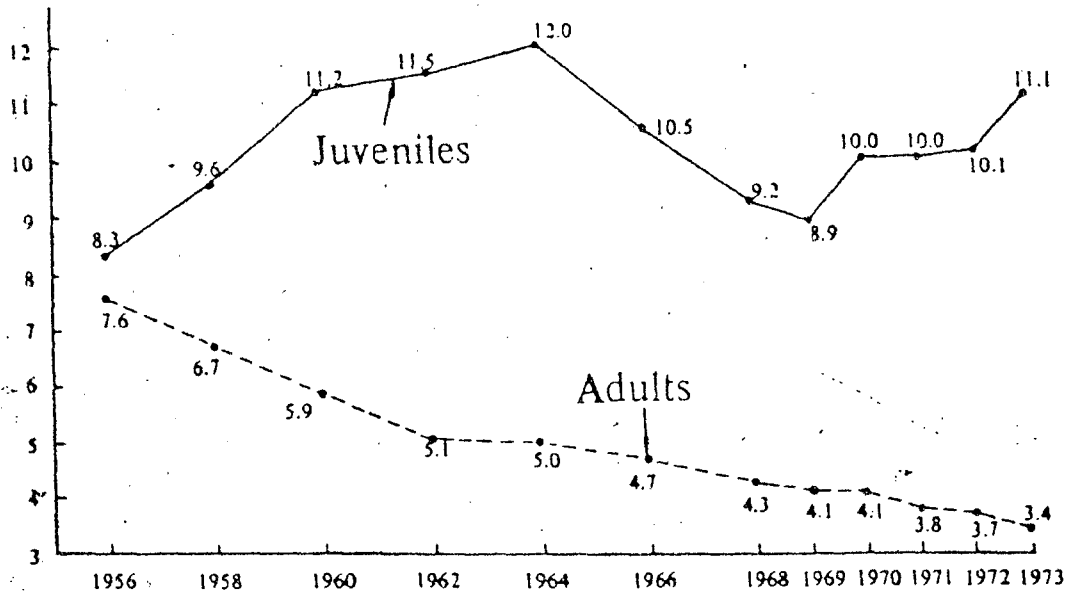
usually started during adolescence, and is most frequently requested by individuals between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. Howjo also sees a relationship between tattooing and the use of drugs."<sup>25</sup> Gambling was not a serious problem among juveniles. Likewise drinking was considered a social activity and was not viewed as a problem. In this way we find juvenile offences of different kinds increasing sharply during the uncertain years following Japan's defeat in the Second World War. Obviously this was considered the peak period of juvenile delinquency. Stern measures were used by the government minimising the minors' offences. With the improvement of economy juvenile crimes reduced drastically in coming years.

With changing time juvenile delinquency shifted to different forms. Economy reached an advance state so that highly skilled labour were required. The desire for higher studies among more and more people intensified the competition. Qualifying entrance examination became the major aim in life of the Japanese children. Secondary school students were unable to sustain the pressure due to the rigid selection procedure which begins at this level. They became hostile towards parents, teachers and peer groups. The violence like attack on teachers, fighting among class-mates,

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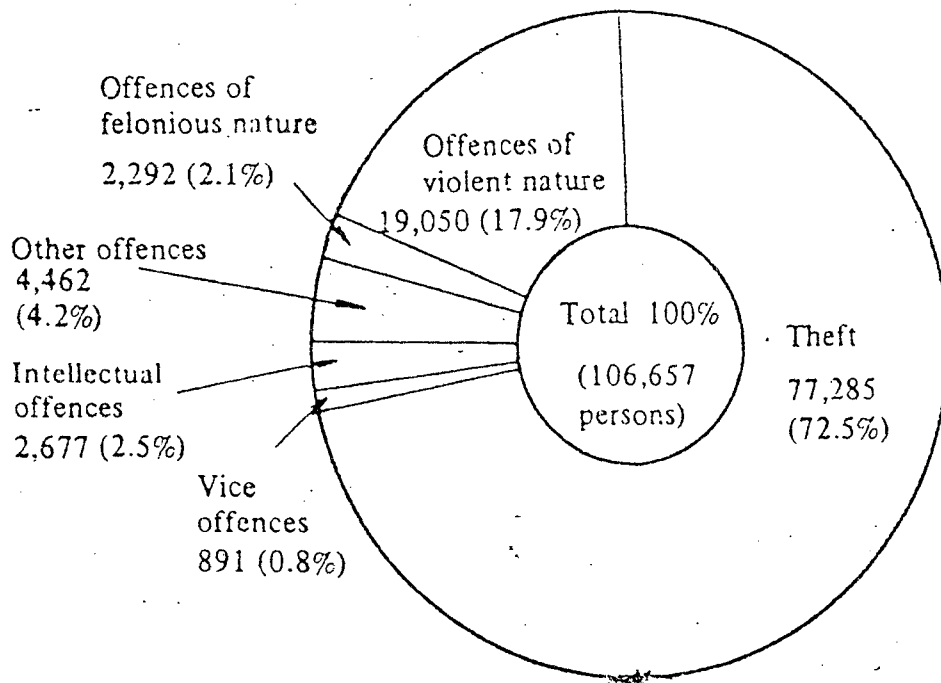
25 Ibid., p. 277.

Figure 2. Juvenile offenders who committed major crimes against the Penal Code as compared with adult offenders (per 1,000 population)



Source: National Police Agency.

Figure 3. Juvenile offenders under the Penal Code classified by offences (1973).



Source: National Police Agency

running from the home, robbery, involvement in terrorist groups began to increase. The figures 2 and 3 show the increase of offences committed by the juvenile delinquents.<sup>26</sup>

However that the incidence of each type of offence, namely, homicide, robbery, rape, bodily injury and assault and battery (assumed five categories), which were committed by the 15 to 19 years old, began to decline sharply after 1965 as seen earlier. The rates of these crimes per 100,000 population declined steadily after reaching peak in 1965 and has remained virtually static at low levels since around 1975.<sup>27</sup>

Again the juvenile delinquents who were arrested for penal code of offences such as larceny, misappropriation, extortion, rape and burglary etc. reached toward highest degree in 1978. According to age group, the students committing them were between ages of 14 and 15.

There were 31,409 juveniles prosecuted for special law offenses excluding Road Traffic Act violations in 1978, an increase of 6,960 from 1977. Over 70 per cent had violated the toxic substances control act (glue sniffing).<sup>28</sup>

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26 Youth in Japan (Prime Minister's Office, Japan, 1974), p. 25.

27 Soeda Yoshiya, "Changing Patterns of Juvenile Aggression", Japan Echo, vol. 10, no. 3, autumn 1983, p. 12.

28 White Papers on Crime (Japan Institute of International Affairs, 1979-80), pp. 172-3.

Turning to traffic-related crimes, 46,376 juveniles were arrested for professional negligence in 1978, an increase of 3,003 from 1977. In addition, 284,309 juveniles were cited for Road Traffic Act violations, an increase of 14,227 from 1977.<sup>29</sup>

Juvenile delinquency of girls has become prominent in recent years. In 1978, girls accounted for 27,070 (19.8%) of all arrests for penal code violations other than traffic-related professional negligence, from the previous year.<sup>30</sup>

This increase in all juvenile offences has been pointed out in a report that was published by the Juvenile Division of the Ministry of Justice, National Police Agency in May 1981. The data in this report shows that the number of criminal offences began to rise again, and though it levelled off in 1975-76, it has continued to climb since then, reaching a record high of 166,000 offences in 1980, more than the 158,000 offences in 1964.<sup>31</sup> The number of youths taken into custody has been increasing most strikingly among those aged 14 to 15, indicating that delinquent behaviour

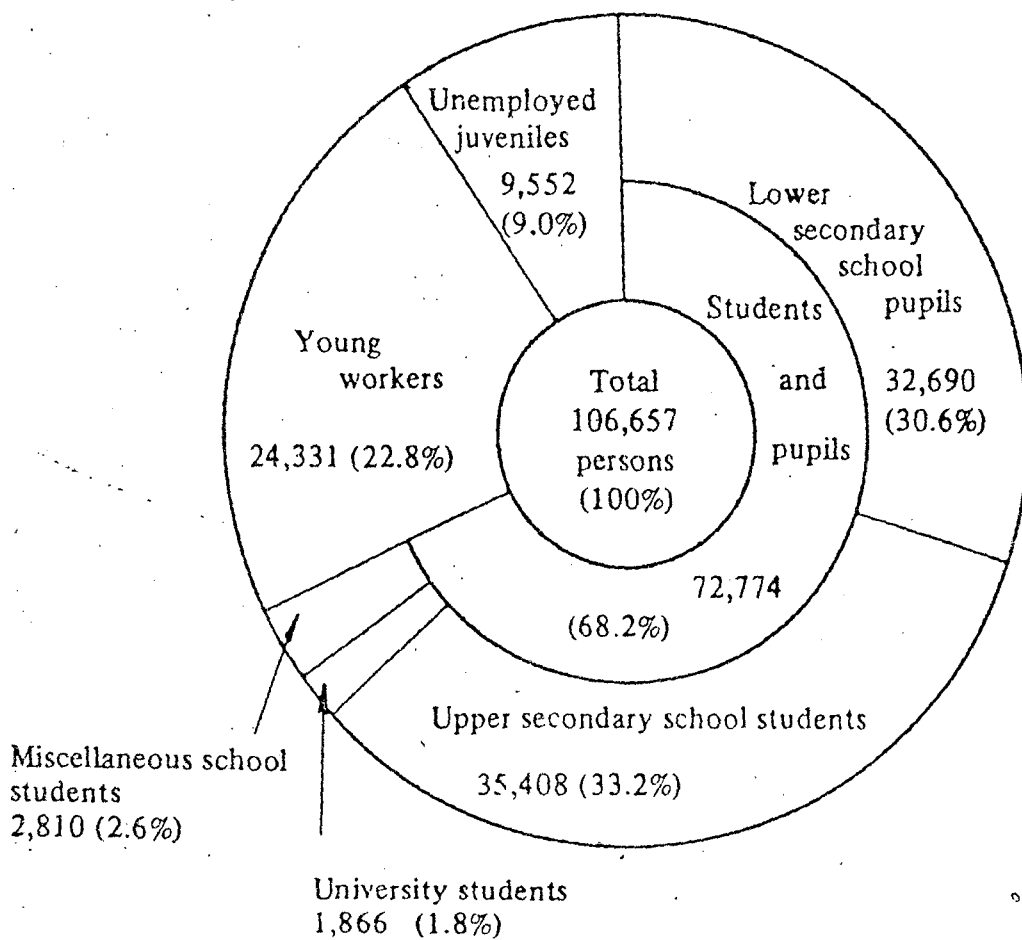
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29 Ibid., p. 173.

30 Ibid.

31 Kitajima Tsukasa, "The Rise in Juvenile Delinquency", Japan Echo, vol. 9, Special Issue, 1982, p. 84.

Figure 4 Juvenile offenders under the Penal Code classified by status (1973)



Source: National Police Agency.

is becoming a problem particularly among juveniles in their early teens (as indicated by the figure 4).

The rapid increase in delinquent behaviour among females in recent years, is another remarkable feature of juvenile delinquency. Larceny especially shoplifting and prostitution (which is excluded from criminal offense statistics) are found common among them.

#### Violence in Schools

However, if we observe closely the incidence of crime, we find that not all of them (which are being placed in five categories i.e. homicide, robbery, rape, bodily injury and battery) have followed the same pattern over the past quarter century. On the contrary, some crimes seem to be shifted from outside violence to inside school. In recent years many incidences occurring in schools attract nationwide attention as they are directed against teachers and school property. At the same time it is to be noted that juvenile crimes involving serious violence is decreasing.

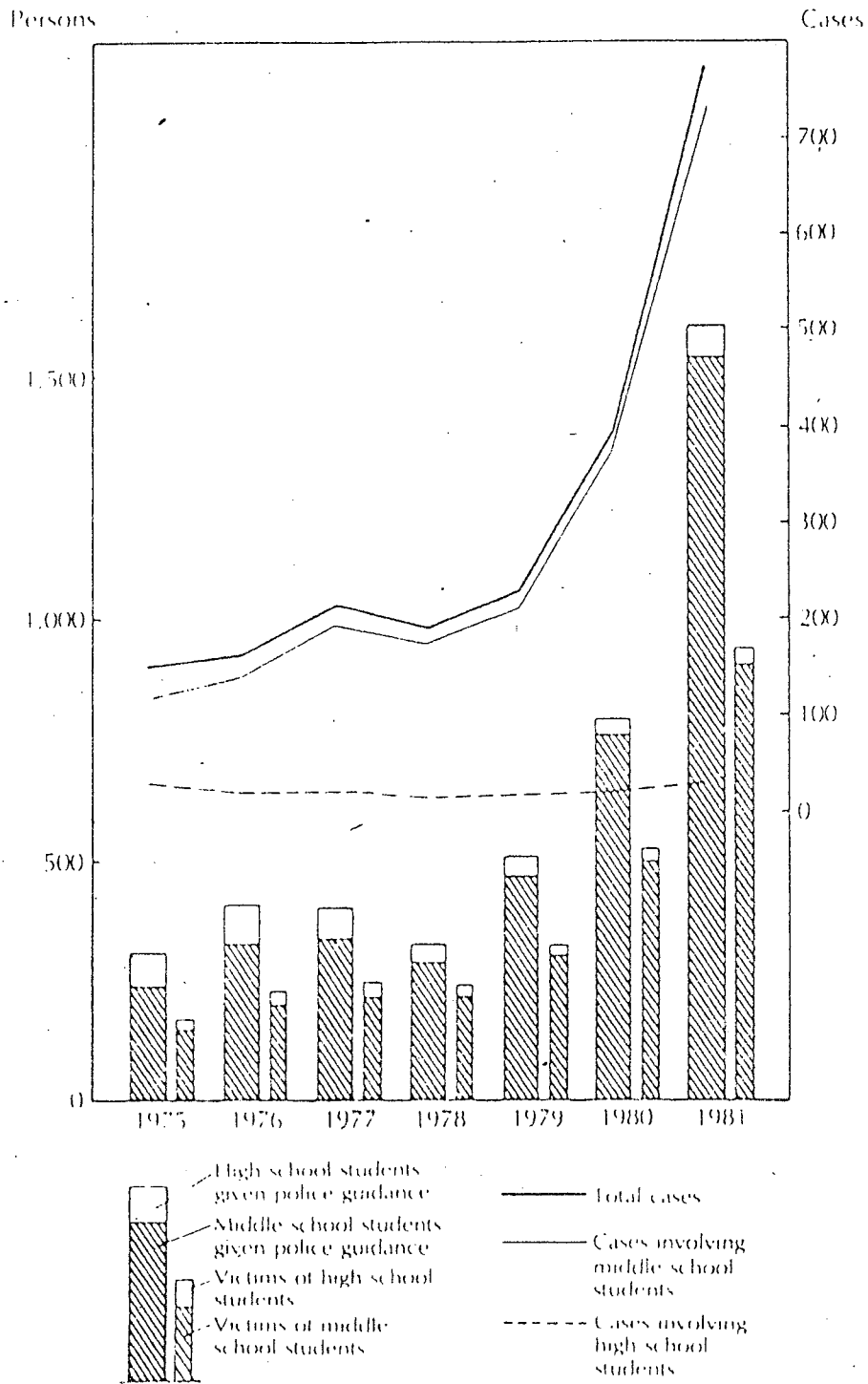
As we learnt from figure 5, during the period between 1975 and 1981, the number of cases of school violence follows a shallow U-shaped curve. That is,<sup>32</sup> a declining number of cases were reported in the 1977-79 period, but a

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32 Ibid., pp. 9-10.



Figure 5 Trends in Police Guidance in Cases of Violence Toward Teachers



rapid escalation in violence occurred in 1980 and 1981. The number of students involved in the 1976-79 period remained more or less constant, then increased sharply in 1980 and 1981. In the case of violence against teachers, as shown in Figure 5, the overall trend is one of very gradual increase between 1980-81, both in the number of incidents and the number of students involved.

From the above figure it is evident that in comparison to high school students, the middle school students are guided more by the police for the crimes that they were involved against teachers. The curve indicates the increasing trend of the crimes from 1975 (excluding some years when crimes were levelled off to). If we consider the correlations<sup>33</sup> between the statistics for juvenile felonies and crimes of violence, including violence against teachers. The crime statistics peaked during the sixties and subsequently declined, reaching their lowest levels between 1978 and 1980. School violence first gained attention around 1975 and increased rapidly thereafter.

The other reasons responsible for suicides and violence in schools are: Ijime (bullying for instance is one of the worst form of it, which is applied by a stronger party to a weaker party of students in the class. This is

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33 Ibid., p. 12.

one of the severe problems that Japanese students are facing today right from elementary school level onward. It sometimes also compels students to kill themselves in order to get rid of physical or psychological harassment. For example, "in January 1985, a girl in her second year at a middle school in Mito City in Ibaraki Prefecture hanged herself, leaving behind a suicide note that pleaded, 'please don't bully me anymore'."<sup>34</sup>

Another incidence occurred in this year at Tokyo's Nakano Fujimi Middle School, where a second year middle school boy committed suicide due to the harassment by his peer group.<sup>35</sup> Further according to the survey which was conducted by the Ministry of Education for assessing the depth of the problem in October 1985, in which the schools were asked whether they had been aware of cases of bullying? "those replying in the affirmative accounted for 52% at the elementary school level, 69% at the middle school level, and 43% at the high school level".<sup>36</sup>

Among other problems that have been discussed earlier, the bullying of the children has become a cause for immediate concern to the Japanese society as the younger

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34 Editorial comment on "Bullying in the Schools", Japan Echo, vol. 13, no. 2, 1986, p. 54.

35 Ibid., pp. 54-55.

36 Ibid., p. 54.

generation day by day are becoming disinterested in studies and are constantly living in fearful atmosphere in school. Joining in rival groups, beating teachers, beating outsiders and frequent fights among student groups in the schools are the by-products of the state of mind of the youngsters who react out of fear. Japanese people are shocked by this phenomenon and have demanded the government to save the children. The next chapter would be dealing with the recommendations that have been made by the experts as well as others and some youth welfare activities which are being carried out by the Government and non-Government institutions.

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## CHAPTER III

RESPONSE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT  
AGENCIES

Considering the intensity of the problem of juvenile crimes parents and government are very disturbed and efforts are being made to solve this problem. Attempt is being made to study "the nature of educational system, the balance between work and leisure, production and consumption, work and home: the relative burdens of the public and private sectors and urban and rural areas and the role and scope of welfare policies",<sup>1</sup> so as to make the child emotionally balanced and physically fit.

Responding to this problem the Government has introduced a policy of new research on basic science in 1970 which came into effect in 1980 and 1981. As a result a variety of institutions have been established. They have established contacts between universities, government laboratories and private industry. As a part of the policy and also for making present school system more liberal, diversified and more informative for better utilization of human resources, the Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro has set up the Ad Hoc Council on Education

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<sup>1</sup> Koyama Kenichi, "An End to Uniformity in Education", Japan Echo, vol. 12, no. 2, 1985, p. 47.

in 1984. It consists of four committees, each one is assigned to work on future direction for education, education and society, elementary and secondary education and higher education respectively. These committees have issued initial reports to the Prime Minister but issues like entrance examinations, violence in schools and at home have diverted the attention of the committees.

#### Remedial Steps for School Reform

Proponents who propose reform, decisively agree that a multitrack system should be introduced, so that students may choose subjects according to their interests and abilities. Specialization in specific subjects would foster creativity of independent thought, which is the need of the time. As pointed out by Amaya Naohiro, a special adviser to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, "mass based education is important to guarantee perpetuation of democracy. It also becomes important to the nation as a way of supplying highly skilled labour for rapid industrialization. But now Japan needs highly developed special skills rather than average skills. For Japan to enter into the 21st century the need is not to build more robots but to develop human faculty to

command and control robots."<sup>2</sup>

There is also need to increase the number of specialized and vocational training schools. This will lighten the burden of certain disciplines, at the same time other neglected faculties would get opportunity to develop. For instance, if school 'A' is known for physical education, school 'B' for language teaching and school 'C' for design, and graduates from these schools are given equal opportunities in employment like any other graduate from reputed schools, it will bring to an end overcrowdedness in one school. Moreover, it can eliminate the bad effects of competition caused by heavy concentration of applicants for certain schools. Also this would lead to the development of diversified supply in response to diversified demand.

Further freedom should be given to individuals to join any school in any district. The present school system is rigid, that is, schools are arranged according to the districts and children are assigned to the specific school in the decided zones in which he or she belongs. Amaya Naohiro harshly criticized the school district system by saying: "It's a shame that while people have the

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2 Eliot Marshall, "School Reformers Aim at Creativity : Finding a 'state of Desolution', in the Schools, Japanese leaders plan a sweeping revision of the Educational System", Science, vol. 233, no. 4761, July 1986, p. 267.

freedom to select the apples they buy, they don't have the freedom to select their schools."<sup>3</sup> While employing candidates, big corporations and government agencies would consider scholastic abilities of the individuals rather than the institutions from which they have graduated. Likewise, a majority of the middle school students go to regular high schools and only 10 per cent opt for special high schools. Therefore, for the group aiming at a regular high school, the entrance examination should be eliminated. "All students with homes in the high school district would be granted automatic admission, and every effort would be made to eliminate ranking differences among schools, thus removing the factors that lead to some schools being viewed as inferior."<sup>4</sup> Ranks of the universities should also be replaced by numbers like First National University, Second National University and so forth. Thus schools and universities that are viewed as good or bad will in due course vanish.

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3 Amaya Naohiro (Special advisor to MITI and Nishio Kanji, Professor at the University of Electro-Communication) said in the debate on "Educational Reform : How Far, How Fast?", Japan Echo, vol. 12, no. 2, 1985, p. 56.

4 Nishio Kanji, "Reshaping Education for Today's Needs", Japan Echo, vol. 11, no. 3, 1984, p. 20.



The next step should be to provide meaningful in-service training to teachers. With wide-ranging experience and solid professional skills, teachers would be conscious leaders who can mould deviant behaviour of students through constructive activities with scholastic achievement. In this respect Kumahira Hajime cited an example of a public middle school in Hiroshima Prefecture. In this school teachers and students are busy throughout working hours of the school. From three to six both teachers and students are involved in club activities, and sports, like tennis, ping-pong, basket ball and kendo. The school maintains close co-operation with parents and in case of problem regarding students' behaviour efforts are made to solve by the teachers with the help of the parents. When the final examination approaches, supplementary classes are held to prepare students for the high school entrance examinations. This has shown good results. "99% of the graduates went on to high school in 1982; 58% to prefectural and other public high schools and 42% to private high schools."<sup>5</sup> It means almost all students were able to enter the high school of their first choice.

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5 Kumahira Hasime, "Laying the Groundwork for School Reform", Japan Echo, vol. 11, no. 2, 1984, pp. 45-46.

Besides, schools should be given more autonomy in setting educational policy, select curricula and text-books and in the appointment and dismissal of the teaching staff. In place of government authorization after screening of text-books, the right should be given to a panel who would study the contents of the books and necessary changes should be made only in case of serious shortcomings. While appointing and promoting teachers and administrative staff, their capability should be given the highest importance. Moreover, through teacher exchange programmes, Japanese teachers should be sent abroad for training and teachers from other countries should be allowed to teach in Japanese schools. Talented teachers should be encouraged to do research for which extra facilities should be provided. Adequate financial assistance should be provided to schools so that they can have necessary infrastructure for extra curricular activities. Koyama Kenichi recommended that the government should permit generous tax deductions for donations to schools in order to enrich the schools' resources. A thorough-going review of state aid for schools is also called for. Funds for scholarship programmes should be expanded and income used for tuition payments should be exempted from tax.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Koyama Kenichi, "An End to Uniformity in Education", Japan Echo, vol. 12, no. 2, 1985, p. 48.

As Amaya Naohiro has rightly pointed out "our graduate schools should be oriented towards true academic research, not just education designed to assist employment. And more foreign students should be admitted."<sup>7</sup> Kida Hiroshi who is now director general of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science agrees with Amaya Naohiro and has stressed the need "to promote international exchange in academic research, international cooperation at the university level and the admission of foreign students to Japanese universities".<sup>8</sup>

In 1983, when a teacher was attacked by a hostile high school student with knife and in other case, when a group of teenagers killed a beggar in a park, the whole nation was shocked. Because these occurred shortly after the police had declared that juvenile crimes were on a decline. Government viewed this situation as a result of lack of moral education in elementary and secondary education. Before World War II, confucian ethics were taught to every student. But after the war these were replaced by

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7 Amaya Naohiro and Nishio Kanji, "Educational Reform : How Far, How Fast?" Japan Echo, vol. 12, no. 2, 1985, p. 55.

8 Kida Hiroshi, "Can Education Survive Liberalization", Japan Echo, vol. 12, no. 2, 1985, p. 61.

teaching of personal and civic responsibility on voluntary basis. So the third step should be to teach moral education at school level so as to eliminate student violence. Kida Hiroshi has also pointed out that "along with economic development there is need to elevate spiritual values through art, culture, science and religion, refine morals and foster love for humankind. An education system that performs these functions can truly heighten human vitality and thus help build a society with dignity and character".<sup>9</sup>

Recommendations made by various scholars of the panel for high schools' reform include proper training for teachers, liberal attitudes of Ministry of Education and local authorities in setting school curricula, respect to special talents of both students and teachers, individual freedom in choice of schools and subjects, equal opportunities for students of private and public schools in employment, exchange programmes between rural and urban, national and international teachers and students, moral education and parents' participation in solving behavioural problems of students.

In higher education, steps like more faculty transfers, liberal and flexible approach in conducting

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

entrance examinations, expansion of post-doctoral programmes, encouragement to individual scholars, and permission to more joint research in basic science among national and international institutions, are being suggested.

World renowned Japanese investigators<sup>10</sup> in Fundamental research scholars like Fumio Kodama, Ryogo Kubo, Shigeo Minabe, Kiyoo Mogi, Teruaki Mukaiyama, Yasutomi Nishizuka, Takashi Sujimura and Toshimitsu Yamazaki are already involved in pioneering work and are making contributions to basic fundamental research right from mathematics to the social sciences. Thus the process of making school education free from obstacles has began at the intellectual level. Their efforts have been strengthened by the government by appointing the people from all walks of life in the advisory panel, which includes members of local and prefectural board, university presidents, industrialists, sport personnel, high school principles, publishers, essayists, journalists and several other people, who work with youth and school. Each one of them is committed to the cause of the developing healthy Japanese child.

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<sup>10</sup> See Eliot Marshall, n. 2, p. 267.

Of course, this is first step and many more steps have to be taken. However, Japanese tenacity to devote to the cause once they have taken up is widely known. The nation has achieved today's status due to its age old tradition of willingness to change thereby making self-reform from time to time even in severe upheavals. Therefore, there is no doubt that through educational reform they will be able to eliminate the problems that Japan is facing today.

#### Guidance to Youth at Government and Voluntary Level

However, extensive welfare programmes are being provided to youth to develop their physical, mental and spiritual strength. Youth houses, youngmen's societies, youth associations, YMCA, local boy-scouts, girl-guides, all are involved in promoting goodwill and co-operation among the youth through various social, cultural, educational and recreational activities. Seminars, youth exchange programmes and sports are organized for them. These promote interaction which enables them to discuss and find out solutions to their day to day problems at school, work and at home in a conducive, friendly, informal atmosphere. It enables them to ventilate their grievances and share each other's experiences.

Correspondence course, special lectures, education through media using audio-visual aids are provided by the government to cater the needs of all age groups. But special attention is given to the interest of the youth. Corresponding to it, a large sum is sanctioned for building more national youth centres throughout the nation. In order to create interest regarding voluntary learning activities and the spread of scientific knowledge among children, the children's cultural centres have provided additional facilities. "In addition, the government is giving positive assistance in the form of subsidies to physical training and sports facilities managed by local authorities and in the setting up of welfare facilities to give advice and aid to young people."<sup>11</sup>

Similarly the students with behavioural problems are treated very sympathetically by the officials involved in correctional services.

Besides these government efforts, non-governmental organizations such as mothers' groups, genuine teachers' groups and some religious movements based on rational thinking are coming forward in improving the general

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11 Hisao Naka, Japanese Youth in a Changing Society (Tokyo, 1977), p. 96.

surrounding of the schools. They are trying to change the previous rigid outlook into sympathetic one towards less gifted children.

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## CHAPTER IV

## CONCLUSION

Delinquency is a social evil, present in all countries and hampers the development of law and order situation in society. With children and youth forming the backbone of the future of society, juvenile delinquency causes great concern to parents and government administrators.

In Japan there are various reasons for the rise of student violences in the schools which had acquired worst nature in recent years. Particularly bullying, fighting among students, attack on teachers, violence at home with parents becoming victims of the children's resentment have attracted nationwide attention and is being viewed as a grave problem. "Japanese adults will tell you their country is suffering a juvenile crime wave, and the police are active in publicizing their concern. Teachers shake their heads about rising levels of delinquency. Newspapers carry shocking stories of teenage prostitutions and violence in schools. The crime rate for adolescents is almost four times higher than the

rate for adults; approximately one-third of all police arrests in Japan are of teenagers."<sup>1</sup>

In my study the history of the Japanese educational system and its role in developing the society, we find that the aim of education was to emphasize on hierarchical mode of conduct among the Japanese. The hierarchical system status shifted from ascribed status to achieved status based on the personal achievement. There were two types of education in the Tokugawa Japan; one for the Samurai (ruling class of Japan) and the other for the common people. The special education for the Samurai included the literary subjects based on Confucian ideology and the martial art. The common man had to study the three R's i.e. reading, writing and arithmetic. With the entrance of the Dutch into Japan in the 16th century, Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Foreign languages and Medicine were introduced in Samurai's education. This was also the time when the public spirited citizens opened various schools and allowed commoners to study the specialized courses. Thus the demarcation that has existed before in education became relaxed during the

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas P. Rohlen, Japan's High Schools (London, 1983), p. 298.

Tokugawa period and literacy began to spread among the people.

After Meiji Restoration through various educational reforms, it became the right of the people to have access to education. The government aimed at hundred per cent literacy in the country. Through education the government also sought to indoctrinate the people with patriotism and obedience. An educated, obedient and loyal labour force served the capitalist class the most. Labourers who were paid little were made to believe that they were serving the country and the Emperor.

Industrialization created a kind of crisis in the society. The youth who had access to education studied about other countries and cultures, came in contact with foreigners, became economically independent<sup>and</sup> tended to get influenced by Western ideas. At the same time emphasis on morals based on Confucian principles in the school curriculum and the adoption of civil laws which preserved the traditional family system confused the youth. Attempts to oppose the established social norms were very much apparent in the behaviour of the youth during this period.

After 1930 when Japan withdrew from the League of Nations and made advances in China, the need of the

hour was to have an unquestioned support of the people. Once again education was used to achieve this purpose. The focus of education was not only to create a nationalist feeling among the people but to be ultra nationalist. The children were taught about Japanese history and culture, worship of the Emperor, and the superiority of the Japanese race. Though Japan had been defeated in World War II yet the bravery and dedication with which a Japanese soldier fought is exemplary.

The Allied Power's main aim was to prevent Japan from becoming a military power again. It was proposed to democratize, demilitarize and disarm Japan. The process of democratization was initiated by the promulgation of the Constitution in 1949. Education system based on democratic pattern was introduced, which continues till today.

The turn of events in the industrial field in the late 1940s, however, forced the United States to review its policy towards Japan. Japan was now to become an ally of the US in the Far East. Many of the policies initiated by the US were discontinued and Japan's economy with the support of the US began to grow. The Korean War gave Japan's economy the much needed boost.

Rapid economic growth led to migration of the population from rural to urban areas. This raised

problems like housing, nuclear families and lack of community feeling etc.

Given the seniority and wage structure in Japan, it is the aim of every person to get employment into the best corporations and institutions, since it would be for a life time. Thus all parents aspire that their children should study in the best schools and universities so that they are employed in the most prestigious enterprises.

To get admission into the best school became the ultimate goal for children as well as parents. The children are pressurized into studying hard to qualify in the entrance examinations. Once the child passes the examination, it can have a passport for entering into best schools, university, big commercial houses and government institutions and even better marriage opportunities. This has created unprecedented problems for children, especially for the students at the middle and high school level, as the scrutinizing process for higher studies begins at this stage.

Children at this early age are not able to cope with so much of pressure and hard work. On the contrary they become emotionally imbalanced and psychologically weak. Often their behaviour become violent

towards teachers and parents. In post-war Japan the incidence of juvenile delinquency reached a first peak in 1951 and a second peak in 1964. In 1973 the number of offences began to rise again, and though it levelled off in 1975-76, it has continued to climb<sup>up</sup> since then, reaching a record height of 166,000 offences in 1980, more even than the 158,000 offences in 1964. Measured by the number of juveniles arrested per 1,000 population aged 14 to 19, the offence incidence was 17.1 in 1980, some six times higher than the 2.8 offence incidence for the adult population in the same year.<sup>2</sup> Recently physical and psychological harassment of weaker students by stronger students, student fighting, dishonour of teachers are becoming frequent phenomenon in Japanese schools, as indicated in the survey conducted by the Ministry of Education in October 1985. In the same year there were also two incidences of suicide because of bullying among the middle school students at Mito City in Ibaraki Prefecture and Nakono Fujimi Middle school at Tokyo respectively. People were shocked and demanded the solution to the problems.

The Government has appointed advisory committee prior to these incidences (1984) in order to study the problems and has intensified its effort while taking

into consideration the present state of affairs at schools.

Of course, the number of youth welfare activities such as youth exchange programmes, encouragement for drama and music, sports and other recreational centres are organized by the Government, helping youth to solve their problems. Voluntary organizations are also participating in it. Prefectural youth houses, National Youth Associations, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, YWCA, YMCA, Red Cross Society and other interest-groups of teachers, mothers and religious people are trying to improve the social environment through social programmes. They have appealed to the people not to treat differently less gifted children.

The recommendation made by the advisory panel to the Prime Minister also suggests that entrance examination should be flexible and multitrack system should be introduced, so that students get an opportunity to study subjects in which they are interested. The prestige attached to the schools and university should be abolished and equal status should be granted to students from all educational institutions when considered for employment.

The whole Japanese society is involved in creating a healthy atmosphere. The history of Japan is

sufficient proof that when confronted with problem, the whole nation has worked with devotion to solve it. With consistent, whole-hearted efforts from all walks of life it can overcome this problem of juvenile delinquency and build a healthy society.

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