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АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК: ЧИТАЕМ О ЯПОНИИ

Хрестоматия

По дисциплине английский язык профессионального общения
для специальностей «Регионоведение»

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Хрестоматия представляет собой подборку материала, который состоит из аутентичных текстов общественно-социальной тематики, посвящённых различным аспектам японского общества. Тексты были подобраны так, чтобы познакомить студентов с современными социальными проблемами Японии и японцев. Тексты, рассказывают о подростковой преступности, проблеме старения населения, проблемах связанных с поддержанием экологии и др. Цель хрестоматии – сформировать навыки чтения и перевода аутентичных текстов общественно-социальной направленности и совершенствовать навыки монологического высказывания.

Для студентов специальностей «Регионоведение » 7 семестр.

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ВВЕДЕНИЕ

Настоящая хрестоматия представляет собой тематически обусловленный сборник текстов. Цель пособия – развить навыки профессионально-ориентированного чтения аутентичных текстов.

Хрестоматия рассчитана на студентов 4 курса специальностей «Регионоведение». Она предназначена как для студентов, изучающих английский язык аудиторно, так и для тех, кто изучает английский язык самостоятельно.

Материал хрестоматии апробирован на кафедре межкультурных коммуникаций и переводоведения Института иностранных языков.

The Tea Ceremony

The tea ceremony (chado or sado) is the ritualized preparation and serving of powdered green tea in the presence of guests. A full-length formal tea ceremony involves a meal (chakaiseki) and two servings of tea (koicha and usucha) and lasts approximately four hours, during which the host engages his whole being in the creation of an occasion designed to bring aesthetic, intellectual and physical enjoyment, and peace of mind to the guests.

To achieve this, the tea host or hostess may spend decades mastering not only the measured procedures for serving tea in front of guests, but also learning to appreciate art, crafts, poetry and calligraphy; and learning to arrange flowers, cook and care for a garden; at the same time instilling in himself or herself grace, selflessness and attentiveness to the needs of others.

Though all efforts of the host are directed towards the enjoyment of the participants, this is not to say that the tea ceremony is a self-indulgent pastime for guests. The ceremony is equally designed to humble participants by focusing attention on the profound beauty of the simplest manifestations of nature, such as light, the sound of water, the glow of a charcoal fire – which are emphasized in the setting of a rustic tea hut – and also manifestations of the creative force of the universe through human endeavor, for example in the crafting of beautiful objects.

Conversation in the tearoom is focused on these subjects. The guests will not engage in small talk or gossip, but limit their conversation to a discussion of the origin of utensils and praise for the beauty of natural manifestations.

The objective of a tea gathering is that of Zen Buddhism – to live in this moment – and the entire ritual is designed to focus the senses so that one is totally involved in the occasion and not distracted by mundane thoughts.

People may wonder if a full-length formal tea ceremony is something that Japanese do at home regularly for relaxation. This is not the case. It is rare in Japan now that a person has the luxury of owning a tea house or the motivation to entertain in one. Entertaining with the tea ritual has always been, with the exception of the Buddhist priesthood, the privilege of the elite.

However, ask if there are many people in Japan who study the tea ceremony, and the answer is yes, there are millions, men and women, rich and poor, belonging to a hundred or more different tea persuasions, in every corner of Japan. Every week, all year round, they go to their teacher for two hours at a time, sharing their class with three or four others. Each takes turns preparing tea and playing the role of a guest. Then they go home and come again the following week to do the same, many for their whole lives.

In the process, the tea student learns not only how to make tea, but also how to make the perfect charcoal fire, how to look after utensils and prepare the powdered tea, how to appreciate art, poetry, pottery, lacquer ware, wood craftsmanship, gardens and recognize all the wild flowers and in which season they bloom. They learn how to deport themselves in a tatami (reed mat) room and to always think of others first.

The teacher discourages learning from a book and makes sure all movements are learned with the body and not with the brain. The traditional arts – tea, calligraphy, flower arranging, the martial arts – were all originally taught without texts or manuals. The goal is not the intellectual grasp of a subject but the attainment of presence of mind.

Each week there are slight variations in the routine, dictated by the utensils and the season, to guard against students becoming complacent in their practice. The student is reminded that a tea ceremony is not a course of study that has to be finished, but life itself. There are frequent opportunities for students to attend tea gatherings but it does not matter if the student never goes to a formal four-hour chaji – the culmination of all they have learned – because it is the process of learning that counts; the tiny accumulation of knowledge and gradual fine-tuning of the sensibilities; the small but satisfying improvements in the ability to cope gracefully with the little dramas of the everyday world. The power of the tea ritual lies in the unfurling of self-realization.

Wedding Kimono the Japanese

Wedding Dress

The traditional white Japanese wedding kimono is called shiro-maku. Shiro meaning white and maku meaning pure. The wedding kimono actually consists of two different kimono. The white wedding kimono is worn for the wedding ceremony and an elaborate rich patterned silk brocade kimono called uchikake is worn over the white kimono at the wedding reception.

The bright and colorful uchikake kimono originated in the Edo era and originally only worn by court nobles. The kimono is made of silk and silk brocade. Rich in fine embroidered patterns, the uchikake is embellished with scenes of flowers, cranes, pines, flower carts of nature motifs. While red is the most popular color for the uchikake kimono, there are many different colors available from a stunning imperial purple to sea green. The bridal kimono is sometimes handed down in the family or made into futon bedding later in life.



In a traditional Japanese wedding, the bride's hair is also styled in the traditional hair style called bunkin-takashimada and adorned with beautiful gold combs and accessories called kanzashi. A white wedding hood called tsuno kakushi is meant to hide two front golden "tsuno" or horns during the wedding ceremony to symbolize obedience.



Like American weddings, there are traditional wedding accessories that are worn for tradition and are said to bring good luck. The bride carries a small purse style sack called hakoseko and a small encased sword called kai-ken. Lastly, a fan is worn in the obi belt for tradition holds that the gradual widening of the open fan implies happiness and thus brings a happy future. Japanese Wedding Favors.com carries a wonderful selection of Japanese

wedding favors, wedding presentation ideas and information on Japanese wedding and Japanese wedding traditions.

How to wear a Kimono

How to Wear a Kimono

Traditionally, the art of wearing a kimono is passed from mother to daughter. Today, there are also kimono schools that teach the proper techniques of how to wear a kimono. Below is a step by step basics of how to wear a kimono properly.



Kimono Under Garments

An under garment like a slip is worn under the kimono with the collar showing beneath the kimono. The two pieces full slip is called juban. Today, many women just wear the collar called eri-sugata because it is much cooler and still gives the formal appearance.

How to wear a Kimono Instructions

1. Always, put on white tabi socks first. It is difficult to bend to put on socks after the full kimono and belt is on.
2. Put on the undergarment slips called juban consisting of a white cotton top and skirt. Today, an alternative is to wear only the white collar that goes around the neck called the eri-sugata.

3. Put on the kimono, making sure the back seam is centered.
4. For both men and women, wrap the right side of the kimono over the body, then overlap it with the left side. Right on top of the left is only used to dress a corpse for burial.
5. Adjust the white slip collar to show evenly around the neck just under the kimono collar as shown in the above pictures.
6. Don't worry if the kimono is too long for it is supposed to be.
7. See our obi section to learn how to tie the different types of belts over the kimono and the next step to wearing a kimono.

Kimono Patterns-Kimono Styles

Kimono Patterns

Japanese kimono much like U.S. clothing are worn to compliment the seasons. In the spring, bright colors and spring floral kimono patterns are worn, in autumn, fall colors and fall kimono patterns are worn. In the winter, especially near the holidays, kimono patterns with designs such as the bamboo, pine trees or plum blossoms or worn for they signify good luck and prosperity.

Customarily, woven kimono patterns, colored clothing and repetitive patterns are considered informal. Formal kimono have free-style designs dyed over the whole surface or along the hem. Originally, the kimono was worn in multiple layers of different colors. Up to a dozen or more colorful layers of contrasting colored kimono would be worn. Today, the kimono is normally worn with a single layer on top of a slip style undergarment called juban.

Kimono Styles

There are many types of kimono, each worn (according to the persons age, season or the event. (However, the formal [kimono can be basically broken down into two main (categories based on the persons age and marital.



Kathryn Tolbert in Tokyo

Miki Takasu is 26 years old, beautiful, drives a BMW and carries a \$2,800 Chanel handbag when she isn't using her Gucci, Prada or Vuitton purses. She vacations in Switzerland, Thailand, Los Angeles, New York and Hawaii.

Happily unmarried, living with her parents while working as a bank teller, she is what people here call a "parasite single". There are so many women like Takasu that they have become the focus of a heated controversy. Depending on whom you ask, they are good for the economy because they spend their salaries on clothes, cars and dining out, or they are destroying society by refusing to get married and have children. They are young women with no responsibilities of their own; they are trailblazers, trying to find a path different from their mothers'.

They are the first significant group of women in Japan in their late twenties beyond their early twenties – the number of women in their late twenties who have not married has risen from 30 percent to about 50 percent in the last 15 years – and their opinions and lifestyle define a kind of Tokyo yuppie devoted to leisure and luxury.

Takasu and her girlfriends have formed a social circle they laughingly dubbed with an English acronym – DSS, for Darling Searching Society - but none of them wants to get married, for now. They invite guys they know to join them for dinners out, and one evening recently there were six women and two men crowded around a table, smoking, drinking red wine and eating spicy food.

Takasu said she wants to get married and have children. But the ideal age to get married, she said, is 30. "It's not necessary to be in a hurry about marriage," she said "If I have my first child by the time I'm 35, that's early enough".

Editorials here talk about the need to spiff up the image of marriage and child-rearing. But single women don't frown on married life. Rather, they are content with the status quo and feel the possibilities open to them now will be closed later on.

They study. English conversation schools are filled with women, and the boom in special skills courses, from computing to accounting, is fueled more by women than men.

They shop. Rings and watches by Cartier, Bulgari and Hermes costing \$2,000 to \$3,000 are particularly popular among working women who buy themselves presents for special occasions.

They travel. Takasu, who earns about \$28,000 a year, frequently makes quick shopping trips to South Korea and has been to Hawaii three times and Malaysia and Egypt as well all with girlfriends.

They can afford this lifestyle because they have jobs, live with their parents and treat most of their income as spending money. They also have been less affected by Japan's economic downturn. While the recession pushed the average unemployment rate to 4.7 percent last year and hardships caused by company restructurings are widespread, the number of contract and part-time jobs, usually filled by women, has been increasing.

Fewer women than men are out of work. Visitors to Tokyo looking for visible signs of recession are struck by the crowded department stores and the bustle on streets lined with luxury boutiques a phenomenon due in large part to spending by single women.

The ease of a social life among girl friends is one of the striking aspects of life in Tokyo. In restaurants, particularly the upscale French and Italian ones, more women than couples are dining together. Hotels offer special packages for women traveling together.

"In Japan we treat our girlfriends well. Boyfriends come and go, but girlfriends are your sustenance, your life," Takasu said.

The widely held image of life after marriage, among both women and men, is that the wife will look after the child and the home and be supported by her husband. For so many women it seems like an either/or situation – work and do things for themselves or get married and take care of a house and children.

"In the United States and Europe, it's possible to pursue a career even after marriage, even after having a baby," said Tamako Sarada, a writer. But in Japan, she said, "if after marrying, a woman then realizes there is something she wants to do, she has almost no chance to come back to it."

Sarada takes issue with the label "parasite single" and its negative connotation. She thinks mothers want to let their daughters do what they themselves were unable to do. "Deep in their hearts, single women think there is something they can do and want to do," she said.

More than 70 percent of the single women in Tokyo live at home, according to various surveys, and about half pay some kind of rent to their parents. Masahiro Yamada, a sociology professor at Tokyo Gakugei University who coined the term "parasite single," said that many more single men than women are living on their own. "Guys want to get married so they don't have to do the housework they've been doing all along," Yamada says the main reason women are delaying marriage is that life at home is too comfortable. They don't cook or do housework or laundry.

"Yes, my mother takes care of me and cooks for me," said Kawana. "It's almost like her hobby, like it's fun. So of course it's comfortable. But she gets older every year, so we may change roles one day and I'd be the one to take care of her."

Aging population

(koreika shakai). The aging of Japan's population is expected to become, an increasingly acute problem as the number of elderly grows at the rate of approximately 650,000 per year. Longevity for both sexes first exceeded 50 years in 1947, 60 years in 1952, and 70 years in 1971. Figures for 1989 show a life expectancy of 82 years for women and 76 years for men. These figures are expected to increase to 84 years for women and 78 years for men by 2025. Due to the growing number of elderly within the working population, most large corporations have raised their mandatory retirement age to 60 years or above since the mid-1980s. In 1986 a more unified pension system, based on revisions of the National Pension Law, the Employees' Pension Insurance Law, and laws affecting other types of public pensions, was put into effect to respond to problems created by the aging population. Revisions were designed to assure the long-term stability of the nation's pension system and establish 65 as the uniform starting age for public pensions.

It is estimated that by 2020 only three workers will be supporting each retiree. Due to the disproportionately large burden that health care for the elderly was beginning to place on the medical care system as a whole, existing provisions for a national system of free health care for the elderly were replaced in 1983 by the Law concerning Health and Medical Services for the Aged. The law stipulated that health care expenses for the elderly were to be covered partly by fixed rate contributions from local governments, the National Health Insurance program, employee insurance plans, and the individual. A 1986 amendment further increased costs borne by the elderly for health care. In 1986 and 1988, however, expenses began to rise again, and by 1989 more than 25 percent of national medical care expenditure was devoted to caring for the elderly.

Other issues that are expected to accompany Japan's growing elderly population include the development of facilities and resources to care adequately for the senile and bedridden and the projected drop in economic vitality and tax revenues. Finding acceptable solutions to these problems will be one of Japan's greatest challenges as it approaches the 21st century.

Women in the labor force

(fujin rodo). Women were traditionally an important part of Japan's agrarian labor force, but the industrialization that followed the Meiji Restoration of 1868 initiated the flow of female workers into the textile industry. Most received very low wages; some even were indentured by their families in return for a lump-sum payment. Buttressed by growing nationalism, their working conditions deteriorated while their numbers increased.

The textile industry's poor working environment and overcrowded dormitories first received widespread attention with the 1903 publication of *Shokko jijo*, a report by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, and *Nihon no kaso shakai* (1899, *Japan's Lower Classes*) by Yokoyama Gennosuke. A movement for legislation to protect women and minors, begun in the 1890s but stalled during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), revived as part of a budding labor movement. The Factory Law of 1911, implemented in 1916, limited workdays for women to 12 hours, forbade night work between 10 pm and 4 am, and required a minimum of 2 days off per month.

Although concentrated in the textile industry, women outnumbered men in the total labor force until about 1930. Women also moved into other manufacturing jobs and skilled occupations as growing numbers of men joined the military.

After World War II, with many women left single and impoverished by the war, women's participation in the labor force remained necessarily high. Before World War II, most working Japanese women were young and single, but with rapid economic growth many companies began to offer part-time employment, and the number of married women employees rose considerably. Since 1955 the percentage of married women in the female labor force has almost tripled, rising to 64.9 percent in 1990.

Until about 1950, over 60 percent of working women were "family workers," mainly in agriculture. By 1990, family workers had declined to 16.7 percent. Conversely, women's entry into "prestige professions" such as law and medicine has been slow, and fewer than 1 percent of female civil servants occupy managerial posts.

In 1990 clerical and related jobs accounted for the largest percentage of female employees (34.4 percent, excluding self-employed and family workers), followed by craft and production workers (20.6 percent), professional and technical workers (13.8 percent), sales workers (12.5 percent), service workers (10.7 percent), and other occupations (8.0 percent). The order of distribution has not changed for some time, although the number of women in each occupation has varied, increasing in professional and technical fields while decreasing in manual labor.

The treatment of women in Japan's labor force resembles their treatment in other industrialized countries. In both Japan and the West, female workers make up more than one-third of the total labor force and | earn lower wages than men. Residual prejudice against women, how- ~ ever, has resulted in somewhat more discrimination against them in ! Japan than in the West. Tradition holds that women should devote themselves to the home after marriage, a view that causes the length of uninterrupted employment at the same firm to be rather short. Japanese court decisions have ruled against forcing

women to retire upon marriage or upon having passed the "appropriate" age for marriage (commonly set at 30).

Japan's Labor Standards Law of 1947 stipulates equal pay for equal work, but this is rare in practice because of continuing tendencies to channel women into dead-end jobs and favor men at promotion time. According to one survey, the average monthly wage paid to female employees in 1990 was somewhat over 60 percent of that paid to male employees. The difference in Japan between men's and women's wages is still the greatest in the industrialized world, although it has narrowed slightly.

This disparity is due largely to the seniority system that presupposes "lifetime" employment of men, whereas the length of uninterrupted employment, average age, and educational level of women have tended to be considerably lower than those of men. Very few women attain positions of high responsibility in business. Businesses still generally employ women only in low-level or temporary jobs because of the view that they should work only until marriage or childbirth.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Law for Men and Women I of 1985 removed all restrictions for management and specialist positions except certain regulations applying to women workers in the period prior to and following childbirth. It is anticipated that the new law will encourage the employment and advancement of women on merit.

Sarariman

Loanword derived from the English "salaried man." The term was coined in the Taisho period (1912–1926) to distinguish the emerging class of white-collar workers, who received a regular salary, from blue-collar workers, usually paid an hourly wage. Today, sara-riman is often used in reference to middle-class, white-collar workers employed by private companies or government agencies. The sarariman usually works for the same company or organization until he reaches retirement age, although midcareer company changes have become increasingly common. Status is strongly influenced by the employee's academic background, and advancement is a gradual upward movement within the company. The model sarariman is expected to be intensely loyal to his employer, putting company considerations before those of family and personal life, working many hours of overtime, and taking only the minimum number of holidays each year.

Nuclear family

(kaku kazoku). The nuclear family has become far more common in Japan with the changes in industrial structure and increased urbanization of the country after World War II. The traditional pattern in Japan was that of

the extended family, in which the head of the household (*kacho*) lived not only with his wife and children but with his parents, grandparents, and occasionally other relations as well. After the end of the war the concept and the legal system supporting it gradually lost their power, and the nuclear family has come to predominate. The shift away from primary industries, which involved the labor of all family members, toward secondary and tertiary industries in which the husband became the sole breadwinner has also accelerated this trend. In 1955 nuclear families constituted 45.3 percent of all households, a figure that rose to 59.6 percent by 1991.

Marriage

(kon'in). Marriage in Japan has been characterized as centering on arranged marriage (*miai kekkon*), in which a man, a woman, and their families are formally introduced to each other by a go-between, or *nakodo*. Allied to this is the traditional Japanese concept of marriage as the creation of links between two households rather than the joining of two individuals. Put simply, marriage has traditionally been more of a family affair in Japan than it has in most Western cultures.

In recent years, however, the Japanese attitudes to marriage have changed in response to a host of new social situations, some of which are the result of influence from the West. While traditional ideas concerning the mechanics of making a match in Japan have not been completely abandoned, marriage in contemporary Japan is much more of a private decision between two people than it was before World War II. Households, in particular the parents of a couple contemplating marriage, do not have as final a say in the matter as they did 50 years ago; and the function of the *nakodo*, while still important, has in many cases shrunk to a largely ceremonial role.

Marriage in the Premodern Period

During the Nara and Heian period (710–1185) among the court aristocracy marriage was essentially matrilineal, with a man moving into his wife's house after they were married. Men of rank and importance could divide their time between two or three different houses, and marriage practices among the ruling elite are thought to have been largely polygynous.

An aristocratic woman usually conducted herself with discretion, since her pregnancies needed recognition by a man for her children to have any importance in society. Children might be confirmed to the rank of their father, or they could be adopted into other households to achieve rank.

It was much more difficult for lower classes to follow the marriage practices of the Heian elite. Farmers, artisans, and low-ranking warriors had a

better chance of maintaining their status through permanent marriage with one wife.

Change to Permanent Marriage

By the late 12th century the samurai class had become the ruling elite in both central and provincial affairs throughout Japan. The political imbalances, warring factions, and military reprisals had brought the samurai to power and frequently involved households related through marriage. It was during this politically unsettled time that marriage, that is, *seiryaku kekkon* (marriage of convenience) began to assume importance as a means of ceremonially establishing military alliances between families, reaching the height of its importance in the period of intense inter-family political struggle known as the Sengoku period (1467–1568).

Among samurai families the practice of maintaining multiple wives became less common. Samurai marriage customs also stressed the immediate transfer of the wife from her parents' home to her husband's residence. Family concerns became important in the selection of a spouse, intensifying the need for professional *nakodo* to ensure an appropriate match.

The marriage practices of rural commoners were less affected by the rise of the military elite. Practices that lent a more casual air to marriage customs, such as night visiting (*yobai*) and multiple liaisons, continued in the provinces.

With the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1603 and the return of political stability, the samurai emphasis on arranged marriage continued throughout the Edo period (1600–1868) and urban commoners increasingly emulated samurai custom. The *miai*, a formal meeting of prospective marriage partners and their families, became popular. The *yuino*, a ceremonial exchange of engagement gifts between families, also became an important part of marriage practice among urban commoners.

Legally, marriage in the Edo period was subject to a number of rules and regulations designed to preserve the status quo of the ruling military elite. Central among the many laws created was the mandatory reporting of proposed marriages before any ceremonies took place. Marriages had to be cleared through officials and the appropriateness of the match confirmed.

Marriage and Industrialization

After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan began an all-out effort to industrialize and catch up with the West. Cities, the centers of industry, also became centers of migration from all parts of Japan, further increasing the need for a *nakodo* to ensure the appropriateness of a marriage.

The increased mobility of the population during the Meiji period (1868-1912) was a key factor in changing attitudes toward marriage in many rural areas. As in urban centers, the *miai*, *yuino*, the use of *nakodo*, and other prac-

tices that had originated with the samurai became more common in rural areas. Parental arrangement of and authority over marriages increased.

By the Meiji period, under the Civil Code of 1898 marriage was legally conducted under the so-called *ie* (household) system, which had necessitated the agreement of the heads of the two households involved in a marriage, rather than the man and woman to be married. Under Meiji civil law husband and wife were far from equal: through marriage, the wife lost her legal capacity to engage in property transactions; management of her own property came under her husband's control; and only the wife had the duty of chastity. The Meiji Civil Code remained the law of the land until after World War II, when the new Civil Code of 1947 abolished the *ie* system and eliminated the legal inequality of husband and wife.

Post-World War II Japan

Though the legal requirements of marriage in Japan changed radically after the war, marriage practices were slower to respond to outside influence. The traditional marriage pattern continued relatively unchanged, especially in high-status families. Very few Japanese of the mid-20th century expected to find a spouse through casual meeting or dating.

Even in contemporary Japan, where Western marriage practices seem to have affected a sizable number of Japanese, the traditional system has not completely disappeared. Rather, Western influence has worked its way into a traditional system that has modified itself to meet contemporary preferences. Many people still seek the advice of a *nakodo* on a potential spouse; dating then confirms or disallows previous judgments concerning the individual's suitability. The *nakodo* is especially useful when a person is near or past what is considered the: "appropriate" age for marriage (statistically, the average age at marriage C has been on the rise since 1970; in 1990 it was 25.9 for females and 28.41 for males). Additional examples of the ways in which the traditional* system has opened itself to modern-day preferences are the match-making networks that operate among large companies and their affiliates, as well as many college alumni associations.

More Japanese now say they prefer a *ren'ai kekkon*, or "love marriage," over the traditional arranged marriage. Individual choice has in many cases become the deciding factor in settling on a marriage partner, and the level of familial involvement in the marriage process has come to resemble that found in Western countries; that is, not completely absent, but not nearly as deep as it was in prewar Japanese society.

Housing problems

(*jutaku mondai*). Urban housing problems in Japan arose as the country entered the stage of industrialization and urbanization around 1900. Before the end of World War II, no public measures were taken, but in the 1950s

three major pieces of legislation established a general framework for Japanese housing policy. The Government Housing Loan Corporation (Jutaku Kin'yu Koko) founded in 1950 was a means of channeling public funds for low-interest, long-term loans for owner-occupied housing. Under the Public Housing Law (Koei Jutaku Ho) of 1951 local authorities were empowered to build public housing for rental to low-income households with subsidies from the central government. Finally, the Japan Housing Corporation (Nihon Jutaku Kodan) was founded in 1955 as a public nonprofit developer to supply housing units for urban dwellers.

In 1966 the Housing Construction Planning Law (Jutaku Ken-setsu Keikaku Ho) was enacted to coordinate public policy measures for housing. The act mandated that the central government formulate five-year comprehensive housing construction plans at five-year intervals starting in 1966. The first Five-Year Housing Construction Plan aimed at constructing a total of 6.7 million housing units.

The second Housing Construction Plan, initiated in 1971, aimed at achieving "one room for each member of the household." Although the plan was to construct 9.6 million housing units in five years, only 8.26 million units were actually built.

The third Housing Construction Plan, approved in 1976, stated explicitly that the main priority of housing policy should be shifted from

an emphasis on quantity to the improvement of quality. The purpose of the fourth Housing Construction Plan, begun in 1981, was to continue to improve housing quality, especially in urban areas.

High prices for land have forced many people to buy housing at a considerable distance from their workplaces. Particularly in the Tokyo I metropolitan region, the average price increase of 1988 was 68.6 percent - over the previous year. In all of Japan's intensely crowded urban areas it is becoming increasingly difficult for the average "sarariman" (middle-class workers) to purchase a single-family dwelling. Multistory buildings with individual units for sale, similar to condominiums in the United States, have become the standard form of urban housing.

The fifth Housing Construction Plan (1986-1991) set forth a number of guidelines, including new standards for residential housing floor space and facilities. Other issues also remain, including the problems of the nearly 24.5 percent of all Japanese families who live in substandard private rental housing, as well as the difficulties faced by the aged, the handicapped, and other socially disadvantaged members in securing adequate housing.

Foreigners in Japan

(*zainichi gaikokujin*). The number of foreign nationals resident in Japan steadily increased throughout the 1980s to 1,075,317 in 1990, 26.4 percent

increase over 1985. This figure includes only foreigners registered in accordance with the Alien Registration Law; tourists in Japan for less than 90 days, children under the age of two months, and members of foreign diplomatic services are not included. The largest national group, accounting for 64 percent of the total, is composed of North and South Koreans (687,940), followed by citizens of China and Taiwan (150,339), Brazil (56,429), the Philippines (49,092), and the United States (38,364).

Since the revision of the Immigration Control Law in 1990, regulations governing employment of foreigners have been more strictly enforced; however, the revised law also makes foreign nationals of Japanese descent eligible for permanent resident status, and their numbers have suddenly increased. For example, the number of Brazilians of Japanese descent residing in Japan increased almost 29 times between 1985 and 1990.

Fifty-five percent of all foreigners in Japan live in the four prefectures of Tokyo, Osaka, Hyogo, and Aichi, with the highest concentration in Tokyo, where there are 213,056 foreign nationals. Of registered aliens in Japan, 60.0 percent were permanent residents in 1989; the rest were temporary residents, drawn to Japan by increasing foreign direct investment, by employment opportunities offered by the growing demand of Japanese firms for foreign workers, and by the chance to study in Japan. The influx of workers from South America, South and Southeast Asia, ; and the Middle East, a significant number of whom are employed illegally, has become a much-discussed trend.

The number of international marriages increased 3.5 times between 1965 and 1985. From 1975 onward, the number of marriages involving Japanese men and foreign women, many from China, Korea, or the Philippines, surpassed the number of Japanese women marrying foreign men.

A number of Japanese local governments have begun to implement new services to respond to the needs of foreign residents, such as the publication of information pamphlets in English, Chinese, and Portuguese and the assignment of English-speaking personnel to provide assistance. Since many foreign nationals of Japanese descent bring their families with them to Japan, special courses are being set up in elementary schools in areas where their numbers are especially concentrated.

Alien registration

(*gaikokujin toroku*). The Alien Registration Law (Gaikokujin Toroku Ho, 1952) requires all foreigners residing in Japan for more than one year to apply for registration to the mayor or headman of the village, town, or city where they live and to present a passport and copies of a photograph within 90 days from the date of entry into Japan. The information required on the application form includes the applicant's name, date and place of birth, sex,

nationality, occupation, port of entry, passport number, and address while in Japan.

Upon registration by the local government official, registrants are issued a Certificate of Alien Registration that must be renewed every five years or whenever visa status changes. Each registrant, excluding children under the age of 16, is required to carry this certificate at all times and to present it upon demand to police officers, maritime safety officials, railway police officers, or other public officials.

A growing number of noncitizens in Japan have objected strongly to the requirement that fingerprints be taken as part of the registration procedure, arguing that fingerprinting is the treatment given to criminals. By December 1991, 156 people had refused to be fingerprinted, and several prosecutions had resulted in guilty verdicts and fines. In response to growing protests the Ministry of Justice abolished the fingerprinting requirement for persons with permanent resident status, effective January 1993.

Foreign students in Japan

(gaikokujin ryugakusei). In 1949 the Japanese government began granting scholarships to students from Asian countries. In 1954 Japanese government scholarships for foreign students (the so-called Mombusho scholarships) were established. At present Japan accepts foreign students in two categories: those receiving Japanese government scholarships and those receiving government or private support from their own countries. Students receiving Japanese government scholarships are themselves divided into two categories: research students, who pursue graduate-level studies, and undergraduate students, who enroll in university departments, technical colleges, or special training schools. Government scholarship students in fiscal 1990 numbered 4,961, of whom more than 90 percent were Asians. Students not on Japanese government scholarships numbered 36,386 in 1990.

Since 1980 the total number of foreign students in Japan has grown each year, increasing from 6,572 in 1980 to 52,405 in 1993. However, these figures are still small when compared with the 343,780 foreign students in the United States in 1985; with West Germany's 79,354 in 1985; and with France's 133,848 in 1984. Hoping to admit 100,000 foreign students into Japan by the year 2000, the Ministry of Education is increasing the number of Japanese government scholarship recipients.

Foreign workers

(gaikokujin rodosha). Paid employment of workers who are citizens of foreign countries is strictly regulated by the Immigration Control Law, the revisions of which were implemented in 1990. Except for spouses of Japanese nationals and people of Japanese descent, permission to work is granted

to foreigners only in 28 skilled employment categories such as education, communications, medicine, finance, and computer software design. In principle, manual workers are not allowed entry, and students from overseas who work part-time are also subject to restrictions.

The majority of illegal foreign workers in the early 1980s were women who had entered the country with tourist visas and worked in bars and entertainment districts. However, severe shortages of labor triggered by the economic boom of the late 1980s have attracted a large influx of male foreign workers, mostly from Asian countries such as the Philippines, Bangladesh, and Iran. In recent years Japanese have been avoiding the so-called "3K" jobs (those that are kitsui, kitanai, kiken; "difficult, dirty, dangerous"), and there has been a significant increase in the number of construction and small engineering firms that are prepared to employ foreign manual laborers illegally.

The revision of the Immigration Control Law extended the right of long-term residence to descendants of Japanese emigrants and removed restrictions on their ability to work in Japan. Due to high inflation in Brazil, many Brazilians of Japanese descent have sought to take advantage of this change in the law; twice as many were working in Japan in 1990 as in the previous year. However, the serious depression which assailed the Japanese economy in the early 1990s has resulted in fewer jobs for foreign workers.

Environment

Environmental quality

(*kankyo mondai*). Environmental pollution in Japan has accompanied industrialization since the Meiji period (1868–1912). One of the earliest and well known cases was the copper poisoning caused by drainage from the Ashio Copper Mine in Tochigi Prefecture, beginning as early as 1878. The subsequent development of the textile and paper and pulp industries led to water pollution, and the use of coal as the major fuel for industry in general contributed to widespread but still localized air pollution. In the period of rapid growth following World War II, however, the isolated cases coalesced into a national crisis, with Japan becoming one of the most polluted countries in the world.

As regards environmental protection, at first there was widespread ignorance on the part of the public and apathy on the part of the government. Thus, although the pollution-related Minamata disease was first reported in May 1956, the existence of the disease had been concealed and patients secretly hospitalized in municipal isolation wards. Although a Kumamoto University research team identified mercury from the Chisso Corporation plant as the cause of the disease in 1959, the government did not officially recognize this as the cause until 1968. By the late 1960s, however, the degradation

of the environment had deeply struck the national consciousness, and a series of strict environmental protection measures were taken.

These were quite successful in some areas, most notably in the removal of toxic substances from the water and the reduction of sulfur oxides in the air, measures that helped to dull the public's sense of urgency. At the same time other concerns came increasingly to the fore, especially such economic issues as the sharp increase in oil prices following the oil crisis of 1973, the prolonged slump in industries such as steel and shipbuilding, and the ending of the period of rapid growth. Under these conditions, public pressures for a clean environment became subdued and the government weakened its standards. Thus, whereas in May 1973 the Environment Agency set a maximum permissible level for nitrogen oxides (a major contributor to photochemical smog) of 0.02 ppm (parts per million), the world's strictest standard, it agreed in June 1978 to a request by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and business circles to relax the standard to 0.06 ppm in cities and 0.04 ppm elsewhere. Still, much of the struggle against pollution had already been institutionalized, and further moderate improvement seemed in store, although the long-range outlook remained uncertain.

In four major lawsuits regarding pollution-related diseases, the right of the victims to compensation was established. The decisions in cases involving itai-itai disease (1971), Niigata Minamata disease (1971), Yokkaichi asthma (1972), and Kumamoto Minamata disease (1973) eased the burden of proof on the victims. These decisions clarified the responsibility of the companies to ensure that their activities were non-polluting and to prevent pollution from actually taking place.

Four major factors have especially contributed to the emergence in Japan of water-pollution problems: rapid industrialization, rapid urbanization, the lag in constructing such social overhead capital facilities as sewage systems, and the fact that water pollution in Japan emerged from a public policy that heavily favored economic growth over public health and a clean environment.

As a consequence of the increased concern with pollution problems, there has been an overall improvement in water quality, but the progress has been uneven. Strict emission controls on waste industrial waters have reduced cases of toxic-substance pollution to a very small number. On the other hand, rivers and coastal waters within metropolitan districts continue to suffer considerable pollution from organic substances. The problem is even more severe in bays, inland seas, lakes, and other water areas, including Tokyo, Ise, and Osaka bays and Lakes Biwa, Kasumigaura, and Suwa. In these areas there is relatively little "transfusion" of water, so the enormous amounts of nutritive salts of nitrogen and phosphorus poured into them lead to a multiplication of plankton or algae and eutrophication.

Another water-pollution problem is that of thermal pollution. As an increasing number of power plants are being built on an ever-larger scale, their heating of surrounding waters poses a threat to marine life and the fishing industry. Although heavy-metal pollution is no longer a serious problem, Japan's coastal waters remain highly polluted; in addition to household and industrial wastes discharged, oil dumped by ships, often deliberately, is a significant source of maritime pollution.

A number of measures have been taken to improve the quality of the water in Japan. These include the setting of national standards for toxic substances and of variable standards for the living environment (depending on the use and type of water area) and the establishing of strict effluent controls and of a comprehensive surveillance and monitoring system. Also, many laws fixing responsibility for pollution damages have been passed, court decisions favorable to victims have reinforced these, and projects to improve sewers have extended sewer service to a greater proportion of the population.

Japan's efforts to control air pollution have also met with mixed results. The greatest success has been attained in limiting pollution by sulfur oxides and carbon monoxide. The relatively successful control of sulfur oxides reflects a long-term commitment on the part of the government to reduce their concentrations. In the case of nitrogen oxides, the overall relaxation of standards in 1978 suggested that the delay in significantly reducing nitrogen oxide concentrations in the air could be prolonged indefinitely. Photochemical smog, to which nitrogen oxides are a principal contributor, first appeared in Tokyo in July 1970; since then it has appeared regularly in different parts of Japan.

In addition, the government has taken measures to cope with a variety of other forms of pollution or environmental disruption, including noise, vibration, waste disposal, ground subsidence, offensive odors, soil pollution, and pollution by agricultural chemicals. The number of complaints about noise is greater than for any other type of pollution. The greatest number of complaints concerns noise from factories, but construction, traffic, airport, and railroad (especially the highspeed Shinkansen line) noise have all generated a considerable number of complaints.

In response to the sharp deterioration in the natural environment caused by the postwar period of rapid economic growth, the Nature Conservation Law was passed in 1972 to serve as the basis for all legal measures to protect the natural environment. To protect nature and promote recreation, an extensive system of national parks, quasi-national parks, and prefectural natural parks was established. In urban areas, the government has sought to expand city park areas.

Environmental deterioration has led to sharp decreases in the number of such birds as hawks and owls, while various species, including the Japanese crested ibis, the stork, and the red-crested crane, have become threatened

with extinction. Since 1972, however, the observed number of migratory birds – ducks, swans, and geese – has generally been increasing, suggesting that environmental protection measures are bringing favorable results.

The Pollution Countermeasures Basic Law in 1967 sought to create common principles and policies for pollution control in all government agencies and to promote an integrated effort to clean up the environment. The Basic Law indicates the responsibilities of the central government, local governments, and business firms with regard to controlling pollution. In addition, the Basic Law laid the framework for establishing environmental quality standards, drafting pollution-control programs, and aiding victims of diseases caused by pollution.

Although antipollution policies are mainly national, much of the enforcement is done at a prefectural or municipal level. Moreover, the designation and classification of pollution or environmental protection zones are often done by local governments, which are also empowered to adopt standards stricter than national ones if necessary. In the 1970s Japan adopted the Polluter Pays Principle, according to which polluting enterprises had to accept financial responsibility for damages they inflicted on the community. Even so, the tolerable limits remained high for many substances, and when environmental goals conflicted with "stable" growth, the latter would prevail.

By the 1980s new environmental issues, such as groundwater contamination by organic solvents in the effluence from semiconductor factories, the pollution of rivers and streams by agricultural chemicals used to maintain the grounds of golf courses, and acid rain, have aroused concern. The attendant damage to the natural environment caused by large-scale land development has also spurred increasing attention to conservation issues.

In the late 1980s a growing body of scientific evidence suggested that the ozone layer of the atmosphere is being destroyed by chlorofluorocarbons and that an increase in carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is causing a general rise in world temperatures. Concern over these findings in Japan, which produces 10 percent of the annual world supply of chlorofluorocarbons, led to the passing of the Ozonosphere Protection Law of 1988.

Aids

(*acquired immune deficiency syndrome; J: eizu*). The first confirmed case of AIDS in Japan was reported in May 1985. As of February 1991 the Ministry of Health and Welfare had confirmed the existence of 374 AIDS patients and 1,640 carriers of the virus. Among patients, 280 were hemophiliacs who had contracted AIDS through infected blood preparations that had been imported, largely from the United States. Blood preparations are now sterilized by heating and are no longer a source of infection. Medical costs of hemophiliac patients of AIDS are borne by the firms that sold the infected

blood preparations. The Law concerning Prevention of AIDS, effective in 1989, was created as a part of efforts to arrest the spread of the disease.

AIDS, Law concerning the Prevention of

(Eizu Yobo Ho). A law was enacted in 1988 to prevent the spread of the AIDS virus in Japan and became effective in 1989. The law requires doctors to explain to anyone who tests positive for the AIDS virus, and who, in the judgment of the doctor, is considered likely to spread the disease, the methods necessary to prevent its transmission. Doctors are further required to report the patient's name, age, and address, and information about the manner in which the virus was contracted, to the prefectural governor within seven days. If a patient fails to follow the doctor's instructions, the governor will urge or order the patient to undergo a second medical examination, during which methods to prevent transmission will again be explained. A report to the prefectural governor is not required in the case of a patient who has contracted the AIDS virus from imported blood preparations. Critics have, however, pointed out that the law represents a danger to the human rights and to the right to privacy of AIDS patients.

National Health Insurance

(Kokumin Kenko Hoken). National Health Insurance covers the self-employed and their dependents, retired persons, and various other categories of individuals ineligible for employees' health insurance or any of the other medical and health insurance plans. In 1958 a new law gave the responsibility of overseeing the insurance to local governments. Under the present system premiums are paid solely by the insured; they consist of a fixed portion and a means-proportional portion. The amount of the premium varies from one municipality to another. The system also receives financial assistance from the national treasury. The insurance covers 70 percent of medical costs incurred by the principal insured or the principal's dependents (the rate is 80 percent for an insured retiree). As of 1992 there were 42.6 million people enrolled in National Health Insurance plans.

Pensions

(nenkin). The Japanese pension system centers on public pensions administered by the national government, providing old-age, disability, and survivor benefits. Public pensions are supplemented by individual pension plans provided by private enterprises. By law, all Japanese citizens of working age must subscribe to a public pension plan.

Japanese pensions started in 1875 with the onkyu system for retired army and navy servicemen. This system was later expanded to cover government officials, schoolteachers, and policemen. In 1939 the first pension pro-

gram for private-sector employees, the Seamen's Insurance Law, was enacted. From 1942 Laborers' Pension Insurance provided coverage for general workers; this was the precursor to the current Employees' Pension Insurance. In 1959 the National Pension Law was passed; it covers farmers, the self-employed, housewives, and other categories of people who had been excluded from employees' pensions.

In 1986 the pension system was greatly simplified and was reorganized into a two-tiered system. The National Pension was extended to provide basic, mandatory pension coverage to all Japanese citizens. Spouses of employees' pension subscribers are now required to enroll in the National Pension program. As of 1992, 68.4 million citizens were enrolled in this program, 30.6 million of whom depended on it as their sole pension coverage. Two supplemental programs provide additional coverage and benefits. The Employees' Pension Insurance program provides coverage for 32.0 million private-sector employees. Mutual Aid Association Pensions enroll an additional 4.9 million public employees and teachers. A declining number (now under 3.0 million) still receive onkyu pensions. Additional coverage for employees of certain companies is provided by privately funded corporate pensions.

The National Pension and Employees' Pension Insurance are administered by the Ministry of Health and Welfare. The smaller mutual-aid-association programs are under the jurisdiction of various ministries. One-third of the costs of contributory National Pension benefits are provided by the national treasury, with the rest supplied by contributions from the insured and from other pension plans. The costs of employee insurance are usually covered by equal contributions of employer and employee proportionate to the employee's wage rate.

National Pension

(Kokumin Nenkin). Introduced in 1959, the National Pension was originally designed for those not covered by other existing pension programs, especially farmers and the self-employed. Since reform of the pension system in 1986, joining the National Pension program is mandatory for all Japanese citizens between the ages of 20 and 60. Employed persons also receive additional benefits from Employees' Pension Insurance or Mutual Aid Association Pensions. In 1992, 68.4 million people were covered under the National Pension system.

The National Pension consists of three components: a basic old-age pension, a disability pension, and a basic survivor's pension. Contributions from insured persons and employers cover two-thirds of the cost of National Pension benefits, with the remainder paid by the national treasury. In 1991 the monthly payment required of all individual contributors to the National

Pension system was ¥9,700 (US \$72.00). The basic old-age pension of ¥60,441 (US \$449) per month (as of 1991) is paid to people aged 65 and over who have fulfilled the minimum contributory requirement of 25 years.

Police system

(*keisatsu seido*). Japan's approximately 220,000 police officers are organized into prefectural forces coordinated and partially controlled by the National Police Agency in Tokyo. They enjoy wide community support and respect.

Historical Development

During the Edo period (1600–1868), the Tokugawa shogunate developed an elaborate police system based on town magistrates, who held samurai status and served as chiefs of police, prosecutors, and criminal judges. The system was augmented by citizens' groups such as the *goningumi* (five-family associations), composed of neighbors collectively liable to the government for the activities of their membership.

After the Meiji Restoration (1868), the Home Ministry was established in 1873. With jurisdiction over the Police Bureau, it effectively controlled the police. This new, centralized police system had wide-ranging responsibilities, including the authority to issue ordinances and handle quasi-judicial functions. It also regulated public health, factories, construction, and businesses and issued permits, licenses, and orders. To help control proscribed political activities, the Special Higher Police were established in 1911 and strengthened in 1928 with the introduction of the Peace Preservation Law (*Chian Iji Ho*) of 1925. With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the police were given the added responsibilities of regulating business activities for the war effort, mobilizing labor, and controlling transportation. Regulation of publications, motion pictures, political meetings, and election campaigns also came under police direction.

After World War II, leaders of Allied Occupation required the Diet to enact a new Police Law. This 1947 law abolished the Home Ministry. It also decentralized the system by establishing about 1,600 Society

independent municipal police forces in all cities and towns with populations of over 5,000. Smaller communities would be served by the National Rural Police. Popular control of the police was to be ensured by the establishment of civilian public safety commissions.

This attempt at decentralization was unsuccessful. In June 1951, the Police Law was amended to allow smaller communities to merge their police forces with the National Rural Police. Eighty percent of the communities with autonomous forces did so. The system was further centralized with passage of a new Police Law in 1954. Present Structure

Today the Japanese police system is based on prefectural units that are autonomous in daily operations yet are linked nationwide under the National Police Agency. Prefectural police headquarters, including the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department, control everyday police operations in each prefecture. In effect, the prefectures pay for the patrolman on the beat, traffic control, criminal investigation, and other routine functions but have little control over domestic security units, which are funded by the national government, as are the salaries of senior national and prefectural police officials.

Prefectures are divided into districts, each with its own police station under direct control of prefectural police headquarters. There are about 1,250 of these police stations nationwide. Districts are further subdivided into jurisdictions of urban koban (police boxes) and rural chuzai-sho (residential police boxes).

The mainstay of the Japanese police system is the uniformed patrol officer (omawari san). The patrol officers man the police boxes and patrol cars and comprise 40 percent of all officers. They are the general-ists who usually respond first to all incidents and crimes and then funnel them to the specialized units for further investigation.

The scope of police responsibilities remains broad. Besides solving ordinary crimes, criminal investigators establish the causes of fires and industrial accidents. Crime prevention police bear added responsibility for juveniles, businesses such as bars and Mah-Jongg parlors, and the enforcement of "special laws" regulating gun and sword ownership, drugs, smuggling, prostitution, pornography, and industrial pollution. Public safety commissions usually defer to police decisions .

Police contact with the community is augmented by the requirement that koban-based police visit every home in their jurisdiction to gather information, pass on suggestions regarding crime prevention, and hear complaints. Neighborhood crime prevention and traffic safety associations provide another link between police and community, further promoting extensive public involvement in law and order.

Education

Education, history of

(kyoikushi). Education in the sense of reading and writing began in Japan after the introduction of the Chinese writing system in the 6th century or before. The aristocracy was educated in Confucian thought and Buddhism in the Nara (710–794) and Heian (794–1185) periods. Buddhist priests were the first teachers in ancient Japan, and temples became centers of learning. Education spread to the military class during the Kamakura period (1185–1333); at the same time, through the growth of popular forms of Buddhism, the pea-

santry was also increasingly exposed to education. During the Edo period (1600–1868) both the shogunal and domainal governments established schools; the official systems were supplemented by private schools at shrines and temples. Education was widely diffused by the time of the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

Nationalism and the drive toward modernization were strong influences on education during the late 19th century. The nationalist influence was predominant after Japan militarized in the 1930s, while the post-World War II period brought decentralization and new democratic influences to education. The postwar system provides nine years of compulsory schooling, and high school education is also nearly universal. Some 40 percent of Japanese students continue their education in universities. The schools are administered by local autonomous bodies under the broad supervision of the Ministry of Education. Education plays a critical role in preparing students for employment, and career opportunities are determined largely according to school performance.

Education before 1600

Prior to the introduction of written language to Japan, education was carried out primarily through an oral tradition of stories concerning history and customs. The introduction of writing to Japan necessitated a more conscious and systematic form of education. Ancient Japan

Education in ancient Japan was fostered by the imperial family. Prince Shotoku (574–622) constructed Horyuji, a temple in Nara, as a place of learning. The emperor Shomu (701–756; r 724–749) constructed temples in each province; monks were sent to these temples by the government as instructors. Of particular importance in the period was the education of clergy, who were among the leaders of society.

The role of priests in spreading education among the masses during the Nara and Heian periods was considerable. Gyogi (668–749) built places of training (dojo) in the various regions he visited. Other priests, including Kuya (903–972) and Ryonin (1073–1132), continued this tradition of teaching.

With the establishment of the Chinese-inspired ritsuryo (legal codes) system of centralized government in the late 7th century, two types of schools for the nobility were established: the Daigakuryo, to educate the children of the nobility in the capital, and the kokugaku, to educate the children of the provincial nobility.

Medieval Education

During the Kamakura period (1185–1333) when political power shifted to the provincial military class, samurai drew up *kakun* (house laws) to educate their children and ensure family solidarity.

The Christian missionaries who came to Japan in the 16th century founded schools where both general and vocational education were conducted. By this time the *Daigakuryo* and the provincial *kokugaku* had declined. The most representative educational institution of this period was the *Ashikaga Gakko*, where monks made up a large part of the students body and the curriculum concentrated on Confucian learning. The school flourished during the late 1500s, when enrollment reached 3,000.

Edo-period education

The civilizing effect of two and a half centuries of peace and modest economic growth during the Edo period (1600–1868) was nowhere more apparent than in the field of formal education. At the beginning of the period literacy rate was very low. Tutors, mostly priests, could be found for the children of noble families, but there were virtually no schools.

The contrast at the end of the period was great. Large schools organized by the domainal authorities gave a graded instruction in the Chinese classics to almost every samurai child, and local *terakoya*, the schools for commoners, taught reading and writing to villagers as well as townsmen. Other private schools and academics called *shijuku* provided more advanced instruction in a variety of disciplines and schools of thought to both samurai and commoners. Books abounded. Japan had almost certainly reached the 40 percent literacy threshold that some consider a prerequisite for modern growth.

For the Japanese of the Edo period the Chinese classics were the repository of wisdom and knowledge. Learning painfully to "construe" these classics was the central business of the schools operated by the feudal clans in the Edo Era. In contrast to the powerful Christian church, the Buddhist temples yielded moral authority to the Confucian schools. The school during the Edo period thus came to combine the functions shared in Western society between school and church.

Confucian Scholarship and School Formation

The establishment of Confucian scholarship as a separate branch of learning, and of the role of the Confucian scholar-governmental adviser-teacher as a distinct profession, was the work of a number of distinguished men of the 17th century: *Fujiwara Seika* (1561–1619), *Hayashi Razan* (1583–1657), and *Ito Jinsai* (1627–1705). *Fujiwara* was the first to cut himself off

from his temple roots and to declare himself an adherent of the philosophy and ethic of Confucianism as something incompatible with Buddhism.

By the end of the 17th century the idea was generally established that every self-respecting daimyo's band of retainers should include a *jusha* (Confucian adviser) to advise on tricky questions of historical precedent or political morality, and to tutor the daimyo's heir. Some daimyo gave financial assistance to help transform the band of disciples who gathered at the feet of any scholar into the framework of a formal school. Some 20 domains had founded schools by 1703. The number was over 200 by 1865.

Heterodoxy and New Orthodoxy

An emphasis on moral virtue developed, becoming the dominant but by no means the only strand of Confucian thought or of educational philosophy in the Edo period. The leader of a reaction against this trend away from mastery of ancient Chinese texts and commentaries was Ogyu Sorai (1666-1728). He rejected the entire Neo-Confucian notion that the purpose of study was the moral cultivation of the individual. He took the Legalist view that one kept men in order not by winning over their individual hearts and minds to virtue but by establishing institutions that channel their self-interest in socially beneficial directions. Scholarship was the rigorous, intellectual study of such institutions but in addition to that practical purpose it was also an end-in-itself pursuit of intellectual and literary excellence.

For over half a century the followers of Sorai coexisted with the Neo-Confucianists until Matsudaira Sadanobu's (1758–1829) famous Ban on Heterodox Learning (*Kansei Igaku no Kin*) of 1790. Henceforth, it ruled that the teachings of Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucian school should be adhered to at the shogunate's own school (the *Shoheiko*). The ban was part of Matsudaira's plan to revitalize the Hayashi school, which he expected to play an important role in his attempts to reform the shogunate. As other domains followed suit, the "Sorai school" practically disappeared, but the new orthodoxy was in fact a relatively tolerant and eclectic one that had room for political economy as well as for moral improvement.

Other Edo-Period Schools

There were two other forms of education. The first was Japanese studies. About 15 domains, those most influenced by the National Learning (*Kokugaku*), had established schools of national studies around the end of the period. The other much more consequential innovation was the establishment of schools that specialized in Dutch, later Western, studies. From the first spurt of interest in Dutch science – particularly medical science – in the 1770s until the mid – 1850s, these exotic studies were largely carried on by individual doctors and low-ranking samurai. A number of special schools for Western studies were begun in the 1850s, notably the shogunate's *Bansho Shirabesho*,

which rapidly developed into a flourishing school that admitted pupils from all over Japan.

Parallel to these developments was the laying of foundations for mass literacy by the simple private reading-and-writing schools (terakoya) that helped prepare the way for Japan's transition to an industrial society.

Convinced that knowledge would enhance the strength of the nation, the Meiji government decreed an entirely new educational system based upon imported models. Almost none of Japan's great schools and colleges can trace direct links of institutional continuity back to the schools of the Edo period.

Modern education

The history of education in Japan since the Meiji Restoration (1868) can be divided into the following five periods: the period of establishment (1868–1885), when the initial framework for a modern educational system was created; the period of consolidation (1886–1916), when various school orders were issued and a systematic educational structure was established; the period of expansion (1917–1936), based upon the recommendations of the Extraordinary Council on Education (Rinji Kyoiku Kaigi; 1917–1919); the war-time period (1937–1945) of militaristic education; and the present period (from 1945), which was ushered in by educational reforms during the Allied Occupation.

The Period of Establishment (1868–1885)

The Education Order of 1872 (Gakusei) established the foundation for a modern public education system. Many Edo-period schools were incorporated into the new educational system. Terakoya and shi-juku, schools for the common people, became primary schools; the shogunate-controlled, elite school called Kaiseijo developed into a university that later became Tokyo University, while many domain schools became public middle schools, which eventually developed into universities. Most of the schools of Western Learning developed into private semmon gakko (professional schools).

The educational reform effort based on the Gakusei was overambitious and was thus revised two times, in 1879 and 1880. A significant development was the 1879 issuance of the Kyogaku Taishi (Outline of Learning), which emphasized Confucian values of humanity, justice, loyalty, and filial piety. Education in shushin ("moral" training) took on new importance. The utmost priority came to be placed on nationalistic moral education. This formed the basis for national educational policy until the end of World War II.

The Period of Consolidation (1886–1916)

In 1885 the cabinet system was created, and Mori Arinori (1847–1889) became the first minister of education. In 1886 he issued in quick succession the Elementary School Order, the Middle School Order, the Imperial University Order, and the Normal School Order. The Imperial Universities were intended to be the institutions that would create capable leaders who would absorb advanced Western Learning necessary for the modernization of the nation. Middle schools (especially the higher middle schools that became higher schools in 1894) were designed to prepare students for the Imperial University.

In these ways a comprehensive school system was established for the purpose of modernization on one hand and the spiritual unification of the people on the other. In 1890 the Imperial Rescript on Education (Kyoiku Chokugo) was issued in the name of Emperor Meiji. The rescript served as a powerful instrument of political indoctrination and remained in effect until the end of World War II. The text states that the fundamental principles of education are based upon the historical bonds uniting its benevolent rulers and their royal subjects. The Rescript was given ceremonial readings at all important school events. Later, with the development of industry after the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the demand for industrial education, Inoue Kowashi (1844–1895), who became minister of education after Mori, established systems of vocational and girls' schools. In this period a variety of private semmon gakko (later to become universities) was also established. In 1898 the attendance rate for compulsory education reached 69 percent. Compulsory education was extended to six years in 1907.

The Period of Expansion (1917–1936)

Stimulated by the Russo-Japanese War and World War I, capitalism developed rapidly in Japan. During this period the governmental Rinji Kyoiku Kaigi (Extraordinary Council on Education) issued several reports that formed the basis for the expansion of the education system over the next decade or so to meet the need of the development. Until 1918 universities had been limited to the imperial universities, but the reforms contained in the University Order of 1918 extended recognition to colleges and private universities. In accordance with this order many national, public, and private semmon gakko were raised to the status of university.

On the other hand, with the inflow into Japan of new currents of thought, including socialism, communism, anarchism, and liberalism, the teachers' union and student movements rose up in opposition to nationalistic education. These trends intensified in the late 1920s with the deepening of economic crisis and political confrontation. The government attempted to

counteract the influence of leftist ideology by promoting the so-called Japanese spirit.

The Wartime Period (1937–1945)

After the Manchurian Incident of 1931, educational policy soon became ultranationalistic; after the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945, it became militaristic. Elementary schools were changed to *kokumin gakko* (national people's schools), which were to train subjects for the empire, and *seinen gakko* (youth schools, for vocational education) became obligatory for graduates of elementary schools. Normal schools were raised in status to *seimon gakko*. After Japan entered World War II, militaristic education became even stronger. In order to enhance nationalistic indoctrination, control over learning, education, and thought was strengthened.

Educational Reforms after World War II (1945)

After defeat in 1945 Japan was placed under the Occupation of the Allied forces until the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1952. Reports of the United States education missions to Japan, which came to Japan in 1946 and 1950, became the blueprints for educational reform. The core of the reform was the Fundamental Law of Education (1947), which took the place of the Imperial Rescript on Education as the basic philosophy of education. Based on this law, the School Education Law of 1947 was promulgated in the same year, and a new school system was established. The essential elements of the new system were the replacement of the existing dual-track (popular and elite) system with a single-track 6-3-3-4 system (six years of elementary school, three years of middle school, three years of high school, and four years of university), compulsory education in elementary and middle schools, the establishment of the principle of coeducation and the creation of the board of education system. There have been calls for further educational reforms in response to the social and economic changes that have occurred in Japan since the late 1940s, and in 1984 the Nakasone cabinet established its own advisory council, the Provisional Council on Educational Reform (*Rinji Kyoiku Shingikai*; also called *Rinkyoshin*), which presented a final report in 1987. It stressed the principle of respect for and encouragement of individuality as a fundamental goal.

Education system reforms

(*kyoiku seido no kaikaku*). The Japanese education system has undergone numerous reforms since modern education was introduced soon after the Meiji Restoration (1868).

The Ministry of Education was established in 1871, and the Education Order of 1872 set up an education system patterned after European and American models. The Imperial Rescript on Education (1890) stressed loyalty to the nation and a Confucian-oriented ethical education. In the first half of the 1890s, in the wake of rapid industrial progress, vocational schools and professional schools (*semmon gakko*) were established for graduates of elementary schools. Secondary schools for girls were set up after 1899.

Elementary school education spread rapidly during the first decade of the 20th century, and the duration of compulsory education was increased from four years to six years. The government also strengthened national controls over content and reinforced the teaching of ethics. The Rinji Kyoiku Kaigi (Extraordinary Council on Education), formed in 1917, introduced several new measures, such as the recognition of colleges and universities outside the imperial university system. It also proposed emphasizing military training at school to promote the concept of national polity (*kokutai*). *Seinen gakko* (youth schools), which mixed vocational and military education, were made compulsory for elementary school graduates in 1939, and in 1941 the elementary school system was reorganized under the name *kokumin gakko* (national people's schools). After World War II, the educational reforms of 1947 resulted from the advice of the first of the United States education missions to Japan and from the Japanese Education Reform Council. Militaristic education was abolished and an emphasis on peace and democracy was introduced. The complicated, multitrack, prewar system was replaced by a unified system with a six-year elementary school, three-year middle school, three-year high school, and four-year university. The first nine years of the system were made compulsory. Coeducation and equal opportunity in education were promoted. Curriculum was developed under school course guidelines of the Ministry of Education. Since 1952 all education policies have been developed by the Central Council for Education (*Chuo Kyoiku Shingikai*), an advisory council attached to the Ministry of Education.

Educational expenses

(kyoikuh). The School Education Law (*Gakko Kyoiku Ho*) of 1947 guarantees free primary and middle school education to all Japanese citizens. However, each family must pay supplementary expenses, including kindergarten and high school tuition, field trips, supplies, transportation to and from school, school lunches, extracurricular lessons at *juku* (private tutoring schools) and cram schools, and private lessons in calligraphy, piano, etc.

The total cost per child for a family in 1987 averaged out to ¥179,723 (US \$1,242) for public kindergarten and ¥339,767 (US \$2,349) for private kindergarten (attended by 76 percent). In the public schools the average per student was ¥184,000 (US \$1,275) for elementary school and ¥225,407 (US

\$1,558) for middle school. Costs in public high schools averaged ¥294,471 (US \$2,035) and in private high schools ¥605,481 (US \$4,186). Of the 94.3 percent of middle school graduates who went on to high school, 72 percent attended public schools.

Since academic records have a strong influence on social status, parents spare no expense to prepare a child for the entrance examinations for high school and college. The pressure to send students in middle or high school to *juku* or cram schools is acute. Although Japan's consumer price index for 1987 rose only 0.1 percent over the previous year, educational expenses increased by 2.9-4.5 percent, saddling parents of competing children with a great burden, exacerbated by the fact that scholarship grants are rare and educational loans are small.

Entrance examinations

(*nyugaku shiken*). Entrance examinations are given great weight in Japan's educational system. Although nursery, primary, and middle schools also conduct such tests, Japanese society attaches the most importance to entrance exams for high schools and universities.

High school is attended by 94 percent of middle school graduates, so the function of high school entrance tests is not to weed out unqualified applicants, but to determine which school a student may attend. Private high schools design their own tests and conduct applicant interviews to select students, while public high school entrance standards are determined by the local school system. Generally, achievement test results in five categories (English, mathematics, Japanese, social studies, and science) are evaluated, along with the student's junior high school records.

Objective achievement-test performance is the key factor in university applicant selection, but certain universities may include essay-writing tests, or performance tests for applicants in music or physical education, in their evaluation process. All national and other public universities (and a few private ones) require prospective applicants to take the University Entrance Examination Center Tests – a series of standardized multiple-choice examinations measuring competence in the Japanese language, social studies, mathematics, science, and foreign languages. Based on the results, students may then make a more informed choice as to which schools to apply to. Ultimately, admission is based on the combined results of the general test plus the independent examination offered by the university in question. Entrance examinations for both high schools and universities are administered each year during the period from January through March. Students may apply to more than one high school or university.

The Japanese entrance examination system does not establish in advance a target score that, if achieved, assures admission; those applying at the same time compete for a limited number of openings. In Japanese society it is generally accepted that the school one attends will decisively influence the course of one's life and career (*gakureki shakai*). Entrance tests are therefore regarded as major events in determining one's fate, and the battle to qualify for the best schools is waged with fierce intensity. The competition is seen as having assumed excessive proportions in the 1980s. This has not only led to enormous prosperity for the operators of *juku* (private tutoring schools) and cram schools, but is also thought to have helped precipitate many education-related problems. These include increasing juvenile delinquency, apathy on the part of students not targeted as high achievers, and school allergy, a phenomenon whereby some students are unable to attend school for emotional reasons.

Gakureki shakai

(*"credential society"*). Term used in Japan to refer to the great emphasis the Japanese place on a person's educational background. In Japan an individual's social and occupational status is generally considered to be determined not only by the level of education completed, but also by the rank and prestige of the particular universities attended. Factors such as class, race, religion, and personal wealth, which are important determinants of social status in other societies, are not quite as significant in Japan because of the country's high level of homogeneity and lack of extreme inequalities in the distribution of wealth. A person's educational career, on the other hand, provides a convenient determinant of status. With a high percentage of students attending universities, the status distinctions among schools have become increasingly pronounced. As a result of this, the competition to gain entrance to the most prestigious schools has intensified markedly.

Hensachi

(*deviation*). Statistical term frequently used in Japanese education to express a student's performance on a standardized examination relative to a mean average score. Since the early 1960s *hensachi* figures have been used in Japan to calculate an individual's percentile ranking for practice entrance examinations. Guidance counselors often base their assessment of how likely a student is to gain admission to certain schools by comparing the student's *hensachi* with the average *hensachi* of other students applying to the same schools. The industry of private tutoring schools (*juku*) and cram schools also

calculates *hensachi* figures for students, based on the results of large-scale practice examinations, to advise them on test-taking strategies.

Gram schools

(yobiko). Schools whose primary purpose is preparing students to pass the high competitive entrance examination of Japanese universities. Most cram school enrollees are recent high school graduates who are seeking admission to colleges and universities and failed in their first sitting for the entrance examination. In 1989 there were 165 *yobiko* with a combined enrollment of about 205,510.

Recently competition among those hoping to pass college entrance examinations has become intense, and large numbers of students commute to cram school while still in high school. The information regarding university entrance examinations provided by the major *yobiko* is indispensable not only to their enrolled students but to all prospective test takers.

Juku

(private tutoring schools). In the Edo period (1600–1868) the term *juku* referred to small schools for the teaching of martial arts or the doctrines of a particular school of philosophy. Modern *juku* may offer lessons in nonacademic subjects such as arts and sports or in the academic subjects that are important in school entrance examinations. *Juku* for high school students must compete for enrollments with *yobiko* (cram schools), which are solely geared to helping students pass university entrance examinations. According to a 1989 survey, 38.2 percent of elementary school students, 74.9 percent of middle school students, and 37.6 percent of high school students in Tokyo were attending *juku*. Recently there has been a trend toward expanding the major *juku* into chain or franchise operations. At the same time, a number of smaller, innovative *juku* have sprung up to help students who are unable to keep up with classwork or who have had problems. School lunch in a Tokyo elementary school.

English language training

(eigo kyoiku). English is the most widely studied foreign language in Japan. During the Meiji period (1868–1912), the study of English was considered essential for importing the Western technology necessary for modernization. Language training was chiefly based on reading ability and not on conversation.

Because the written entrance examinations for universities and high schools test for English ability, grammar and reading comprehension are stressed in the English classes offered by most high schools and middle schools. However, there is a growing awareness that neglecting speaking and listening during the first six years of English language training leads to problems. The school course guidelines introduced in 1992 stress spoken communication, and the Ministry of Education has brought in native English speakers as assistant teachers of middle and high school English classes. In 1990 there were 2,146 such assistant teachers invited to Japan.

English conversation schools, courses on television and on radio, and company-run classes for employees offer further training in English. In 1988, some 2,361,982 people took the Test in Practical English Proficiency (offered by the Ministry of Education since 1963).

School lunch program

(gakko kyushoku). During the post-World War II food shortage the Allied Occupation started a nationwide school lunch program. With the School Lunch Law of 1954 the practice was established on a permanent basis. The school lunch menu was based on bread until 1976, when a rice-based menu was introduced. In 1989, 98.0 percent of elementary schools and 85.4 percent of middle schools had lunch programs.

School textbooks

(kyokasho). In Japan all elementary, middle, and high schools are obliged to use government-approved textbooks. Textbooks are compiled by private publishers, who are given a certain amount of freedom in the style of presentation, but are also required to conform to government-issued school course guidelines. Authorization is given only after evaluation of the texts by Ministry of Education specialists and appointed examiners and a final review by the Textbook Authorization and Research Council, an advisory organ of the ministry.

A system of free distribution of textbooks for compulsory education was established in 1963. The textbooks used in each school district are chosen by the local board of education from among those authorized by the central government; in the case of private schools the responsibility lies with the school principal.

The purpose of the official authorization of textbooks, a system that has been in effect in Japan since 1886, is the standardization of education and the maintenance of objectivity and neutrality on political and religious issues.

The textbook approval process has engendered considerable controversy and has led to one famous court case, a suit brought against the government by a historian Ienaga Saburo (1913–) in 1965, charging that the authorization process was both illegal and unconstitutional.

Transportation

Transportation

(kotsu). Japan has a highly developed domestic and international transportation network. The system as it now exists was developed in the century following the Meiji Restoration of 1868, but even earlier the transportation system was relatively sophisticated for a preindustrial society. Premodern Transportation

During the early periods of Japanese history, and especially during the 7th to 9th centuries, goods and people traveled extensively by ship between Japan and the Asian mainland. Within Japan, the establishment of a rice tax system and legal system in the late 7th century was accompanied by the construction of the first major roads. The Inland Sea was a major transportation route between settlements in Japan from early times.

After the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1867), international transportation activity was halted by the National Seclusion policy, which was in force from 1639 to 1854. Domestic transportation, on the other hand, grew and improved greatly during the Edo period (1600–1868). Coastal shipping routes were extended to support the expanding commodity trade, and the road network was also improved.

Meiji Period (1868–1912) to World War II

Following the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan absorbed Western technology at a rapid pace. The first steam-powered train ran on a narrow-gauge track between Tokyo and Yokohama in 1872, the first automobile was imported in 1899. Western vessels quickly replaced most Japanese sailing ships, as the government subsidized the shipbuilding industry. From the 1880s onward the rail network expanded rapidly and in 1906 major portions of it were nationalized. In 1927 the first subway in Tokyo began operation. Bus service and trucking companies began in 1910s, with rapid expansion after the Tokyo Earthquake of 1923. During the 1930s taxis developed into an important means of urban transportation.

By the 1940s the mainstay of the passenger transportation system was the railroads, while freight transportation was conducted primarily through coastal shipping and the railroads.

Postwar Transportation Network

The postwar era was characterized by an explosive growth in moter vehicles and airlines. By 1990 the rail share of total domestic passenger transportation had fallen to 30 percent, with automobiles increasing from less than 1 percent in 1950 to 66 percent in 1990. Buses also compete with the railroads to some extent, but they mainly provide feeder service to train stations or operate in rural areas where there is no rail service. Subways are an important means of urban transportation, with a total length of 523.6 kilometers (325.3 mi) in 1991. In addition to the vast network in Tokyo, there are also subway systems in Fukuoka, Kobe, Kyoto, Nagoya, Osaka, Sapporo, Sendai, and Yokohama.

Scheduled domestic airlines have grown rapidly but still occupy a small share (4 percent in 1990) of total passenger transportation. International air travel has also grown at a tremendous pace: the number of passengers carried by scheduled Japanese airlines was only 112,000 in 1955 but reached 11.3 million in 1991.

For freight transportation, the rail share of total ton-kilometers fell to 5 percent by 1990, while trucks expanded from 8 percent in 1950 to 50 percent in 1990, and coastal shipping went from 39 percent to 45 percent.

Coordination of the transportation system has been a problem because different modes of transportation are governed by separate laws and represented by different bureaus within the Ministry of Transport. In addition, certain transportation-related activities are under the jurisdiction of other ministries.

Railroads

The network of railways consists of the JR (Japan Railways) group and a number of private railways. The JR group is made up of six passenger railway companies, a freight railway company, and several other affiliated companies, all of which were created when long-term financial difficulties led to the privatization of the Japanese National Railways (JNR) in 1987. In 1990 the rail system comprised 26,895 operation-kilometers (16,710 mi), of which JR companies operated 20,175 or 75 percent of the total. JR passenger service includes intercity trunk lines, urban feeder service, and a large number of rural lines. It also operates Japan's fastest passenger trains on the Shinkansen "bullet train" lines of standard gauge. In 1950 the JNR alone generated 59 percent of all passenger-kilometers, but this figure had fallen to 18 percent for the JR in 1990. The JR group's Japan Freight Railway Co. provides almost all of the rail freight service in Japan, but railroads can no longer effectively compete with trucks for most freight business.

In addition to the JR group companies, there are 16 large railway companies and 58 smaller railways. Unlike the JR, the other large railway com-

panies have evolved into conglomerates of related activities, operating sports stadiums, baseball teams, department stores, amusement parks, and real estate. More of their profits often come from these related businesses.

Motor vehicles

Private automobiles have been one of the fastest growing segments of passenger transportation because of three factors that became conspicuous in the 1960s: the rapid growth of income to a point where families could afford automobiles; the development of a domestic automotive industry geared to the specific needs of the domestic market (small-sized vehicles); and the improvement of roads. The number of registered motor vehicles increased from only about 1.5 million in 1960 to over 43 million in 1990. Paving on national highways was extended from 29 percent in 1960 to 98 percent in 1991. Japan also had developed a total of 4,869 kilometers (3,025 mi) of expressways by 1991. Even as late as 1960, 20 percent of all automobiles were business vehicles, but by 1990 private automobiles were 97 percent of total registrations. Despite the popularity of automobile ownership, problems such as urban traffic congestion, lack of parking, and the high cost of fuel continue to restrict the actual day-to-day use of private vehicles in Japan.

As roads have improved, trucks have increased in size. Whereas most commercial trucks did not exceed a 5-ton capacity in the mid-1950s, 18-ton trucks are now common and the number of trailer trucks is also increasing.

During the 1980s the parcel delivery service business grew rapidly. Small parcels such as gifts and catalog purchases are delivered on the day of or following their dispatch.

Highway safety continues to be a major problem. Although major safety campaigns led to a steady decline in traffic deaths between 1970 and 1980, since then the trend has reversed, and in 1988 highway fatalities exceeded 10,000.

Marine transportation

Seaborne freight is the primary means of transporting Japan's huge volume of raw-materials imports and finished-goods exports. Total tonnage handled by Japanese ports grew at an annual rate of 15 percent from 1980 to 1990. The most important of Japan's 121 international ports are the Tokyo Bay area (Tokyo, Yokohama, Kawasaki, and Chiba), Nagoya, the Osaka Bay area (Osaka and Kobe), Kita Kyushu, and Wakayama Shimotsu (a major oil port).

Since the Oil Crisis of 1973 an oversupply of ships worldwide has hurt the shipping industry as a whole. Japanese shipping companies have lost international competitiveness because of rising wages and the continuing high value of the yen since 1985. Japanese-owned vessels under flags of conveni-

ence have been increasing to gain the advantage of lower-cost labor. By 1990 the total gross tons of vessels flying the Japanese flag had fallen about 42 percent from its peak of 35 million tons in 1982. The industry has responded to the difficult business environment by trying to increase efficiency through mergers and large-scale reductions in capacity.

Along with the increases in maritime freight through the mid-1970s, Japan's shipbuilding industry expanded to a point where Japan became the world's largest shipbuilder. Japan pioneered the construction of supertankers, which were instrumental in supplying Japan's energy needs at substantially reduced transportation costs. However, the oil crisis and ensuing severe recession brought depression to the shipbuilding industry. Since then the government has taken measures to reduce capacity and employment in the industry.

Air transportation.

After World War II, passenger airlines were prohibited by SCAP (the supreme commander for the Allied powers) until 1951, when the Ministry of Transport was given control over licensing airline routes and fares. Japan Airlines Co, Ltd (JAL), was established in 1953 as an international airline (including domestic trunk lines) with 50 percent government capital participation. At the same time approval was also given to two private regional firms, which later merged to become All Nippon Airways Co, Ltd (ANA). JAL became a private company in 1987.

As of January 1991 there were 5 scheduled international airlines in Japan, including JAL and ANA, as well as 6 scheduled domestic airlines and 49 unscheduled air service companies. To handle the increased air traffic, airports have also expanded. In the spring of 1978, the New Tokyo International Airport (Narita) replaced Tokyo International Air-port (Haneda) as the main international airport for Tokyo. Kansai International Airport is expected to open in 1994 in Osaka.

Railways

(tetsudo). Railways in Japan date from 1872, only four years into the country's modern period, but almost four decades from the time that railways first appeared in Europe and the United States. Progress was rapid after the late start, however, and in the 20th century Japan's railways have compared favorably with those of any other nation in the world. In the post-World War II period, and especially since the development of the Shinkansen "bullet train," Japan has been at the forefront of railway technology.

History and Early Development

The first line, begun in 1870 and completed in 1872, was of modest proportions, running 28 kilometers (17.4 mi) from Shimbashi in Tokyo to Yokohama on the track of narrow gauge. Financing for the first state lines was obtained partly by floating bonds on the London money market, and British technicians and technology figured prominently in the early construction of both public and private railways. Domestication of technical expertise and equipment was relatively rapid and thorough, and one of the few lasting reminders of British influence is that Japanese trains run on the left, a practice that has carried over to highway traffic control.

In the Kinki region, a state-constructed line between Kobe and Osaka was opened in 1874. Following initial government plans calling for a trunk line between Tokyo and Kyoto, running through a coastal route, the Tokaido was first spanned by rails in 1893. Two years later the nation's first electric railway began operating in Kyoto. By 1901 tracks had been laid the entire length of the main island of Honshu, and each of the other three main islands also had some trackage by this time. By and by, gaps in the system were filled in gradually, so that, in effect, a nationwide network was in place by the eve of nationalization in 1906–1907.

Nationalization

Although the earliest lines had been constructed by the government, after about 1885 the apparent profitability of railways was sufficient to attract a flood of private entrepreneurs into the field. During the period prior to nationalization, however, the wars with China (1894–1895) and Russia (1904–1905) raised the question of the desirability of private control of such a key national resource. The importance of foreign loans in financing railway development was thought to raise the specter of foreign control of the private lines, and this possibility was a key element in arguments in favor of nationalization. Finally the measure of nationalization was put into effect in 1906–1907. The resulting system was known as the Japanese National Railways from 1949 until denationalization took place in 1987.

Postwar Developments

The extension of urban commuter systems, including subways, has been a major accomplishment of the postwar period, but the most spectacular development has been the routes of the world-famed Shinkansen "bullet trains" and the infrastructure that has been created to extend these routes throughout Japan. The original section of the Shinkansen was opened in 1964 as a route between Tokyo and Osaka. Since then, extensions have been opened to Okayama (Okayama Prefecture) in 1972 and Hakata (Fukuoka Prefecture) in

1975. Two more new lines, connecting Tokyo with northern Japan, were put into operation in 1982: the Joetsu Shinkansen, from Tokyo to Niigata (Niigata Prefecture), and the Tohoku Shinkansen, from Tokyo to Morioka (Iwate Prefecture). Also the "Mini" Shinkansen, using the conventional narrow-gauge track partially broadened into standard gauge by addition of a third rail, started operation between Fukushima (Fukushima Prefecture) and Yamagata (Yamagata Prefecture) in 1992. New Shinkansen routes are planned for other parts of the country as well.

Overnight trains with sleeping car service are available on non-Shinkansen routes. Approximately 2,300 limited express and ordinary express trains operate on principal lines every day, along with about 23,300 local trains.

Unlike those in many countries, the Japanese rail system can be characterized as passenger oriented. Especially suburban residents, for their part, have been so dependent on the spread of commuter railways that land values for lots within walking distance of stations are correspondingly higher.

Denationalization

The basic form of the railway system remained the same from nationalization in 1906–1907 until 1987, when the Japanese National Railways was privatized and broken up into six regional private passenger services and one rail freight company, known collectively as the JR (Japan Railways) group. The JNR had been suffering an increasing burden of debt and operating deficits since the 1960s. Most of the new JR companies returned to profitability within two to three years of privatization by cutting staff, by reducing services on loss-making lines or abolishing them altogether, and by buying into service industries such as restaurants and hotels.

In addition to the main JR network – 20,175 kilometers (12,535 mi) of track –and the private local lines, subway systems serve the main cities of Japan. In these densely populated urban centers, the subways provide important feeder services to the aboveground rail lines. As crowding increases even further, subways should become an even more important component of the urban transportation system.

Shinkansen

(New Trunk Line). The Shinkansen, a high-speed passenger railroad system operated by companies of the JR group provides first-class, or "Green Car," service as well as reserved and unreserved ordinary-car service. There are no sleeping facilities and few dining facilities on Shinkansen trains, since most runs can be made in a few hours.

The first line to be completed was called the Tokaido Shinkansen, because it was a new trunk line on the route of the Tokaido between Tokyo and Osaka. The San'yo line has since been constructed from Osaka west to Hakata in Kyushu. The combined route, with a total length of 1,069 kilometers (664 mi), is known as the Tokaido-San'yo Shinkansen. The train has a maximum speed of 270 kilometers per hour (168 mph), and the minimum trip time between Tokyo and Hakata is 5 hours 4 minutes. A Shinkansen train departs Tokyo for Osaka or some point further west about every seven minutes throughout most daytime schedules, lasting from approximately 6 AM to 12 PM. In 1991, 278 trains were scheduled on the route per day, each with a uniform 16 cars. Between the inauguration of service on the line in 1964 and early 1991, the Tokaido San'yo Shinkansen had carried 3 billion passengers.

The Tohoku Shinkansen and Joetsu Shinkansen commenced service in 1982. The former connects Tokyo and Morioka in northern Japan, with a route length of 535.3 kilometers (332.6 mi) and a minimum trip time of 2 hours 36 minutes. On average 115 trains are scheduled daily and passengers number over 30 million per year. The latter connects Tokyo and Niigata on the coast of the Sea of Japan, with a route length of 333.9 kilometers (207.5 mi) and a minimum trip time of 1 hour 40 minutes. On average 85 trains are scheduled daily and passengers number 20 million per year. From the inauguration of service to 1991, the two lines carried over 400 million passengers.

Development of the System

The railroad that serves the 500-kilometer (311-mi) corridor between Tokyo and Osaka has always been considered the main artery of Japan. Located on the Pacific coast of central Honshu, this zone is the industrial and socioeconomic nucleus of the country; almost half the population and two-thirds of the nation's industry are concentrated there.

In the 1950s innovations on the conventional Tokaido rail line, which served this district, were given priority over other lines in an effort to meet steadily increasing demand. Because of the significance of the line, it became imperative to increase the capacity. The eventual solution was to construct a high-speed railroad on a separate double track of standard gauge – the Shinkansen. Ground was broken for the project in April 1959, and construction was completed in July 1964. Service was begun on 1 October 1964, 10 days before the opening of the Tokyo Olympic Games, with initial daily service of 60 trains with 12 cars each. The total construction cost was ¥380.0 billion (US \$1.1 billion), double the original estimate.

The Shinkansen reduced the minimum trip time between Tokyo and Osaka from 6 hours and 30 minutes to 2 hours and 30 minutes. A business trip between the two cities was no longer an overnight journey, a fact that

considerably altered business activities. The Shinkansen was enthusiastically welcomed by the public because of its high speed, short trip time, good ride comfort, and superb on-time operation. In the 1960s and 1970s the image of the Shinkansen speeding past a snowcapped Mt. Fuji was seen as a symbol of modern Japan.

The line's popularity and the rapid growth in traffic volume brought about a need for the westward extension of the Shinkansen system. The San'yō Shinkansen opened for service with a 160.9 kilometer (100-mi) stretch between Osaka and Okayama in March 1972. The project had taken five years to complete at a cost of ¥224.0 billion (US \$739.0 million). The line was extended to Hakata in Kyushu through the Kammon undersea tunnel in March 1975. The construction for this stretch of 392.8 kilometers (244 mi) also took five years, and the cost was ¥729.0 billion (US \$2.4 billion).

In 1971 the construction of two new lines was begun from Omiya in Saitama Prefecture north to Niigata and northeast to Morioka. These lines were completed in 1982 and extended from Omiya to Tokyo in 1991. Additional routes are under construction, and others are being planned.

Technical Aspects

The Shinkansen track is a conventional ballasted track between Tokyo and Osaka. This track structure, however, requires a great deal of time and labor to maintain the track geometry. Consequently, concrete slab track, which is maintenance free, was adopted for further line extensions. The Shinkansen has a DC series traction motor installed on

each single-wheel axle, allowing dynamic brakes to be applied to all axles at once, and uses electric multiple-unit trains fed by AC 25 kilowatts. This system was selected for a number of reasons: the even distribution of axle load results in less strain on track structure; the turnaround operation is simple; and a failure of one or two units does not interrupt the operation of the entire train. The car body is streamlined and the cars are air-conditioned and airtight. Windows cannot be opened, but the train is well ventilated throughout. Automatic Train Control (ATC) is used to prevent collisions by maintaining a safety distance between trains and to prevent excess speeds by applying brakes automatically. All trains are continuously monitored and controlled from computer-aided traffic control systems in two central control rooms in Tokyo. Electric power supply to the trains is also monitored and controlled from the same rooms by electric power dispatchers. In case of accidents or other problems, the dispatchers act promptly to secure alternative power to restore the failure.

Since it was inaugurated in 1964, the Shinkansen has had a remarkable record of high-speed operation, safety, volume of transport, and punctuality.

The success of the Shinkansen revolutionized thinking about high-speed trains. It has been described as the "savior of the declining railroad industry" since its example has stimulated many other countries to take on the new construction or the modernization of railroads as national projects, among which are the French TGV, the English HST, and the Northeast Corridor Rail Improvement Project in the United States.

Expressways

(*kosoku doro*). Construction of expressways in Japan began in the 1960s. Intercity expressways are designed for a maximum speed of 120 kilometers (75 mi) per hour, although legal speed limits are usually lower. These four-lane, limited-access, divided highways have a 3.6-meter (11.8-ft) lane width.

Since the opening in 1965 of the Meishin Expressway between Nagoya and Kobe, the first part of the expressway system, 4,869 kilometers (3,025 mi) had been completed by March 1991, and construction of the projected 11,520-kilometer (7,157-mi) network is expected to be finished early in the 21st century. Because of the nature of the terrain and the high concentration of housing, cultivated land, and factories along the routes, the cost of highway construction has been high in Japan relative to that in other countries, and expressway tolls are also proportionately high. However, expressways are used extensively; in fiscal 1990 average daily traffic between Tokyo and Komaki in Aichi Prefecture was 366,917 automobiles. Of the total traffic in that year, 75 percent consisted of passenger cars and 25 percent of other vehicles. Measures are being taken to protect residents along routes against highway noise and exhaust fumes. Expressways are administered by the Japan Highway Public Corporation.

Drivers' licenses

(*unten menkyo*). They are of two kinds, Class I for drivers of private vehicles and Class II for drivers of commercial passenger-carrying vehicles (taxis and buses), and must be renewed every three years. Anyone 18 years of age (20 for trucks over 5 tons and noncommercial buses, 16 for motorcycles) may obtain a Class I driver's license by passing an examination given by the Public Safety Commission in the prefecture where he or she lives. Applicants for a Class II license and for a Class I license permitting operation of trucks over 11 tons must be 21 years old. The examination is in three parts: a test for vision, color blindness, and hearing; a road test of driving skills; and a written test on traffic regulations. Anyone certified by an accredited driving school is exempt from the road test. The possessor of a foreign driver's li-

cense is exempt from the road test and the written test. A foreign national who holds an international driver's license may drive in Japan for one year after arrival without applying for a Japanese license.

Aviation

(*koku*). The first airplane flights in Japan were made on 19 December 1910 at Yoyogi drill ground in Tokyo. Other efforts followed, but aviation technology was still considerably behind that of the advanced nations of the West. When the Japanese army and navy established air units, they imported equipment from Western nations and produced planes under international licensing agreements at military arsenals. After World War I broke out, planes were developed at a rapid pace in Europe, but Japan fell even further behind aviation technology.

Japanese manufacturers soon succeeded in developing their own designs, and in the late 1920s domestic production of military airplanes began with planes such as the Mitsubishi shipboard attack plane Model 13 (1924) and the Kawasaki reconnaissance plane Model 88 (1928). Around 1935 Japanese aeronautical technology began to produce solely Japanese-made planes with features not to be found in European and American aircraft. Japanese-made planes dating from this period were chiefly warplanes.

While the European and American air forces preferred heavy fighter planes with relatively high-wing loading capacities and high-horsepower engines, capable of striking one blow and making a highspeed escape, the Japanese military rated more highly light varieties of fighter planes with low-wing loading capacities, easy maneuverability in circular flight, and the capability of sharp turns. In the first half of World War II, these flight characteristics contributed appreciably to the early air war victories scored by Japan. The representative Japanese fighters were the navy's Model 96 (Mitsubishi, 1936), Model Zero (commonly called Zerosen or zero fighter; Mitsubishi, 1940), and Shiden-modified (Kawanishi, 1944) and the army's Model 97 (Nakajima, 1937), Hayabusa (Nakajima, 1941), and Hay ate (Nakajima, 1944). Long-distance high-speed reconnaissance planes, called command reconnaissance airplanes by the army, were a type unique to Japan. Japan did not build any large strategic bombers.

With defeat in 1945, Japan was completely prohibited from the production and use of airplanes, and all facilities for aviation research and production were either dismantled or converted to other purposes. This proscription lasted until April 1952, when Japanese aviation activities were resumed with the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. In the seven years of Japanese aviation industry inactivity, the world switched from propeller to jet planes and aircraft construction changed greatly in all areas, including per-

formance, structure, and equipment. The Japanese aircraft industry rapidly absorbed the new technology, however, and in January 1956 a Lockheed T-33A jet trainer, manufactured by Kawasaki Aircraft Co under license, made the first flight of a postwar Japanese-made jet plane. The first purely domestic airplane was the T1 jet trainer developed and built by Fuji Heavy Industries, Ltd for the Self Defense Forces; the prototype made its first flight in January 1958. In the area of civil aviation, the YS11, a twin-engined turbojet type was developed by Nihon Kokuki Seizo Co and made its debut in 1962.

Until 1977 nearly 90 percent of the postwar gross sales of the Japanese aircraft industry was accounted for by the demand for national defense, a strikingly high dependence on military demand in comparison with other countries. This imbalance has been redressed to some extent by the civil demand for the Boeing 767, which Fuji Heavy Industries, Kawasaki Heavy Industries, and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries began building in 1978 in the joint-development YX project with Boeing Aircraft. The 767 entered service in 1982, and production is continuing.

Where are the children?

The rival motorcycle gangs were ready to rumble. But when one group failed to turn up at the appointed hour, the other went searching for blood. The young street thugs fanned out across town, combing neighborhoods until they found three “enemies”. They jumped the victims, beat them senseless with hammers and hauled them to a deserted car park. Alerted by mobile phone, 20 members of the first gang converged to help torture the prisoners, the oldest just 17. They punched, kicked and clubbed the three captives for half an hour before an approaching police siren drove them into the night. All three victims were gravely injured; the youngest, 16, lay motionless in a pool of blood – his jaw broken, face pulverized and body smashed. He died on the way to the hospital.

Not Detroit: not Marseilles: suburban Tokyo. Long regarded as the world’s safest modern society, Japan is reeling from a juvenile crime wave – a siege of muggings, stabbings and murders that reveals dangerous social tensions. According to a government white paper on crime published last week, teenage lawlessness rose 10 percent last year compared with a year earlier and accounted for more than half of all crime in Japan. Violent crimes proliferated: armed robbery by juveniles soared 57 percent, assaults rose by 19 percent and rapes committed by teens nearly doubled. Most alarming: the report identified a huge increase in cases involving children “with no criminal past”.

This is new. For decades, tightly woven families Confucian traditions and a homogenous society allowed a destitute Japan to rise from the ashes of

World War II without succumbing to the drugs and violence endemic in the industrialized West. Japanese kids studied hard and scored famously well on math tests. Their fathers, the country's army of salarymen, worked ceaselessly while their mothers provided a home and security. The formula worked flawlessly – and absolute terms, Japan remains among the world's most stable, least violent nations. (Its youth crime rate, for example, is just one fifth of Germany's). But the trends of the 1990s are even more remarkable. Japanese authorities, who could once bemoan the decay of the West, now worry that their juvenile crime rate is surging even as comparable rates in the United States are falling (chart). If the trends continue, Japanese parents and teachers may confront the ultimate crisis: the children of their land of harmony might turn out to be every bit as troublesome as those notoriously rowdy Americans.

The search for answers begins with the fragmentation of families. Fifty years ago Japan was a nation of farmers, where extended families often lived under one roof, and grandparents as well as aunts, uncles and cousins helped raise well-behaved children. Today Japan is a nation of commuters. One in three Japanese – about 40 million people – live in Greater Tokyo. Increasingly, both parents work, leaving relatively little time for child rearing. Some of the consequences of that neglect show up in a survey of 1,500 children conducted last year by the Ilakuhodo Institute of Life and Living, the research arm of a major Japanese advertising agency. One in three of children 10 to 14 years old said that they spent most of their free time alone in their rooms, according to the survey – and “thought of video games friends”.

Not all friends are that benign. In two-income households, bored kids find new temptations – from drugs to sex to gang membership; for the first time ever, says the white paper, the number of youth gangs in Japan has surpassed 1,000. Some nutritionists even argue that the junk food that now often substitutes for Mom's home cooking contributes to youthful misbehavior (box). Other worry that parents struggling to pay the mortgage may not even realize that their son is a thug or their daughter a prostitute. “The rest of the world is preoccupied with Japan's economic crisis”, says Manabu Sato, an education expert at Tokyo University. “But for Japan, solving the crisis affecting its teenagers is far more serious. The future of an entire generation is at stake”.

In classroom across Japan, the future is something most kids would rather ignore. Thanks to a rigorous system of advancement based on tests, about 80 percent of all Japanese students are losers by the age of 15. They're the ones who don't pass exams to enter top-tier high schools. By extension, that kills their dreams of attending a good university and building a distinguished, white-collar career. In the past, working-class kids could look forward to decent jobs on graduation. Today, with Japan's economy shrinking

and unemployment among young adults approaching 10 percent, many average students see little point to staying in class.

Sixteen-year-old Shunichi Shimamura, for one, dropped out of school in June after arguing with a teacher who criticized his dyed brown hair. He carried bricks on a building site but quit because he couldn't take the punishment. Today he subsists on handouts from his grandfather and is looking for a job pumping gas. Finishing school is not an option he entertains. "Even when I went, I ended up hanging out and learning nothing", he says.

Frustration is most explosive in commuter towns like Tokyo's Utsunomiya and Osaka's Sakai. In a significant demographic shift, youth crimes that once afflicted mainly urban areas have migrated to bedroom communities. In 1997, for example, nearly two thirds of juvenile assaults occurred in suburban neighborhoods: in the schoolyard, on residential streets, outside the convenience store. Typically, perpetrators are latchkey children with working parents and no relatives at home. Often, their lawlessness is blatant. In one common crime, bike-jacking, gangs of boys stop and rob house-wives pedaling home with the groceries. Even pickpockets have changed strategy. What once was a snatch-and-run offense now has a more menacing cadence: punch, grab and saunter.

One teenage gangster – call him Kenji – is a son of suburban Tokyo. Until he turned 15 years old, he studied hard, starred on the school track team and dreamed of representing Japan in the Olympics. Dad, a fireman, and Mon, a nurse, offered encouragement but little daily supervision. When a classmate invited Kenji to join a motorcycle gang, curiosity led the way. His hardworking parents were slow to notice their son's transformation into a thug. By the time they did, it was too late.

It was Kenji, then 16, who organized the gang fight last October that led to murder in a car park. He still remembers searching for and capturing rival gang members, then beating his three prisoners with a large wrench. "They were my enemies, and I was filled with rage", he told Newsweek in Kizuregawa Reformatory, a juvenile prison north of Tokyo. "Even as people tried to pull me off, I kept trying to pound them". Like most young people convicted of manslaughter under Japan's Juvenile Law, Kenji will be released from prison after completing a one-year sentence next January.

Kizuregawa and Japan's 53 other kiddie prisons are busy places. According to the white paper, nearly 5,000 juveniles were jailed in 1997, up 18 percent from a year earlier. There could be more: partly to avoid stigmatizing teens by sending them to jail and partly because prisons are full, Japanese authorities release or parole the vast majority of teenagers arrested. Built in 1967 to hold 140 inmates, Kizuregawa now holds 150 in dorm rooms with bars on the windows, surveillance cameras in the halls and guards at every door.

They are the lucky ones. Japan's most violent child criminals – 245 teenagers in 1997 – are sent to maximum – security facilities that are more like prisons than reform schools. One of the worst offenders: the 14-year-old predator who committed two murders that shocked Japan. In a quiet, middleclass Kobe neighborhood, he strangled, then dismembered a retarded 11-year-old boy named Jun Hase, depositing his severed head at the gate of the local school. He also killed a younger girl by crushing her skull with a hammer. Before he was captured, the boy sent a letter to the Kobe Shimbun, the city's largest newspaper, pledging to "exact revenge" on "a compulsory education system that rendered me invisible".

Not just the boys go bad. Take the 15-year-old Tokyo girl who, despite being ranked near the top of her class, tried to poison her schoolmates with fake bottles of diet drink. She wrote labels describing cresol, a foul-smelling disinfectant, as "More Slender", an elixir that would help users lose weight and get a "beautiful body". In a meticulous assault on her peers, she mailed 26 bottles of the lethal toxin to classmates and a teacher. One boy who drank the concoction was hospitalized with burns in his mouth, throat and stomach. Even so, the girl who sent the poison had no sympathy. Upon her arrest, she told police that she couldn't understand the fuss.

Much of the crime girls commit is "victimless". Teen prostitution – a social blight Japanese officials pledged three years ago to eradicate – is still on the rise. Sato, a recognized expert on troubled teens, estimates that 50,000 schoolgirls now sell sex for money. That's roughly one girl in every high-school class.

Yoko, now 20, was one of Japan's student hookers. First, she explains, at 14 she stopped studying and started skipping school. After choosing a 19-year-old motorcycle-gang member as her boyfriend, she started using drugs, mostly marijuana and amphetamines. To pay for her partying, Yoko became an escort and quickly graduated from pouring drinks to stripping for rich businessmen. Soon she was earning \$500 an hour "entertaining" one wealthy patron, a middle-aged hospital administrator.

Last year girls committed a quarter of Japan's youth crimes, the highest number in a decade. They also made up nearly half of all teenagers arrested for using amphetamines, which dealers sell as high-octane diet pills. Still, Japanese statistics fail to reveal the true scope of the country's youth drug problem. As one trip to the trendy Shibuya district shows, buying drugs in Tokyo is as easy as in Paris or New York. An "eyeful" of amphetamines, or about a four-hour dose, costs just \$20—one half of the price five years ago. "It's impossible to say how big Japan's drug problem is", admits Akiyoshi Ishibashi, a psychologist for the Tokyo Metropolitan Police. "The only thing you can say is that it's completely out of control".

Such frankness is rare. Just as Finance Ministry officials have ignored Japan's banking crisis, hoping that it will somehow go away, the Ministry of

Education either plays down teen violence, prostitution and drug use or, when faced with a headline-making case, convenes blue-ribbon committees. The result is predictable: feel-good pronouncements about the need to restore family values but little real change. "The government is in denial", says Hideo Takayama, president of the Children's Research Institute in Tokyo. "They think any problem with Japanese children can be fixed by tinkering with the education system". What's needed, he says, is a wholesale educational overhaul plus radical changes in the way suburban Japanese parents raise their kids. "That", he adds, "is beyond the government's capabilities".

For most Japanese, the myth of a crime-free society withered four years ago in the Tokyo subway. In a coordinated attack in which its members released sarin nerve gas at busy stations during rush hour, the joomsday cult Aum Shinrikyo, or Supreme Truth, killed 11 people and injured more than 5,000. The shock of that deliberate assault – organized as it was by a cadre of talented young cult leaders – has yet to wear off in Japan. For one thing, copycat killers won't let the memories fade. Most recently, Masumi and Kenji Hayashi have been accused of poisoning curry served at a summer festival in Wakayama last August, killing four people.

MOST JAPANESE STILL CANNOT understand how Aum managed to recruit some of the country's best and brightest young people. The attraction, says Takeshi Ono, a lawyer for Aum victims, was twofold: a common dissatisfaction with Japanese society combined with a yearning to rely on others for guidance. Aum's charismatic leader, Shoko Asahara, persuaded whole families to hand over their wealth, work as virtual slaves and even commit terrorism. Now on trial for murder, Asahara still commands a following. In fact, just four years after its deadly gas attacks in Tokyo, Aum is recruiting new members. Many cult loyalists have moved to neighborhoods in northern Tokyo near the maximum-security prison where the blind guru now lives.

Not surprisingly, many Japanese are demanding stricter punishment for violent offenders, whether brilliant young cultists or bored kids. Critics of the current Juvenile Law say it should be amended to allow younger criminals to be tried as adults – a solution favored by 76 percent of respondents to a poll by the Yomiuri Shimbun newspaper. After the Kobe beheading, ruling Liberal Democratic Party heavyweight Seiroku Kajiyama became the first nationally prominent figure to publicly advocate toughening Japan's laws, imposing longer sentences for juvenile crimes.

Others' say the answer isn't tough love or more prisons. Priority one, they insist, is to restructure Japan's test-based education system. Today Japanese educators don't much teach children as sort them by performance for easy integration into high schools, universities and ultimately the work force. The system, designed to foster Japanese industry, emphasizes conformity,

rewards obedience and stunts creativity. Murakami Ryu, a best-selling novelist who writes about troubled kids, believes that juvenile crime exists because society – and parents – "sacrifice" children to a life without spiritual goals or values: "In the past they were sacrificed to modernization and war," he says. "Right now, they are being sacrificed to wjshy-washy adults with no vision."

Crime victims are learning to strike back. Aum casualties are using the Japanese courts to seize cult assets, including land, cash and a computer company. Last month the family of the Kobe killer offered to pay the victim's survivors damages exceeding 8900,000. In Nagano Prefecture, Yuki-hisa Miyata, whose 16-year-old son was killed by teen thugs two years ago, is suing the court to obtain details of the boy's death. The Juvenile Law prohibited him from attending the trial that sentenced his son's killers to barely a year in prison. Watching the guilty ones run free without even knowing how they killed his son "makes me crazy," Miyata says. The family of Kenji's victim might soon know the feeling. The track star turned car-park killer is scheduled to go free in January. His jailers give him high marks for behavior while in detention, and note that he got to know a Buddhist priest and even spent time outside the wall doing volunteer work at a nearby home for the disabled, where he helped bathe an elderly woman. Now almost 18, Kenji hopes to become a firefighter like his father – and to make a career of saving lives in atonement for the one young life he took so casually.

Devil Food Made Me

MAKOTO'S MOTHER IS too busy to fix him breakfast. Like millions of Japanese salarymoms, she juggles household duties and the rigors of a full-time job, leaving her 11-year-old son to make his own instant noodles each morning. Just add hot water.

Haruko's parents dine at home most evenings, but their daughter seldom joins them. To prepare herself for high-school entrance exams, she attends nighttime cram school; dinner is a cheeseburger and soda from some takeout joint. Japanese children "consume incredible amounts of soft drinks and junk food," says Hiroshi Osawa, a retired psychology professor at Iwate University. The question is whether more than their waistlines is at stake. Yes, says Osawa: "There is a connection between diet and violence." Thus, the trendiest explanation for Japan's alarming juvenile crime wave these days: blame junk-food junkies.

Many nutritionists say the junk-food theory is grounded in science. A diet high in sugar but low in vitamins and minerals, they explain, can result in a dangerous chemical imbalance. First, consumption of sweets spikes up a child's blood-sugar level, signaling the body to release sugar-neutralizing insulin to regain equilibrium. But often the body overshoots, causing blood-

sugar levels to plummet, making the child tired and irritable. Then the body reacts again, producing adrenaline and triggering instant hyperactivity – even violence. The pattern is believed to be so common that Japanese have coined a new term to describe it: **kireru**, or "snapping."

Recently, researchers from Tsukuba University teamed up with police in Ibaraki Prefecture to explore the links between junk food and juvenile crime. Their survey of 270 young delinquents found them 25 percent more likely than other children to eat junk food and three times as likely to skip breakfast. A survey of 12,000 students by teachers in Hiroshima found that 10 percent of them reported eating breakfast and dinner alone, implying an unsupervised diet. A recent editorial in the *Asahi Shimbun* called on the "entire society" to pay attention to how children eat, adding that "these days supper-table scenes in Japan look so lonely and dreary."

No particular franchise has been singled out by critics, but a Tokyo spokesman for McDonald's, which has vigorously defended the nutritional value of its products, responds to the general theory by calling the hamburger franchise "a fun place for families to eat," and adding. It is also essential to have balanced, wholesome, home-cooked meals."

To help harried parents cope, the *Tokyo Shimbun* recently published "menus to prevent snapping." Based on advice from one of Japan's most famous nutritionists, Yukio Hattori, the paper recommends 18 dishes, including yams and apples in lemon broth, sardine rolls and stewed seaweed. Hattori laments that "wholesome, home-cooked meals without additives" have fallen out of favor, and pleads with mothers "to cook at least once a day with a lot of vegetables."

Japan's Education Ministry recently decided to ask lawmakers to finance a study of the snapping theory. Osawa, the author of several books on diet and antisocial behavior, describes Japan's children as "spoiled, tired and weak," and warns that "if they continue to live on the kind of diet they eat now, they may become senile before their parents do." Unless they snap after their next bag of french fries.

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