

## CURRENT MAJOR TRENDS IN PSYCHOLOGY IN JAPAN\*

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Current major trends in psychology in Japan were examined in this paper. Historical roots and the development of the various areas of concentration (Experimental, Developmental, Educational and Social Psychology) were also traced, mainly by looking into the number of papers read or published, per area of concentration, at the JPA and the JAEP conventions or in the JPA and the JAEP journals over the years. The major academic and professional institutions for psychological research and education were also described. Several current problems were discussed including the lack of active participation from many Japanese psychologists in the development of the field of psychology; the time lag involved in the adoption or acquisition of new concepts, ideas, and methodologies from the West; and the need for the development of concepts and methods which are indigenous to the Japanese culture and which may share a common framework with other Asian cultures. It was proposed that more opportunities be created for the greater interchange of ideas and methods of study among both Japanese and non-Japanese psychologists.

The beginning of psychology in Japan has roots that go far back. As early as 1878, a book titled *Heban-shi Shinrigaku (Haven's Psychology)* was published. It was a translation of *Mental Philosophy* (1869) written by J. Haven, who was one of the successors of the Scotch "Faculty Psychology". The author and translator for the first time sought a scientific knowledge of human nature and mind, apart from a moralistic or metaphysical speculation, and it was likewise the first time that the word *Shinrigaku* (Psychology) was used in Japan.

Before the 19th century, there were several thinkers and Buddhist monks of insight who

speculated on psychological thought based on their deep experience and keen observation of people, but none had succeeded their forerunners and expanded their theories into as elaborated a system of knowledge on human nature as Aristotle had done.

As I viewed the 100-year history of Japan, I divided it into four periods.

- I. The period of enlightenment, involving the establishment of psychological laboratories and the system of education of psychology, 1878-1925. (approximately 50 years)
- II. The period of experimental studies, 1926-1945. (25 years)
- III. The period involving the widening of scopes and the sharpening of methods, 1946-1970. (25 years)

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IV. The period of further progress, 1971-present.

During the first period, especially from 1880 to 1895, the noted English textbooks of psychology such as those of Bain, English associationist, and of Prier, who wrote *Child and Mind*, were translated into Japanese.

It was in 1889 that Dr. Yujiro Motora returned from the U.S. where he studied under Professor Stanley Hall at Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Motora was appointed lecturer at the Tokyo Imperial University where he gave a lecture on Fechner's Psychophysics and taught a few students. Dr. Mataturo Matsumoto, one of Dr. Motora's students, became the "Father of Experimental Psychology" in Japan, after returning from study tours to Yale University in the U.S. and to Leipzig under Professor Wilhelm Wundt. It was Dr. Matsumoto who built the first laboratory for psychological experiments both at the Kyoto Imperial University in 1908 and later at the Tokyo Imperial University. It was also he who established the Japanese Psychological Association in 1926.

Dr. Matsumoto wrote several books not only on experimental psychology, but also on intelligence and on how to appreciate paintings. He was keen and skillful in his training of students. "How to learn using chopsticks" was one of several tasks assigned to his students for assimilating Japanese customs into the instruction of psychology.

In the first three decades of the 20th century, there were thirty-three (33) persons who took an advanced degree in psychology after studying either in countries in Europe and America or in Japan.

The *Psychological Register*, published in 1931, contained 46 names of Japanese psychologists who had majored in sensation, emotion, behavior of animals, intelligence of children, teaching, and problems in industry.

In the second period mentioned, Dr. Kuwata, one of the first graduates from the Department of Psychology at Tokyo Imperial University, was appointed professor. He introduced Wundt's "Volk Psychology," as well as his experimental psychology, and established the Research Institute for Oriental Culture on campus. Assistant Professor Koreshige Masuda, who once studied at the University of Chicago, taught animal psychology and seriously concentrated his efforts on establishing empirical methods of psychology until his death.

It should be noted that in this period, a number of psychologists were under the great influence of the German Gestalt school or Dynamic Theory. As a result, there was a tendency for psychologists to be strongly motivated towards research in the field of perception. Their studies featured minute surveys and meticulously detailed experimental exploration, and this has become one of the characteristic features of Japanese research workers.

Dr. Morio Sagara, a former professor of Tokyo University, who also happened to be my teacher, once made the following remark on this characteristic:

"It is said that the Japanese have, among their national traits, sensual delicacy and sharp sensibility. If this is true, it might explain why Japanese psychology students were fascinated by research in the field of perception and conducted elaborate studies in the field".

However, this does not mean that all research workers have contented themselves with the exploration of the perceptual processes as such. Rather, theoretical surveys, on the basis of the results of their studies were presented. A number of psychologists, including non-conformists of Gestalt psychology, also made pioneering attempts at developing the psychology of memory, learning, children, social behavior and human

organization. Others, probing into the intuitive perceptual functions called "Kan" or "the sixth sense" and "basic consciousness," which may be considered to be the origin of all kinds of concrete consciousness, made inquiries into the fundamental thinking patterns that were typically indigenous to the Orient, or at the least to Japan. The results of these various studies were printed and published in the *Shinrigaku-Kenkyu* (*The Japanese Journal of Psychology*) which was first published in 1926 by the Japanese Psychological Association.

The progress of psychology in Japan had now turned a corner from the "Period of Enlightenment" to the "Period of Original Articles" based on empirical studies. Two Japanese psychologists had also joined the editorial staff of the *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, published in the U.S.

During World War II (1941-1945), a number of psychological researches (e.g., personnel selection, aptitude surveys and testing for aviation) were made under the strong pressure of the Japanese army and navy, but these were almost all in vain since all data were later abandoned as the War ended in the defeat of Japan.

In spite of the fact that there was far less material, smaller budgets, and less assistance during the war, some researchers continued their study. For instance, a study of individual differences using the Binet scale, the Stanford-Binet scale, the Introvert-Extrovert test and the Uchida-Kraepelin performance test was carried out. A study of an "Identiker," an individual who had an exceptional ability for pictorial memory, was one of the commemorative products of this research.

Although there are no such terms as "personality psychology" and "clinical psychology," some pioneering works in clinical studies of psychosis, aphasia, and

problem children were done, and one can even point to the emergence of "child guidance."

During the second period, psychology courses were taught not only in Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial Universities, but also in five other Imperial Universities (Tohoku, Kyushu, Hokkaido, Seoul, and Taiwan) and at least four private universities (Waseda, Keio, Doshisha and Kwansai Gakuen). Psychology was one of the required courses at higher schools (numbering only 20 in Japan at that time).

After the end of World War II, Japan was greatly influenced by American culture and education in almost all aspects of human life and knowledge. Psychologists in Japan were no exception and they were confronted with the rapid development of psychology as it was pursued in the more advanced countries. These changes may be summarized in the following seven statements:

- (1) In experimental psychology, the weight of research which had been laid, for the most part, on perception, decreased somewhat, and more emphasis was put on motivation, neo-behaviorism and topics in operationalism.
- (2) New experimental methods were introduced, adding electrical and electronic devices to the existing mechanical equipment. By means of these devices, exploring and tackling studies such as those on the nervous system and on group response analysis appeared to become possible.
- (3) In various fields of psychology, statistical methods were introduced and data from laboratory experiments and social surveys were analyzed in terms of distribution, correlation, factors and clusters, first by an abacus, next by a hand-calculator, and finally by an electronic computer.

- (4) A remarkable transition was observed in theories of personality from "typology" to the "trait theories," to the "dynamic theories" such as those of Lewin, Freud and other analytic scholars, making Freudian and French ways of interpreting the human mind especially popular.
- (5) In more applied areas such as in the clinical setting, Wechsler's intelligence scales, the Rorschach test, the TAT and other projective techniques were utilized with the standardization of the questions, scoring and interpretation procedures made more suitable to the Japanese scene. Various methods in counseling, psychotherapy and group therapy were introduced and made use of by a psychology student in training, as he worked with a patient.
- (6) A section for Experimental Social Psychology was added to the Department of Psychology in some national universities, probably because of its significance in the post-war democratization of social systems in terms of public opinion, group dynamics and so on. This was a new expansion of scientific psychology.
- (7) The new educational system in post-war Japan brought tremendous opportunities for jobs for psychologists, and for education in psychology for students. In addition to a Faculty of Letters, to which the Department of Psychology belonged, at least seven national universities of education and faculties of education in more than 40 universities, were newly established. Each university or faculty was allowed to employ more than two psychologists. Since educational and adolescent psychology courses were required for

the secondary teachers' certificate, many psychologists were given opportunities to work as teachers, aside from additional work doing researches on such areas as development, learning, adjustment, group structure, and so on.

Under these circumstances and trends, at least six nation-wide professional associations were established in the 20 years since 1952. They have contributed towards offering the setting for presenting papers and for publication of research results.

Table 1 and Table 1.1 show the names of all the psychological associations and the other specialized societies and local associations existing at present. Co-existence of these associations and societies also causes some problems such as dual membership fees and overlapping commitment, but I will not discuss these matters here. I will only say that there is an official conference held once a month, with the representatives from each of the 9 nation-wide associations meeting in order to exchange professional information on each association and on the over-all psychology world, and to edit and occasionally publish the newsletter called *Saikorojitsuto*. There are, at present, 6700 subscribers to this newsletter.

#### **Characteristics of Psychological Research in Various Areas of Specialization During Recent Years**

One of the cues which will point out the recent trends lies in the quantitative data indicating the increase of psychologists and their professional interests. Table 2 shows an increase in the membership of the Japanese Psychological Association, which is the oldest and largest association in Japan and the representative organization to the International Congress of Scientific Psychology. It shows also the increase in the number of papers read at the annual convention that is

held once each year. Data in 1962 are added for comparison.

Table 3 indicates the number and percentage of the JPA members in each area of interest based on their answers to a questionnaire. Table 2 reveals that every two years, the number of JPA members increased by about 200 or more and that the JPA gained 23.2% of its present membership

within the last 16 years. Table 3 shows that among five areas of interest or concentration, area I (perception, physiological and learning studies) has the greatest number of adherents, followed by area II (clinical, personality, criminal and correctional studies). Both areas have about one-third of the membership of the JPA respectively. Area II (developmental and educational studies) ranks third but it has a quarter of the total membership.

Table 1: *Nation-wide Professional Associations for Psychological Research in Japan*

<i>English Title</i>	<i>Year Founded</i>	<i>Present Number of Members</i>	<i>Title of Official Publication*</i>	<i>Frequency of Publication</i>
Japanese Psychological Association (JPA) Office: Tokyo	1927	3659 (including 49 overseas)	<i>Shinrigaku Kenkyu</i> ( <i>Psychological Research</i> – in Japanese with English Abstracts)	Quarterly
			<i>The Psychological Research</i> – in English	Quarterly
Japanese Association of Applied Psychology (JAAP) Office: Tokyo	1935	950		
Japanese Association of Educational Psychology (JAEP) Office: Tokyo	1958	2463	<i>Kyoiku Shinrigaku- Kenkyu</i> ( <i>The Research of Educational Psycho- logy in Japan</i> – in Jap- anese with English Abstracts)	Quarterly
			<i>Kyoiku Shinrigaku Nempo</i> ( <i>The Annual Report of Educational Psychology in Japan</i> – in Japanese with English summary of symposia held at the annual con- vention)	Annually
Japanese Society of Social Psychology (JSSP) Office: Tokyo	1959	655	<i>Shakai-Shinrigaku Nempo</i> ( <i>The Japanese Annals of Social Psy- chology</i> – in Japanese only)	Annually
			<i>Kaibun Kenkyu Bunken Makuroku</i> (list of works)	Semi-annually

Table 1: continued

			done by the members of the society)	
			<i>Kaiho</i> (Bulletin)	Quarterly
Japanese Group Dynamics Association Office: Fukuoka, Kyushu	1949	500	<i>Jikken Shinrigaku- Kenkyu</i> ( <i>Japanese Journal of Experimen- tal Social Psychology</i> – in Japanese with English Abstracts)	Quarterly
Japanese Association of Clinical Psychology Office: Tokyo	1962	669	<i>Hanzai-Shinrigaku Kenkyu</i> ( <i>The Journal of Criminal Psycho- logy</i> )	Semi-annually
Japanese Society of Animal Psychology	1933	440	<i>Dobutsu Shinrigaku Nempo</i> ( <i>The Annual of Animal Psychology</i> )	Semi-annually
Japanese Association of Clinical Psychology Office: Ichikawa, Chiba pref.	1964 (reformed in 1969)	800	<i>Rinsho-Shinrigaku Kenkyu</i> ( <i>The Journal of Clinical Psychology</i> – in Japanese only)	Quarterly
Japanese Association of Theoretical Psychology	1974	50		

\*Excluding the proceedings and collection of papers to be read at each annual meeting.

Table 1.1: Other Professional Societies, Specialized and Regionalized

**Specialized Societies:**

Japanese Association of Aviation and Astronautical Medicine<sup>1</sup> and Psychology  
 Japanese Society of Hypnosis (founded in 1954)  
 Japanese Association of Psychoanalysis (N=766)  
 Japanese Association of Parapsychology

**Local Associations:**

Hokkaido Association of Psychology  
 Tohoku Association of Psychology  
 Tokai Association of Psychology  
 Hokuriku Association of Psychology  
 Kansai Association of Psychology  
 Okayama Association of Psychology  
 Chugoku-Shikoku Association of Psychology  
 Kyushu Association of Psychology  
 Niigata Association of Psychology

Table 2: *Increase in Membership of the JPA from Between 1962 and 1972 to 1978 as Seen Every Other Year*

	1962 . . .	1972	1974	1976	1978
Membership	2263	2953	3151	3447	3659
Papers read at Annual Convention	500	314	521	625	693

Table 3: *Area of First Choice as Shown by the Number and Percentage of Members of the JPA Found in Each Area as of the Middle of 1974*

<i>Area of Choice</i>	<i>Number of Members</i>	<i>% of Total Membership</i>
I. Perception, Physiological Learning	969	31.4
II. Development, Education	778	25.2
III. Clinical, Personality, Criminal and Correctional	863	27.9
IV. Social, Industrial and Cultural	428	13.8
V. Methods, Theories, History & General Psychology	54	1.8
TOTAL	3092	100.1

Another clue to finding recent trends lies in the number of papers read at the annual conventions of the JPA and/or other associations and societies. As an analysis of recent trends is made in the following sections, these quantitative data are used for each of the areas of specialization.

### 1. Experimental Psychology

According to an overview of experimental psychology in Japan made by Dr. Tasadu Oyama, there are three dominant patterns in the development of experimental psychology as gleaned from the number of original articles that appeared in the two journals published

by the JPA, namely *Shinrigaku Kenkyu* (*The Journal of Psychology*) and *The Japanese Psychological Research* (in English). These patterns are as follows:

(1) Articles of an experimental nature published in each ten-year period are almost always more than 50 percent of the total number of published articles, except for the period of the first ten years (1926-35). As the number of articles in other areas of specialization increased, however, the relative percentage of experimental studies successively declined although the proportion that they made up of the total number of studies still remained quite large at .65 (see Table 4).

Table 4: *Trends in the Types of Original Articles Which Appeared in the Two Journals of Shinrigaku-Kenkyu and The Psychological Research of the JPA from 1951 to 1977*  
(Compiled by Oyama, 1977)

Topics	1951-1960	1961-1970	1971-1977
Sensation and Perception	81(19)	53(54)	17(31)
Human Feelings and Emotions	7(0)	7(6)	7(1)
Memory and Associative Learning	16(2)	17(7)	6(1)
Human Learning	15(4)	6(5)	24(11)
Motion and Performance	1(1)	5(6)	3(3)
Thinking	1(0)	6(1)	3(5)
Human Behavior	10(3)	2(9)	3(2)
Animal Learning	23(5)	6(18)	7(9)
Animal Behavior	2(3)	11(8)	5(7)
Physiological and Pharmacological Studies	6(1)	10(17)	13(19)
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(a) Total of experimental original articles	162(38)	123(131)	88(99)
(b) Grand total of all original articles	231(49)	191(200)	161(162)
Ratio of (a) to (b)	.70 (.78)	.64 (.66)	.55 (.61)

\*The numbers inside the parentheses indicate the number of articles that appeared in *The Psychological Research* while those outside the parentheses indicate the number of articles published in *Shinrigaku-Kenkyu*.

(2) Looking at the experimental studies undertaken, the percentage of those on perception and sensation, in relation to other types of studies, declined from 66.5 percent in the pre-war period to 50 percent from 1951-1960, 41.2 percent from 1960-1970, and 31 percent from 1971-1977. This was due to an increase in studies on animal learning, followed by those on human learning and memory. More recently, there has also been a remarkable increase in physiological studies.

(3) In the field of sensation and perception, the greatest number of studies

that have been done are on visual perception, while those that have been done on visual and other sensations are comparatively few. Among the studies of visual perception, the following areas were frequently and successfully studied: form perception, space perception, illusion, figural after-effect, induction field, constancy and visual perception of movement. These researches impressively characterize Japan's psychology, and the strong influence of Gestalt psychology is recognizable.

A list of topics of study in the area of learning was then added by Dr. Oyama to the



Table 5: Articles on "Sensation and Perception" Which Appeared in the Two JPA Journals\*

Subtopic	1951-1960	1961-1970	1971-1977
Visual Sensation, Brightness and Color	7(3)	6(3)	0(1)
Form, Size, Field and Induction	26(10)	19(12)	5(4)
Illusion & Figural After-effect	16(5)	7(4)	0(3)
Spatial Perception	6(0)	7(12)	3(3)
Constancy	3(0)	0(8)	0(4)
Kinaesthetic Vision	4(0)	0(1)	0(4)
Auditory Sensation	5(0)	2(1)	2(2)
Cutaneous Sensation & Tactual Space	10(0)	1(6)	3(0)
Gustatory and Olfactory Sensation	0(0)	2(4)	0(2)
Time Perception	1(0)	6(0)	3(0)
Problems in Other Sensation & Perception	2(1)	3(2)	1(3)
Sensation & Perception of Animals	1(0)	0(1)	0(5)
<b>SUB-TOTAL</b>	<b>81(19)</b>	<b>53(54)</b>	<b>17(31)</b>
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Ratio of articles on sensation & perception to the total number of experimental studies	.50 (.50)	.43 (.41)	.19 (.31)

\*The numbers inside the parentheses indicate the number of articles that appeared in *The Psychological Research* while those outside the parentheses indicate the number of articles published in *Shinrigaku-Kenkyu*.

number of articles belonging to each topic, and, according to the survey done by Shigeru Ono, the following numbers of articles per area emerged, based on data taken from 11 different kinds of professional journals published from 1946 to 1971:

Human conditioning	97
Animal conditioning and extinction	90
Discriminatory learning transfer and transposition	80
Verbal learning, paired-associates, serial learning	78

Motives and incentives of animal behavior	62
Thinking, problem-solving and concept-learning	55
Overview, methodology and learning theory	48
Electrical stimulation, destroying, and drugs	46
Memory, retroactive inhibition, and retention	42
Avoidance learning and conditioned emotional responses	40
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>638</b>

As can be seen from this list, many studies share the same framework and method of experimental psychology, although studies of more complex or integrated behavior or processes are neither relatively remarkable nor evident.

## 2. Developmental Psychology

Quite recently, Dr. Shozo Sukemune reviewed the trends in developmental psychology in the *Annual Review of Child Psychology*, Vol. XVII, 1978 (published in Japanese). He classified a number of original articles which appeared in the JPA's *Journal of Psychology*, the JAEP's *The Japanese Journal of Educational Psychology*, *Psychologia (Journal of Psychology in the Orient*, in English), and *Shinrigaku-hyoron (Japanese Psychological Review*, in Japanese). There were 15 areas of concentration identified as follows: (arranged from the area with the greatest number of articles to the area with the least number of articles);

- Memory behavior
- Observational learning (Modeling)
- Classificatory behavior
- Discriminatory learning
- Group behavior
- Emotions and motivation
- Cognitive style
- Verbal development
- Self reinforcement
- Moral development
- Studies on sex differences
- Perception
- Classroom instruction
- Handicapped children
- Cross-cultural studies

Dr. Sukemune also classified papers read in the section of "development" at the annual convention of the JAEP and the JPA held last year (1977). Table 6 shows the area of research and the number of papers read in each convention.

It may be seen that in both conventions, research papers were concentrated in the areas of cognition and perception, followed by the areas of language and parent-child relationships. The areas of memory, thinking and physical development were given some importance at the JAEP convention, whereas the areas of aging and adolescence seemed to be insignificant. The patterns present at the two conventions appear to be similar, although this might be explained by the possibility that researchers successively read their papers at both conventions (i.e., Part I at the JAEP convention, and then Part II at the JAP convention).

## 3. Educational Psychology

In another special symposium celebrating the 50th anniversary of the JPA, Dr. Tadashi Hidano reported on the number of papers read at each annual convention of the JPA from 1959 to 1975. As Figure 1 shows, all papers were classified into 8 areas of study and according to 5-year intervals. The following 5 characteristics in the development of Educational Psychology were then pointed out:

(1) During the 15-year period after the War, the number of papers read at JPA conventions increased rapidly in every area of study. In the sixties, however, the number of papers decreased in the areas of Educational Psychology and Testing. (The former decrease in the total number of papers is probably due to the establishment of the JAEP in 1958 and the expansion of opportunities to read papers elsewhere. The latter phenomenon remains uninterpreted.)

(2) There was less change in the areas of Development and Personality before 1970, although after 1970 a subtle increase became noticeable at the JPA conventions.

(3) There was a remarkably rapid increase in the number of papers in the area of Development at the JAEP conventions. This

Table 6: *Areas of Research Related to Development as Shown by the Number of Papers Presented at the Two Annual Meetings of the JAEP and the JPA in 1977\**

<i>Area of Research</i>	<i>JAEP</i>	<i>JPA</i>	<i>Total</i>
Cognition & Perception	40	12	52
Language	27	10	37
Parent-Child Relations	12	14	26
Memory	19	1	20
Physical Development	14	5	19
Thinking	14	0	14
Learning	8	2	10
Child-Rearing	8	2	10
Play	6	3	9
Attitudes Towards Child-Rearing	6	3	9
Aging	0	8	8
Socialization	6	1	7
Moral Development	5	2	7
Adolescence	0	6	6
Personality	4	1	5
Developmental Disorders	0	1	1
Others	11	9	20
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>260</b>

\*Sukemune, 1978

trend was far more pronounced than at the JPA conventions.

(4) Year after year, the number of papers on Learning and Teaching increased, followed by the number of papers in the areas of Clinical-Disorder and Development at the JAEP conventions. This phenomenon is indicative of the distinguishing characteristic of the JAEP.

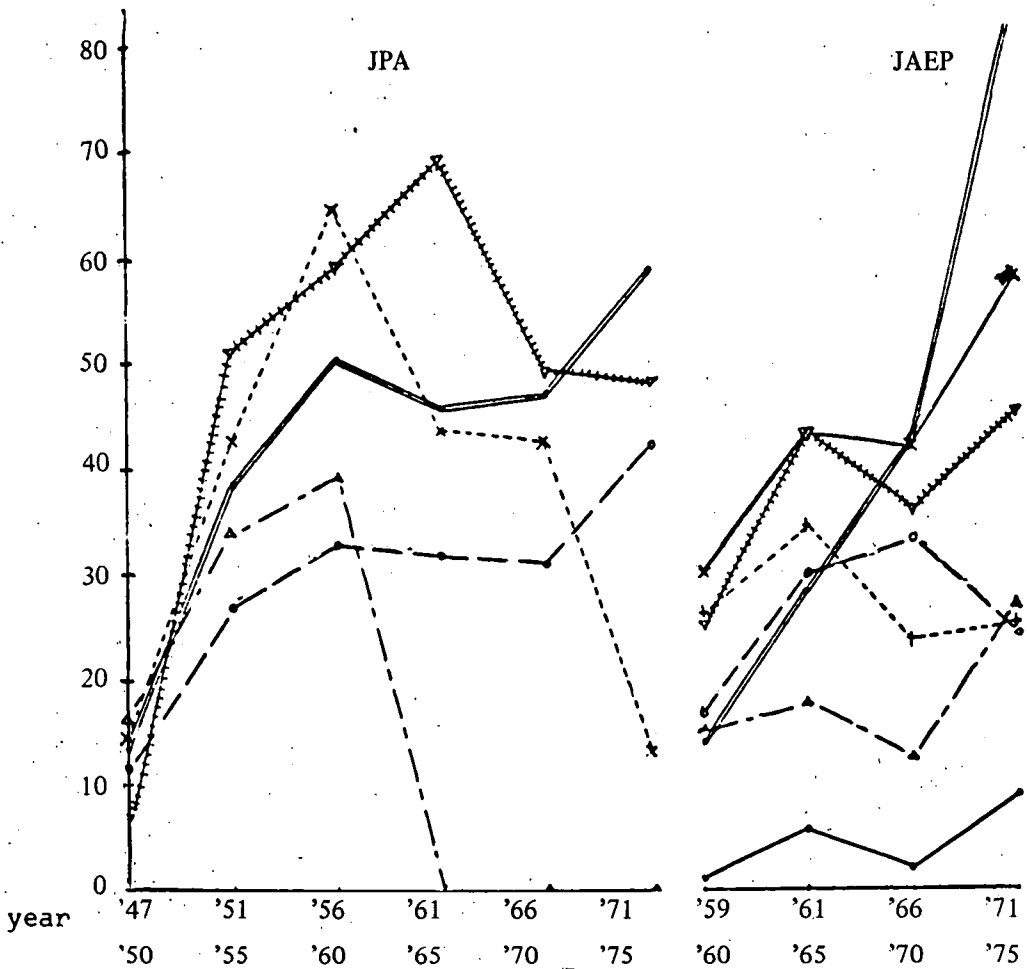
(5) Studies directly related to "educational practices" did not increase, although many research workers adopted more precise

methods and utilized more varied analyses of data than in earlier days.

#### 4. Social Psychology

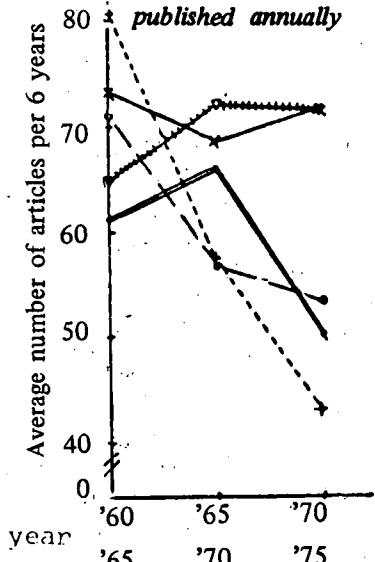
Social psychology in Japan started after the end of World War II. This new field of study, however, attracted a great deal of interest, and the number of researchers specializing in it grew rapidly each year. Furthermore, a number of researchers in neighboring disciplines such as sociology, political science and cultural anthropology became seriously interested in the problems and methods of

Figure 1. *Number of papers read at the annual conventions of the JPA and the JAEP (based on the mean number over 5-year periods)*



- method & theory
- development
- × — × learning - teaching
- — ○ personality
- + - - - + human rel & educational environ.
- × - - - × educ. psychol.
- · · · — clinical disorder
- △ — △ measurement & eval.

Figure 2. *Number of articles published annually*



(Hidano, T., 1977)

social psychology. Thus, a need was acutely felt for these researchers to organize themselves so that they could learn more and expand the perspectives of social psychology through mutual cooperation and an exchange of their knowledge and opinions.

The Japanese Association of Social Psychologists, the forerunner of the present Japanese Society of Social Psychology, was therefore formed in 1955. Its major purpose was to encourage free and innovative research which was not restricted by conventional academic boundaries. The Association at the time of its founding was therefore best characterized as a coordinator of groups of social psychology researchers who were scattered throughout the nation, and who were engaged in studies on topics such as group processes, social consciousness and attitudes, and surveys of public opinions. In 1958, to better serve its purpose, it organized itself into a unified professional organization with individual social psychologists and social scientists in related fields as members. Aside from intensifying moral support for local research groups, the organization began its own activities, such as the holding of an annual convention and an annual symposium, and the publication of a bulletin. In 1960, it started the publication of *The Japanese Annals of Social Psychology*, the official professional journal of the Association, which soon after, changed its name to the Japanese Society of Social Psychology. Though there were 99 members at the time of re-organization in 1959, the membership grew to 655 in 1978, a fact which pointedly illustrates the rapid growth of social psychology in Japan.

During the past two decades, the Society published 19 volumes, each of which contained, for the major part, a collection of articles on the specific topics listed in Table 7. The recent research trends can be seen in Table 8, wherein papers read at the annual conventions of the Japanese Society of Social

Psychology during the last 12 years have been classified into major categories. Although the classification criteria used are somewhat arbitrary, and the yearly variation in the number of papers reflects the particular circumstances of each year, a rough idea may be formed of what areas have been receiving most of the interest.

It may be noted that Cognition and Attitudes and Social Consciousness have received a relatively greater share of attention in the papers read. Most recently, Group Process and Collective Behavior have lost weight, whereas Language and Culture and the "others" category carry a somewhat heavier weight. This shift is probably due to the emergence of new and promising fields of study in social psychology such as pro-social behavior, non-verbal behavior, the cross-cultural study of social behavior and so on.

#### Major Academic and Professional Institutions for Psychological Research and Education

During the one hundred years since Western thought and its system of knowledge were brought to Japan, research activities and training programs for psychology took place mostly at the Imperial universities and a few other institutions such as the *Koto-shihun* (Higher teachers' colleges). It was only after the War that many other national and public universities and research institutes were opened for more psychology students. It is also noteworthy that many private universities and research institutes were built to promulgate further research in, and the teaching of, psychology.

There are many major academic and research institutions to which a number of Japanese psychologists belong. There are up to 20 national universities, 3 public universities and 17 private universities; 12 national research institutes; 7 public corporations; and 11 private institutions. Aside from these, there

Table 7: *Articles Published in The Japanese Annals of Social Psychology*

<i>Volume Number</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Topics Covered by the Collection of Articles</i>
1	1960	Social Psychology and Neighboring Sciences Problems in Political Consciousness
2	1961	Problems of Leisure Today Tasks and Methods of Modern Political Science
3	1962	Communication Among Japanese Japanese Personality
4	1963	Theories of Economic Behavior
5	1964	Modernization of Pre-War Japan Quantification of Social Behavior
6	1965	Pathology in Human Relationship
7	1966	Social Psychology of Mass Communication
8	1967	Social Psychology of War and Peace
9	1968	Social Psychology of Social Anxiety
10	1969	Social Psychology of Today's Human Relationships
11	1970	Leadership
12	1971	Social Psychology of Conflict
13	1972	Social Adjustment and Contemporary Society
14	1973	Social Psychology of Environment
15	1974	Language, Symbol and Communication
16	1975	Social Psychology of Life Styles
17	1976	Social Psychology of Ethnicity
18	1977	Social Psychology of Meeting
19	1978	Problems in Methodology of Social Psychology
20	1979	Social Psychology of Relations (Being proposed)

are other institutions to which many psychologists belong.

According to one simple survey held at the JPA convention in 1962, it was found that sixty percent of psychologists belong to universities or colleges, twenty percent to research institutes, and the remaining twenty percent to other institutions. However, it

might be an indication of a changing trend that many psychologists seem to be left out of the academic setting in recent years. It has become evident that having a Master's degree is a necessary but not sufficient condition for finding a job at academic institutions, and that having a Doctor's degree, or its equivalent, is not always sufficient to ensure one of a job either. There is, however, a fairly

Table 8. *Number of Papers on Specific Topics in Social Psychology Read at the Annual Conventions of the Japanese Society of Social Psychology From 1967 Through 1978*

Year	Cognition and Attitude	Group Process	Language and Culture	Collective Behavior	Social Consciousness	Others	Total
1967	10	12	2	16	9	9	58
1968	10	8	3	17	7	8	53
1969	12	10	4	11	9	8	54
1970	5	6	3	7	15	8	44
1971	10	4	3	3	9	6	35
1972	5	0	5	2	11	19	42
1973	6	0	3	1	3	20	33
1974	27	3	6	2	5	21	71
1975	13	2	8	6	5	16	50
1976	19	0	13	2	10	30	74
1977	13	5	12	3	10	17	60
1978	11	2	12	1	2	30	58
Total	141	52	74	71	102	192	632

good opportunity to work part-time, and if one has passed the national examinations for *Shinri-shoku* (professional psychologist) or *Chosakan* (family court examiner), which are held once a year, one would likely be able to find a governmental position. Without such qualifications, though, it is somewhat difficult to survive as a psychologist.

Generally speaking, a present-day psychologist who is outside of academic or national institutions, especially one who is working in a clinical setting, is not fully given social and legal protection and security as a professional specialist, in comparison to doctors in internal and psychiatric medicine. Although many clinical and counseling psychologists have wanted to promote their status and skills for a long time, they have not

been as successful as the psychological and occupational therapists.

Another dream of some psychologists in Japan is to establish a National Research Institute for Behavioral Science(s). This plan was first proposed by social psychologists. The more concrete plan was carried out by the general assembly of the Japanese Academy of Science and was sent to the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture as an official recommendation in 1972. Since that time, a group of psychologists has continued to effectively realize the dream, although it might take a few more years until the goal is attained.

#### Current Trends and Perspectives

In reviewing some characteristics in the

previous sections, an important characteristic was overlooked which is problematic to some of us in Japan, and probably to those in other Asian countries as well.

Whereas Japanese psychologists seem to be successful in receiving and digesting Western theories and methods in psychology with "sharp sensibility," and whereas they are still greatly influenced by the U.S., Germany, France, and even the U.S.S.R.; and finally, whereas they are keeping up with a fairly high standard of learning given the size of the population of psychologists, we should seriously consider how far or how much we have been able to contribute to the development of psychology in the world, or at least in Asia. One might say that he did contribute by serving as an editor or a convener for international journals or international symposia, or that he had organized the XXth international congress of psychology in Tokyo in 1972. Another might point out correctly that the publication of *Psychologia* has been a most concrete contribution to the world of psychology. I would not object to these comments, although I would also say that we should think about the proportion of those people who have served as editors or conveners in comparison to the total number of 4000 or 6500 Japanese psychologists. Should we not all contribute more to the rest of the world by all kinds of ways and means? I think we should.

Aside from the seeming lack of participation from Japanese psychologists as a whole, there is another problem which handicaps our progress. As Professor Fujinaga at Ochanomizu University once pointed out, in some areas of specialization in psychology, the way of treating a certain "new" topic with a "new" method was often backward or behind by about a ten-year time lag (he called it "one-cycle"). This may be traced not only to the language barrier, but also to the sense of responsibility toward what is happening on the other side of the world. This was validated

through a personal experience which occurred when I visited the University of California at Santa Barbara and the East-West Center in Hawaii in 1976. Concepts and ideas which had been thought to be new or fresh before my departure had already become common, and the manner of treatment of a certain topic was already quite different from what I was familiar with.

In the same way that we should not hesitate to give up an old doll or a toy-car, so we should similarly not hesitate to find the best framework or tool with which we can explore psychological issues or problems better.

A third problem which can be identified may seem to be contradictory to what was mentioned earlier. In the past, there were very few psychologists in Japan who studied and contributed to the understanding of the Japanese themselves. Rare exceptions were the studies mentioned in the Introduction, more specifically, the ones on *Kan* or the "Sixth Sense", and on "basic consciousness," (both done before the War) There are also post-war exceptions such as the Zen studies done by Dr. Sato, Dr. Akishige and their collaborators. There are likewise others, such as M. Yoshida, C. Hayashi, A. Kikuchi, who are already known for their studies on Japanese indigenous concepts such as *On*, *Giri-Ninjo* and so on. These studies should be reevaluated in order to better explore the Japanese mind, experience and behavior, with or without a Western frame of reference and Western scientific tools. *Amae* or *Enryo* is not a unified concept for generalization but merely a tool for analysis. Other concepts or tools should be found which are indigenous and which share a common framework with other Asian people.

As I look forward to the future, there are at least three possible ways in which Japanese psychologists today can actively contribute to the world of psychology. These are the following:



- (1) By ignoring the national and cultural boundaries and instead striving for the attainment of goals which are similar to those of psychologists in the West, or in the developed countries, with mutual understanding and cooperation-and-competition in a fair-play spirit;
- (2) By doubting all "universal" principles and "scientific tools" and testing them with a critical attitude in cross-cultural settings; and
- (3) By providing opportunities wherein Japanese and non-Japanese psychologists can sit, observe (as participants), and analyze and discuss together, and through cooperation find out new facts or principles.

It is felt that the third option is the most feasible, since it is more applicable across the different areas of concentration in Psychology. In line with this, the following recommendations are therefore made:

- (1) Choosing from among the great psychological contributions and scientific and clinical achievements in Japan and in other countries, a volume of collected papers should be edited and published in the English language. This would facilitate the sharing of information among the various countries in Asia.
- (2) Asian psychologists should visit each other across the seas more often to facilitate the exchange of ideas and information, to foster a better acquaintance with the host countries and their people (in terms of the manner of feeling and thinking, the different motivations, and the different types of interpersonal relationships), and to help each other towards advancement.

- (3) Cross-cultural or inter-cultural studies, wherein collaboration is on an equal basis (including the appropriate proportioning of the financial share for costs), should be promoted.

Over and above these, however, the partnership between Asian psychologists should be strengthened so that a firmer foundation may be set for future joint-ventures in Asian Psychology.

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