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Study of the role of the emerging professional "Child Welfare Worker" as social case worker in the post-war Japanese child welfare program

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Boston University
STUDY OF THE ROLE OF THE EMERGING PROFESSIONAL
"CHILD WELFARE WORKER" AS SOCIAL CASE WORKER
IN THE POST-WAR JAPANESE CHILD WELFARE PROGRAM

A Thesis

Submitted by
David Yoshiharu Otani
(A.B. Tokyo University, Tokyo, Japan 1947)
In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Science in Social Service
1952
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THE CHILDREN'S LIFE ADJUSTMENT AFTER TREATMENT IN TWENTY CASES
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

General Purposes

This study was made to analyze the function of the "Child Welfare Worker," who is the first caseworker in the history of social work in Japan. It is traditional for our historians in this field to describe Japanese social work practice as starting to modernize itself on a systematic scientific basis about three decades ago, particularly during the past decade with the rise of socialism. However, we have never had caseworkers using a well-recognized social work technique before. All books and articles in magazines concerning social work were concerned with social service institutions but no, or at best casual, attention was paid to the skills of the workers who were working with their clients in connection with these institutions. This new Child Welfare Program that currently is focusing upon the method, skills and techniques of the case worker is something unique, unheard of and unknown to our traditional social work practice, even more so to the people in the community. But it seems to be growing rapidly and is receiving increased attention both from the social work profession and from the community.

This study is being made to examine this new setting in the perspective of its past, present and future through a conscious and critical analysis of twenty cases carried by these new case workers.
In carrying out this study, the writer will endeavor to answer three major concerns of this study: (1) What are the philosophy and principles guiding the development of the post-war Japanese child welfare program which inaugurated this new social work orientation? (2) How is the program being implemented? (3) In what ways is this contributing to the needs of our child welfare problem? How does this compare with the currently accepted criteria in America?

Scope of Study

A major portion of this study consists of an analysis of twenty cases and a study of background materials of current casework practice in Japan. Sixteen of them were carried and recorded by these new child welfare workers. All of these cases were handled outside the institutional setting; in other words services were carried out somehow in a family setting in the community. Since the writer, as a former institutional worker, is concerned about the possibility of casework practice in an institutional child care program, he supplemented the case record list with four more cases from his own experiences during three post-war years in a children's home in Japan.

The sixteen cases were originally selected by our new Children's Bureau from among those sent in by the child welfare workers all over the country, and were later published.
as discussing and teaching material in 1950. These cases were selected because they were deemed to show the best example or highest level of present casework practice. The time during which these cases were handled was from 1948 to 1949.

The writer's own cases will be used to show some of the limitations of our institutional care for children.

In order to get a perspective of this new practice, some study was made of the historical, legislative and theoretical background of the new child welfare program.

Sources of Data

Casework records were taken from a Children's Bureau publication and supplemented by the writer's own. Texts of legislation, statistical surveys and annual reports in regard to child welfare were available up to November, 1951. Books at hand on child welfare and casework theory in Japan are only those which were published before 1950, and some latest ones couldn't be secured.

Articles pertinent to this subject in "Social Work" the only professional periodical on Japanese social work, were available up to December, 1951. Whatever evaluation the writer is able to make of the child welfare program in Japan is on the basis of what he has learned about professional

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social work at Boston University, School of Social Work and his field work placement, and on the basis of his personal experiences and memories of social work in Japan while he was living there.

**Method of Procedure**

The following study is divided into four chapters. In Chapter II the writer describes the development of the new child welfare program in post-war Japan from three points of view: (1) the post-war social conditions which menaced the welfare of Japanese children, (2) some meaningful influences which contributed to the enactment of the Child Welfare Law in 1947 and (3) the philosophy and principles of the new child welfare program and its administrative set-up.

In Chapter III the writer describes the theoretical background of social casework practice in Japan. The evolitional stage of casework and some socio-cultural factors which are influencing current casework practice in Japan are taken into consideration for the writer's discussion, so that the reader might have some understanding of the socio-cultural framework in which the current Japanese casework practice is functioning.

In Chapter IV the writer makes case studies through which he tries to show how some basic casework principles currently accepted in America are applied to the real problems of Japanese children who need casework help and in what ways they are qualified by Japanese cultural patterns. The
writer opens the chapter with a discussion of some basic principles as an orientation for the rest of the chapter. This is followed by the presentation of a number of cases and how they were interpreted by the writer.

In the final chapter the writer offers to draw some conclusions to this study.

**Value and Limitation of the Study**

The writer hopes this study will make some contribution to the enlightenment of all those interested in this subject by presenting principles and practices of casework as they apply more specifically to the social, economic and cultural conditions in Japan. He hopes thereby to give momentum to the program that has already been set in motion in that country.

The writer feels that the nature of the selected cases is much too limited to make this study a conclusive presentation of present day practices in Japan. It seems to the writer that the best that can be done is to evaluate what seems to be current practices in Japan as compared to what is accepted casework principle in America. Of course, there should be some qualification of this evaluation because of the socio-cultural differences between the two countries.
CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW CHILD WELFARE PROGRAM IN POST-WAR JAPAN

In "Historical Survey of the Evolution of Casework"

Annette Garrett says,

What casework is today is primarily determined by three factors: its evolutionary development, the professional training that contemporary caseworkers receive, and the problems with which they are confronted and whose solution is their chief task.¹

This can be truly said also about casework practice of today in Japan.

In this chapter the writer will try to describe the last of these three factors which has determined what casework is today in Japan. In the following chapter a study will be made about the other two factors.

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first the post-war social conditions which seriously threatened our children's welfare are described. In the second section a brief discussion is made about some of those meaningful influences, which contributed to the enactment of the Child Welfare Law which laid the foundation of our new child welfare program. The third section consists of a description of the philosophy and principles of the new child welfare legislation and its administrative set-up in relation to our

new function in casework, that of Child Welfare Worker.

Section 1 - The Post-War Social Conditions Which Menaced the Welfare of Japanese Children.

The termination of World War II dislocated all social functions and structures to their roots in Japan and deprived her people of their confidence in their way of living. In the reality of our daily life the destructive effects of that devastating war which had so far been covered up by the tension of fighting now became apparent to the people in the form of rampant contagious diseases, no shelter for numberless people, imminent starvation, no job by which to live, and so on.

In spite of the huge loss of human lives on the battlefront and on the home-front, the demobilization of the armed forces and the repatriation of Japanese civilians from all her colonies and other Asiatic countries made these frightening pictures much worse, since many of them found no shelter and no job and thus became "displaced people."

But it was our children upon whom all of these devastating effects of the war fell most heavily and destructively. Broken Family Ties

The war broke up numberless families. Many a mother with her children waited in vain for her husband who was in the service. Some of these children lost even their mothers during the air-raids, with many more children who lost both parents over night. Other large groups of our children lost
their parents either on the way home from other lands or shortly after their repatriation because of over-exhaustion as the result of their arduous travels. Still another group of children who had been evacuated into rural areas during the war came back to their home towns alone and helpless at the site on which their homes had been standing. But now no houses were there, and even worse, their expected parents' whereabouts were unknown forever to many of them. The teachers in charge of them were themselves desperate in trying to find their own, and so were useless to their desperate children.

The adult was preoccupied with how to support his own family and how to survive. The strong tie of the big family system which had played an important role in avoiding many a social dislocation so far within its mutual-help framework was shaken to its foundation. The Japanese family was shaken spiritually and physically, and even when it survived spiritually, in reality it could absorb only a small part of the war-victim children who were thrown out into the street, unprotected and neglected.

The adults as a whole, particularly the people in governmental positions, who were to be responsible for the welfare of society were confused and embarrassed as to how to meet the tremendous needs of the post-war conditions. The adults were well aware of the voiceless suffering of their children but they were powerless and hopeless.
Many of the institutions for dependent and neglected children were located in the big cities of over one hundred thousand population. Most of these cities were burnt down by bombings, and so these institutions shared the bad fate of the war with their cities. Up to this time our protective service for dependent and neglected children was entirely institutional in practice. In this critical situation many of these institutions were destroyed or incapacitated, and the rest were not well off because of their bad financial situation. Each remaining institution was being required to take more and more children. But the master of a children's home in which the writer worked had to sell a part of its houses in order to support about fifty children already in his care, even though this private institution was solid financially and administratively.

The Appearance of the "War Waif"

All these conditions resulted in bringing forth one of the most pressing post-war social problems, "War Waif", adult and children. (Hereafter "War Waif" is used only in reference to children.) This problem led our government, social workers, and those who were concerned about our children's welfare to set up a comprehensive child welfare reconstruction program which culminated in the Child Welfare Law.

War Waif was one of most pathological but taken-for-granted post-war social problem pictures omnipresent in almost all of the big cities over the country where we could
see, mostly around the railroad station and in the shopping streets, many of these youngsters of almost all ages, boys and girls with greasy dirty faces, uncombed and malnourished, skin-diseased half naked bodies, begging food and money, scrambling in trash and garbage boxes, without protection for their souls and without shelter for their bodies. It is easy to imagine that they easily got into trouble with society either because of their needs or at the instigation of adult waifs and older gangs.

These children can be classified into four groups. One was composed of those children who had been orphaned because of their parents' or guardians' death by air-raid. They were referred to "bombed-out orphans." The second group was made up of those who had been orphaned because of their parents' death on the way home from former Japanese colonies. They were called "repatriated orphans." The third group were those who lost their fathers in the service and were left with their widowed mothers who could hardly hold her family intact due to the harsh post-war life. The fourth group was composed of those who were pushed into the street by those families whose family balance was badly shaken or broken up because of war devastation which took away almost all of their material resources: shelter, clothing, food, and means of employment.

The government, national and local, tried to place as many of these orphaned children as possible with their rela-
tives, and then to place the others in institutions. The already overcrowded situation in the relatives' homes and in the institutions with their difficult material circumstances could not hold many of them. They wandered out into the street and joined the war waifs. Thus, in 1946 we had 7,615 orphans placed in institutions besides those who were taken in because of poverty, parents' sickness or crime and other causes, and in the streets we had over three thousand war waifs.

Among the war-widow, bomb-damaged and repatriated families, there were about 418,000² who were receiving inadequate public assistance in 1946. The children of these relief families suffered from the harshness of life much more severely than their parents, and unfortunately but inevitably many of them got into trouble in the community and some of them finally became one of the war waifs away from their own homes.

In 1946 repatriation and other relocating processes were still going on, and it was expected that there would be more broken homes, more dependent children, more overcrowded institutions and more war waifs.

**Rapid Increase of Juvenile Delinquents**

Another aspect of the post-war Japanese child welfare problem was the threatening increase in juvenile crimes and juvenile delinquents. There was no family whose children

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were immune to the degenerating and disintegrating influences inside and outside their family. The school, which used to be one of our bulwarks to protect our youngsters, could not give the children anything worthy to be called education. Many children found no schoolhouse for their learning place. Many school buildings were occupied by bombed-out or repatriated families. The three or four shift system was not uncommon in school. The community life was disturbing and provocative to these still very vulnerable youngsters who had drifted out into the street from their barren family atmosphere and from an unattractive classroom.

The adults were themselves very confused and insecure; the core of their authoritarian system having been shattered, the parents lost confidence in their way of bringing up their children and the teachers were confused as to how to teach and guide their pupils. They had never before had such difficulty in disciplining their youngsters because they were unsure about their traditional way of discipline. The people could not live without some supply from the black market. Adult crime took advantage of this plight in our society. The effect upon the juvenile was heart-breaking.

This social situation explains to us the process through which the war waifs became less and less identified with so-called "war-orphans" and more and more identified with a more general term of "Juvenile Wanderers" who were synonymous with juvenile delinquents and run-aways in the street.
Statistics from the 1951 Statistical Survey of Child Welfare Services by the National Council of Social Welfare Councils in Japan show us the amount and range of our present services for children and also needs still unmet at the present time. See Table I, IIa and IIb on pages 16 and 17.

Before we look into some of the events which led our government and leaders in the field of child welfare to inaugurate our new child welfare program under the above mentioned impending conditions in 1945-1946 right after the war, the writer will discuss briefly the validity of the familiar prescription for Asiatic society, in terms of "mass solution for mass problem."

The writer does not have the slightest idea of underestimating the importance of the fact that mass relief and mass action, national and international, have favorably affected the welfare of our children during the years since the end of the war. Many of our young lives have been saved and protected from destruction by national public health action recovered its pre-war level. In 1950 our children's health enabled them to stay in their own homes with the assistance of the Daily Security Law. Many children have been given shelter by the new increase of institutions; special dormitories and camps for those who are living with their widowed mothers or with their repatriated and bombed-out parents and new children's homes for the dependent and neglected.
Many children have been given clothing, food, medicine and materials for study by L.A.R.A. American Relief Organization for Asia.3 All of our primary school pupils have enjoyed a hot and nutritious lunch which has been made possible by L.A.R.A. and U.N.C.E.F. (United Nations Children's Emergency Fund) See Table III on page 19.

However, is mass action the end or the beginning of our social welfare activities to meet the present needs of our children? If the distribution of food and clothing and the accommodation of shelter were enough to meet our children's need, why have we been having war waifs and juvenile wanderers in the streets? Why do we have an increasing number of problem children, in the family and in the community? The writer can not help recalling the so-called Juvenile Wanderer's Hunt in which our government, national and local, tried uselessly and vainly to sweep these wanderers from the streets into the institutions, only to find most of them in the streets a few days or weeks later with additional recruits.

Can we keep building new institutions for those who have become dependent or delinquent or neglected and whom the family and the community feel unable to keep among them?

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3 Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia consists of thirteen religious, social service and labor union organizations in America. It started relief work through the Japanese government in 1946, distributing relief materials of clothing, food, medicine, and other goods. Up to date it has sent to Japan over one hundred million dollars worth of goods.
Are we failing to understand the needs of these children, not only their material needs, but also those beyond shelter, food and clothing? Can't we offer some positive, constructive service for our distressed children while they are in the family and in the community, instead of allowing them to be thrown out into the streets and then chasing after them in vain with expensive institutional care?

It is often said even by the Asians themselves and taken for granted by the Westerners that,

...they are too many and too poor; in such a condition of overpopulation and low subsistence, the value attached to human life and personality could not be high, there much of social work is still of the curative, palliative, or post-mortem type.  

This is quite true; nevertheless, even when we are facing a tremendous mass need and are searching for a mass solution, we cannot overlook the value of human personality. If it is true that the child lives and grows up, in the real sense of the word, through his emotional and spiritual needs being met, that is, by love, it is also true for our children, particularly those children whose lives were threatened and frustrated by deprivation of love and material things.

Love can't be distributed in a mass approach. Emotional needs are something personal and individually unique. They

can be understood and met only on the basis of "individual by individual."

**TABLE I**

THE NUMBER OF THE CHILDREN UNDER INSTITUTIONAL CARE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF SERVICE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO NEED TO BE TAKEN IN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Homes for the Dependent and Neglected</td>
<td>22,847</td>
<td>7,389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Homes for the Feebleminded</td>
<td>1,425</td>
<td>10,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Homes for the Blind</td>
<td>988</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Homes for the Deaf and Dumb</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>8,967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Homes for Invalids</td>
<td>510</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Homes for Babies</td>
<td>2,831</td>
<td>1,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Industrial Schools for the Delinquent</td>
<td>4,658</td>
<td>4,596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Training Schools for Juvenile Criminals</td>
<td>6,605</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Day Nursery Schools</td>
<td>292,335</td>
<td>74,902</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL**                                        | 333,539            | 107,504                                  |

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b In the following tables and in the study children mean those under 18 years old.

c Since at present all private agencies receive government money on the basis of service fee plus administration cost per capita and over 95 per cent of their children are committed to their care by the local governments and are
under the close supervision of the authority, all statistical data cited hereafter include both public and private.

**TABLE IIa**

**CHILDREN LACKING SUITABLE CARE AND THEIR FAMILY SITUATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY SITUATION</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Under Public Assistance</td>
<td>34,361 (18,443)</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Under P.A. But Poor</td>
<td>47,842 (12,564)</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well Off Family</td>
<td>10,383 (2,141)</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>354 (71)</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>92,940 (33,219)</td>
<td>100 (35.7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE IIb**

**DELINQUENT CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILY SITUATION IN THE COMMUNITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY SITUATION</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Under Public Assistance</td>
<td>5,707 (2,929)</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Under P.A. But Poor</td>
<td>24,664 (4,656)</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well Off Family</td>
<td>11,181 (960)</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>313 (91)</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>41,865 (8,636)</td>
<td>100 (20.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a Source: Ibid., p. 52.

b Number in bracket shows those families in which widowed mother is the only parent.

c Fairly large percentage of well off family group, particularly in TABLE IIb indicates that the child in need of help is not limited to the economically poor groups.

d If casework service be unavailable, many of them may have to be institutionalized.

e The reason for the difference between the number of children needing to be taken in (Table I) and that of children lacking suitable care in Table IIa seems to be due to the fact that the former was obtained through a statistical sampling method, while the latter was secured by direct social investigation by the local authorities.
TABLE III

STATISTICS CONCERNING THE CHILD WELFARE CONDITIONS IN PRE AND POST-WAR JAPAN*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>PRE-WAR FIGURE</th>
<th>POST-WAR FIGURE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infantile Mortality</td>
<td>100 per 1.000</td>
<td>59.8 per 1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children Under Public Assistance</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>86,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homes for Mother and Children</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homes for the Dependent and Neglected</td>
<td></td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homes for the Feebleminded</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homes for the Blind</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homes for the Deaf and Dumb</td>
<td>1,854</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homes for Invalids and the Crippled</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homes for Babies</td>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Schools for the Delinquent</td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Nursery</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,854</td>
<td>4,308</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


a The figure shown for pre-war infantile mortality is as of 1940.

b The pre-war figure representing institutions for children is as of 1937.
All post-war figures are as of 1950.


Even amidst the utter confusion and overwhelming "can't-help-it" situation of society, our people and government could not postpone indefinitely doing something about this menace to our children's welfare.

Many a foreign newspaper correspondent stirred up public opinion through his critical articles in our native newspapers. One of them from Britain, where no less damage was thrust upon her youngsters, said,

...until we shall see no war waif in the streets, we will never trust that Japan has really and sincerely started to democratize her way of living. There is no peace-loving, democratic country who neglects her most precious, promising lives of youth in deprivation and degeneration.5

The Public Welfare and Health Section of General Headquarters, SCAP, was no less alert to and concerned about this problem than it was to general public health reconstruction.

Our Ministry of Public Welfare responded to this criticism by founding the Children's Bureau in 1947 which had been wanted by those concerned with the child protective field for the past years. This newly founded Children's Bureau rigorously strove to set up an over-all child welfare program in view of the fact that several temporary emergency

5 This article appeared in the Asahi in the spring of 1946, but the writer can not document its exact date.
programs to clean up war waifs and related child welfare problems in the past had turned out fruitless.

A central committee of Social Work was formed consisting of lay leaders, private social work leaders and governmental representatives. The Children's Bureau asked this committee to make a recommendation to the government as to a new overall child welfare program. This committee's constructive effort was shown in the preface of its recommended draft of the Child Welfare Law to the effect that,

"...in order not only to make all-out efforts to protect our unfortunate juvenile vagrants but also to promote positively the welfare of all our children who are to carry on the fate of our nation's future, we believe that it is our most urgent task to lay down a fundamental law in regard to our child welfare which may be called "Child Welfare Law.""

In contrast to this recommendation the original bill presented to the committee by the Children's Bureau as a reference was different in its title and in its emphasis. It was named the Child Protective Law and it emphasized that this law was "to protect those children who need protection according to their individual personality make-up and environmental conditions."

In May 1947 our first National Conference of Child Welfare was held to discuss a proposed enactment of the Child Welfare Law.


7 Ibid., p. 4.
Welfare Law recommended by the committee, and to mobilize people from all over the country into a nation-wide campaign toward post-war child welfare rehabilitation. These were the representatives who were concerned about our child welfare problems; social workers, educators, physicians, religious leaders, politicians, and governmental officials, national and local.

At this conference we had the honor to have Father Flanagan of Boy's Town as our main guest speaker. His speeches at this conference, and later on at many other places and occasions during his vigorous country-wide observation trip, gave us deep inspiration and a new angle in our approach to the problem of our child welfare reconstruction work. His thoughtful speech and advice to us which was crystallized into his famous motto, "There is no bad boy, only bad society, parents and environment.", penetrated the thinking of the adults of our post-war society.

Thus, on December 12, 1947 our first comprehensive child welfare legislation, The Child Welfare Law, was passed at the first national congress under the new constitution and has become the fundamental law of child welfare by which all existing and future laws and regulations concerning children have to be interpreted, revised, and if necessary abolished.

It seems needless to say here that our new child welfare program has been strongly influenced by the philosophy and practice of American child welfare work in many ways.
A certain child welfare expert once said to the writer with a deep feeling of satisfaction and amazement and a bit of embarrassment, too that "all of the things for which he had been striving in vain for the past decade has been achieved here, in a sense, over-night and in some aspects the things have gone a little beyond his expectations." He felt that the tree of progress was suddenly in full bloom and the roots had not penetrated the soil sufficiently to nourish the tree.


Here we are not going into the detailed technicalities of laws and regulations concerning our new child welfare program, but we will look at some important events in terms of legislation and publications and their contents.
TABLE IV

MAJOR LEGISLATION AND MEMORANDA CONCERNING
THE NEW CHILD WELFARE PROGRAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DATE OF ISSUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Child Welfare Law (Revised several times)</td>
<td>December, 1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fundamentals of Foster Home And Family Care Program</td>
<td>October, 1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Children's Charter</td>
<td>May, 1951</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Child Welfare Law

It was not until after the war that the word "welfare" took the place of the word "protection" in our thinking and about our children's problem. The fact that the title of the first draft of the new children's law was changed from Protection Law to Welfare Law, gave us some encouragement that a certain fundamental change in our attitude toward children's problems had taken place. Traditionally our social work with children was concerned with only a limited group who used to be called "special children," "children in need of protection" or "children in dependence" and these names were closely connected with a special family group within our society which was in a sense synonymous with poverty, sickness, crime and
all the other miserable pictures seen at the bottom of our society. The moralistic attitude of social workers toward this group will be discussed subsequently.

Prior to the war society as a whole had at best a pitying and benevolent attitude toward these so-called special problem children. However, post-war social conditions changed society's attitude. Veritably every family could see a member of its kin in a troublesome group. None of our parents could anticipate when their own might become problem children. The problem which confronted Japanese society could no longer be limited to the protection of the specified children's group but had to be treated on the basis of a more positive and all-embracing nation-wide scale which was concerned with all of our children. This was the implication of the new words, "child welfare" in the title of our new children's act. And in this sense it has become accepted in our nation.

Thus in its First Chapter, General Principles, the Child Welfare Law declares the new philosophy and principles as follows:

1. It should be the common concern and effort of the whole nation that every child be born and brought up healthfully spiritually and physically and that one and all of our children be secured its healthy living and be loved and be protected equally.

2. The government, national and local, has a responsibility to see to it that our children are protected in case of need, and furthermore to bring them up healthfully spiritually and physically.

These are amplified as follows:
1. It has been our greatest concern to effectively meet the needs of those who have already been in a plight in some way or other. It is our aim that this will be done so that they can secure their rightful chance to grow up in a healthy manner.

2. No less important than this has been our concern to prevent many others from falling into the former group if left to themselves without firm help and guidance.

3. And at the same time we strive positively to promote over-all better living conditions in which one and all of our children can be born healthy and grow up healthy.

Children's Charter

Formulating the philosophy, principles and problems implied in the Child Welfare Law in a more clear-cut but more popular form, Children's Charter in 1951 has laid down the ideas of our child welfare as follows:

No. 2 Every child should be brought up in his own family with well-guided love, knowledge and techniques, and those who are deprived of their own family should be given a substitute environment nearest to their own.

No. 4 Every individual child should be educated according to his individual personality and endowment, and be guided to fulfill his responsibility on his own as a member of our society.

No. 10 Every child should be protected from abuse, exploitation neglect and all other forms of maltreatment. Those children who are in conflict with society should be given suitable protection and guidance.

No. 11 Every child who is crippled or defective should be given suitable treatment, education and protection.

These are only those articles which are directly relevant to
the foregoing statement and to some of the new practices which are to be described in the following pages.

**Child Welfare Institutions Minimum Standard Act**

The new standard for child welfare no longer allows institutions for children to stay on in the traditional level of custodial care in terms of clothing, food and shelter but postulates all of them to serve positively the real needs of the children under their care so that every one of them may grow up healthy mentally, emotionally and spiritually. The latest survey tells us that the total number of children under all kinds of institutional care is 41,204 and still another 32,502 need to be institutionalized.8 This is a tremendous increase of the institutional population in comparison with that right after the war.

The Minimum Standard Act is intended to secure for every one of these institutions minimum facilities of personnel and materials according to the nature of its service. The facilities in each institution should be sufficient to provide for its children a healthy, happy and constructive living arrangement. This presupposes that the intake of clients is organized so that the specific need of the children who are accepted can best be met and the services of the institution can best be utilized.

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Fundamentals of Foster Home and Family Care Program

In the Child Welfare Law the idea of foster home care became for the first time a legally sanctioned social institution and was expected to be one of two pillars to support the new child welfare program along with the traditional institutional care.9

This new system was radically different from the traditionally so-called foster parents custom which was synonymous with either adoption or with indenture and caused gross exploitation of child labor even after the enactment of the Child Welfare Law.

According to this new system, there is a clear distinction between (1) adoptive family, (2) free-boarding family and (3) boarding family, and all of them are under the supervision of the law and the caseworker. It is no longer a private transaction for the personal interests of foster parents but primarily a public responsibility. The welfare of the deprived children is entrusted to the foster parents under public supervision.

However, almost all of the institutional social workers—and there were no social workers other than these at that

9 Child Welfare Law, Article 27 III.

Foster Parents are the parents who want to take care of those children who have lost their parents or guardians or cannot be taken care of adequately and suitably in their own families, and who have been sanctioned by the local governor.
time--were very doubtful of the emphasis put upon this new system.

The writer remembers still vividly one hot day in the summer of 1948 when the institutional workers in the Tokyo area, most of whom were the heads of the institutions, held their regular monthly meeting. They had a guest speaker from the Public Welfare Division of Tokyo District Army Government. She told them that half the population under their care could and should be placed in foster homes and the institutional workers should take care of more difficult cases like juvenile wanderers in the streets. It was apparently implied in her speech that those institutional workers were sticking to their vested interests and evading their real responsibility for the child's welfare by not cooperating to develop a new foster home care program. Shocking as her statement was to them, there appeared later no speeding up of the replacement process of the children from the institution to the foster homes. It is no wonder that the great impetus to the development of foster home care has been coming from the activities of the child welfare workers and the "Child Welfare Guidance Center" which was the newly formed public agency.

This Fundamentals which would be comparable to an agency manual was published by the Japanese Children's Bureau to promote the understanding of the persons concerned as to the new system. This "Fundamentals" gives explicit directions
as to procedures as follows: A special committee within the local child welfare council screens foster family applications and the children to be placed. A child welfare guidance center carries out the decisions of the committee. Particularly the child welfare workers who function as home-finding caseworkers supervise the placed children and the foster family, and the "Community Child Welfare Volunteers." These volunteers help and co-operate with child welfare workers.

The latest statistics tell us that the number of children placed in foster homes in 1950 is 5,488, four times as large as that of 1949, and the number of the registered foster families is 7,429 six times as large as that of 1949.10

This rapid development indicates that the fundamental idea of our new child welfare program --- "Every child should be brought up first of all in his own family, and then in case of inevitable need, in its nearest substitute." --- has been permeating our practice of child care.

The Function of the Child Welfare Worker and Community Child Welfare Volunteer

The local government truck loaded with wayward youngsters ran around from one institution to another, unloading some of them at each stop in front of the institution's embarrassed staff. There was no understanding of each of

10 Satoshi Amino, op. cit., p. 12.
these individual children, in what way his needs could be met, and whether or not he would be suitable for such and such institution's function and facilities. Matching of the individual child and the individual institution became more and more urgent to everyone concerned.

Dependent and neglected children in a shaky family situation, problem children in school and in the community, overt delinquent children or children who were getting into trouble because of their mental or physical deficiency were all contributing to the growth of the street-wanderers' population.

It was no longer possible to identify the object of our social work activities merely with a specified social group stricken by poverty, sickness and crimes. It had become a far more broadened front for the children's worker to attack. It was no longer possible to identify the method of meeting this social need merely by the traditional, protective, restrictive relief work, taking away these social charges somewhere outside our community. It had become a far more complicated and permeating social problem the solution of which required a more qualitative, particularized but far-reaching method, which took place within the framework of the community and of the family itself, not somewhere outside of them.

Although this ever-expanding social problem seemed to require some sort of mass treatment and mass solution, fundamentally at the root of the problem it could be met only by
an over-all and well-organized attack consisting of the individualized, qualitative, specialized and discriminative treatment of the individual child. This procedure was clear because we wanted after all to achieve three big goals of the new child welfare program in the long run, namely ---(1) to meet our dependent children's needs more fully and effectively; (2) to prevent any more children from falling into the same dire plight, (3) to promote positively the welfare of our children.

Here we can find the foundation upon which the Child Welfare Guidance Center and the Child Welfare Worker—two new social work institutions were set up to carry out this new urgently needed method of individualized treatment. Although these casework settings were laid down in the Child Welfare Law, it was felt that there should be a more clear and detailed interpretation as to how they function in meeting various child welfare problems, and thus the "Fundamentals" was published as a guidance manual to these workers.

Child Welfare Worker

He or she is a public-supported, full-time caseworker for the first time in Japan. Some of his chief responsibilities are formulated as follows:

He belongs to the Children's Division of the Public Welfare Department of local governments and is under the supervision of the Division's Chief. Each individual worker has his own jurisdiction district and is responsible for any consultation service for his district people concerning child protection, maternity care and other related prob-
lems. He makes a survey concerning child and maternity problem at the request of the Chief of the Child Welfare Guidance Center, or of the local government. He reports to them regularly the situation in his district with his recommendation in cases of need. But the most important function of a Child Welfare Worker is to find out those who need his help as early as possible and to provide the needed services for them. In order to perform these functions, he is required to keep case records, day sheets and pertinent records, to supervise the Community Child Welfare Volunteers in his district, to encourage group work activities for the children, to interpret the new program to the community and stimulate community organization action, and to keep close contact with local governments on any level, Child Welfare Guidance Center, well-health clinic, child welfare institutions and all other possible community resources.

Community Child Welfare Volunteer

In connection with child welfare worker the few words of explanation can not be omitted here about our Community Child Welfare Volunteer system. Strangely enough, in the history of Japanese social work, we have had some sort of lay volunteer caseworkers for the past forty years. They work directly with the needy family in their community, being entirely on a voluntary basis.

These volunteers live in the same community or the neighborhood of the clients, doing their own business, and contact their clients' families in daily life, while public relief officers sit down behind the office desk to interview those clients referred by the community volunteers for general public relief. These unpaid voluntary workers system was reintegrated into the new Daily Life Security Act system
in 1946 on the same voluntary basis, and then with the passage of the Child Welfare Law these now called Public Welfare Volunteers have been assigned a voluntary casework service in co-operation with public paid full-time caseworker, child welfare workers in the field of child welfare services. They are called Community Child Welfare Volunteer.

When the total number of child welfare workers over the whole country is still 455, we cannot overlook the fact that the total of these volunteers is counted as 123,840.11

Child Welfare Guidance Center

Every prefectural government has one Central Child Welfare Guidance Center and several District Child Welfare Guidance Centers according to the size of the population, the character of the district community, the needs of the district and its financial ability.

The function of this public institution as defined in the Fundamentals is described as follows:

1. It is first of all the central organization to meet the child welfare problem in the local community.

2. It is to offer consultation service concerning all kinds of child welfare problems either directly to the individual client or to the child welfare workers and other referring agencies, making a diagnosis of the problem child and giving a guidance service.

3. It is to be attached to a detention home for emergency cases and for study. (Usually at Central C.W.G.C.)

4. It is to be the only authorized agency for child-placing and to receive children in any sort of dependency situation and, according to the need of the individual child, to place him either with a foster family or babies’ home or children’s home or training school or any other kind of institution.

Thus the most important function of the center is to diagnose the problem child and to supply the objectively and scientifically secured data for the future planning of each child. For this objective it is required to be equipped with the facilities as follows: medical examination, psychological examination, and psychiatric examination. Its temporary detention home is to be for observation and study of the child’s daily life adjustment and his environmental factors. Workers in C.W.G.C. are required to be able to offer casework service.

At the present time we have 114 Central and District Centers over the whole country, and the Children’s Bureau is encouraging the local governments to set up more centers, but the present standard of the average center is far from the standard set up in the law.

12 Ibid., p. 6.
### TABLE V

**STATISTICS ON FOSTER FAMILIES AND PLACED CHILDREN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Registered Foster Families</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Foster Families</td>
<td>4,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adoptive Families</td>
<td>1,884</td>
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<tr>
<td>Placed Children</td>
<td>5,488</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


### TABLE VI

**STATISTICS ON CHILD WELFARE CASEWORK SETTING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SETTING</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child Welfare Workers</td>
<td>455 (329)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers At The Centers</td>
<td>516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Child Welfare Volunteers</td>
<td>123,840 (Women 24,275)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Welfare Guidance Centers</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Central and Local)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary Detention Homes</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Clinics</td>
<td>704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Health Nurses at Clinics</td>
<td>6,682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(329) New Increase Expected This Year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TREATMENT</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Admonition and Pledge (Brief Service)</td>
<td>15,458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casework Service by Child Welfare Workers or Community C.W. Volunteers</td>
<td>12,724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placement with Foster families</td>
<td>2,328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placement at Babies' Homes</td>
<td>1,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placement at Children's Homes</td>
<td>11,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placement at Homes for Feebleminded</td>
<td>1,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placement at Schools for Deaf, Dumb, Blind</td>
<td>1,129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placement at Industrial Schools</td>
<td>2,335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment Undecided</td>
<td>6,406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>55,475</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER III
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL CASEWORK PRACTICE IN JAPAN

In the foregoing pages we have seen the problems of post-war Japanese child welfare with which our new caseworkers have been confronted. In this chapter the writer will try to make clear just briefly the other two factors which determine what casework is today in Japan, that is, its evolitional stage and professional training of contemporary caseworkers.

Section 1 - The Evolitional Stage of Casework in Japan.

Overnight Appearance of Social Casework: Theory and Practice

In 1923 we had the first systematic, over five hundred pages textbook of social work in Japan like "The Field of Social Work" by Arthur E. Fink. The author had studied in America and Europe. Interestingly enough to our subject of child care practice in Japan, though the author seems to have understood the underlying trend of the White House Conference, Minimum Standard, development of foster home care, preventive methods initiated by Judge Baker Foundation and others, Big Brother movement, visiting teachers and visiting nurses, he does not deal with the specific social casework method to carry out these new approaches.1

In 1949 there was published the first theoretical and

practical textbook on social casework in Japanese by one of our leading theorists on Japanese social work. The author describes the development as follows:

Although it is about thirty years since casework has introduced into Japanese social work, (as far as the writer knows, conscious practice of casework technique has been limited to only a few institutions all of which have been founded under the foreign mission board and under the supervision of some trained missionary.) it was not until recently that our general attention has been turned toward casework. It is most urgent and important from now on for us to study in what way casework should be practiced in our own country. The casework practices in our Community Public Welfare Volunteers system, Juvenile Court and Court of Domestic Affairs all have some similar aspect of casework. This study will throw some light in the direction of the development of scientific social work in Japan. It has been already shown that the activities in these fields have been increasingly promoted systematically by casework.2

It is apparent that in the sense of modern social casework which has developed in America in its highest form, Japan has never consciously and systematically practiced the social casework method until recently. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that casework in its theory and practice has been transplanted overnight during the few post-war years. First of all our guide was that authoritative textbook "Social Diagnosis" and, the most recent "Changing Psychology in Social Case Work".

Educational Background of Contemporary Caseworkers

Qualifications for the position of Child Welfare Worker are as follows:

1. Those who have worked in the field of child welfare and maternity protection for over two years.
2. Those who have a B.A. degree in psychology, education and sociology.
3. Medical doctors.
4. Graduates from schools and institutions for professional social work training.

As a matter of fact a large number of our present child welfare workers are from the juvenile probation field, and the teaching profession. As time goes on, we will have more graduates of the social work school. However, for a while our educational background and our cultural pattern in general will influence our contemporary casework practice.

Prospect of Professional Training in Social Case Work

In our two post-war founded schools of social work, casework is one of the chief courses, but the most embarrassing obstacle to casework teaching is the difficulty of getting field work placements and field supervisors for casework practice. Another difficulty is whether or not these schools can get at least the full undergraduate college level.

During the past years since the inauguration of Child Welfare Worker and Child Welfare Guidance Center, under the co-sponsorship of the Public Health and Welfare of the section of SCAP and the Children's Bureau there have been many in-service training institutes, on national and local levels. "Basic Papers on Social Work" presented by American trained
social workers and translated by Japanese social workers is one of the fruits born of these institutes.³

The Child Welfare Workers themselves have organized study seminars on their casework practice. "Social Work," November issue in 1951 tells us that as a result of these self-organized study seminars there have been published three books as follows: "Case Studies on Guidance," "Children Hungry for Love" and "Talks with Mothers."

Although we started rather haphazardly in the beginning and we still have many limitations, there already seem to be going on some healthy developing trends in teaching and studying and in the evaluation process in casework practice in Japan.

Section II - Some Socio-cultural Factors Which Are Influencing Current Casework Practice in Japan.

Basic Japanese Socio-cultural Pattern Derived From Her Long History

Japan has had her dynasty often disrupted over the past fourteen centuries. Even when the local feudal lords took over the political control of the country during the Japanese Middle Age, they had to maintain the emperor's authority intact, though nominally. The emperor was believed to be a deity according to Shintoism and also held the highest position of priesthood in Buddhism. He was a symbol of unity of

the nation family. The emperor's family was considered an ideal of the individual Japanese family. Here is the backbone of Japanese regard for respect for authority. Each individual's feeling of loyalty towards the family is carried on in his respect for all who is recognized as his superiors in the hierarchy of authority which is ultimately focussed in a mark of highest regard toward the emperor. The value of the individual's life is determined only in terms of his self-denying loyalty toward the family. The prestige of the family is appraised only in terms of its devotion to the emperor's family.

In the seventh century the empress Komyo founded the first orphanage, a home for the aged, and a dispensary in Japan. Since then the emperor's family has been the most benevolent patron of Japanese charity organizations.

Late in the nineteenth century Japan entered her new era under the form of constitutional monarchy. In order to catch up with the western countries she had to have everything under the control of her highly centralized government with the emperor at the head of it. In every walk of the subject's life of the new Japan looked upon the leadership of the enlightened emperor and his government; politics, industry, education and so on.

Thus in Japanese system of authoritarian paternalism is continued to the present day.
The Implication of Authoritative Paternalism Upon Japanese Social Work

Japanese people present themselves in a different manner to different persons according to age, sex, social class distinction, profession, economic position etc. They have to be careful to use "polite" language, "daily" language or "the vulgar tongue" according to the status of the person with whom they are talking. The interpersonal relationship is formulated not upon a basis of individual equality but upon the basis of seniority in every way. They would look for direction and guidance from above rather than to weigh and balance what they say. Humility and submissiveness to authority (teacher, government officer, social worker, doctor, the elders...) are stereotyped attitudes of the people. No matter what kind of help he would give, the helper is in an authoritative paternal position. He is to be respected and awed like a teacher, and is not to be questioned. This presents a problem to the social worker who proposes to deal with his clients on a sharing-the-problem basis.

The Implication of the Feeling of a Strong Family Bond and Family Prestige Upon Japanese Social Work

The strong feeling of a family bond among Japanese people has brought for the strong mutual aid within a big family frame work. Each member of the family feels a strong responsibility towards the other. However, this deep concern with the family member's welfare can hardly extend beyond the family ties. Thus, once a person loses his family ties, he
becomes completely dislocated out of the society. Orphans and the aged without relatives are typical cases. They have to be taken care of in a special institution.

To receive any kind of charitable relief is a terrible disgrace to the family prestige. The concept of disgrace is that which the people have today towards social work. This is the first implication of loss of family prestige. Japanese people's preoccupation with their individual family prestige has resulted in the strong control of the family head over family members. This has meant to the parents, particularly to the father, an exclusive and imperative control over the children. Even the authority is confronted with the strong parental defiance toward authority's interference with family affairs. However, once the children have been proved undeniably guilty of antisocial behavior, such problem children are considered to be disgracing their family prestige and so should be removed from the family and from society. It means that they have to be institutionalized.

Here is the socio-cultural foundation of institutionalism in Japanese social work.

Section III - Reality Situation of Our Society

Economic Consideration

During the course of modernization and industrialization of her country for the past eighty years, Japan has been preoccupied with her economic progress, leaving the welfare services for the needy people at the minimum. However, since
the end of the war social conditions have been forcing Japanese people to broaden their understanding to a point of concern for the need of social welfare services. Welfare service is now something very pertinent to the individual family. A study of twenty cases shows the fact that twelve families whose children were helped by the child welfare workers are now above low average in terms of income. The extensive problems of child welfare and social welfare in general in Japan have brought about a situation where it is impractical for them to be considered merely in terms of charity.

Limitations of Community Resources

The Child Welfare Law requires the careful screening of intake service for the child. A specific institution is requested for the specific problem of the individual child. However, many a community in Japan is still terribly lacking in resources to meet the special needs of its people. Many an existing institution is far from meeting the standard stipulated by the Child Welfare Institutions Minimum Standard Act. Thus in eleven cases out of twenty studied by the writer the community resources either failed to meet the child's needs or were unavailable for the child's specific needs. In a situation like this the individualization of casework service cannot help being limited.

There is another limitation to casework practice in Japan. Although the Child Welfare Law requires the child welfare guidance center to be equipped with psychiatric
consultation facilities, there are practically no such facilities available for the caseworker and also there is no well-qualified supervision and training in this field. Thus the child welfare worker's diagnosis is very handicapped. He has only to rely upon his own intuitive insight in understanding the child's problem.

There is a danger in that those newly founded child welfare guidance centers are apt to become merely one more administrative agency of the local government and its original function as a guidance center on a scientific basis becomes nominal because of the lack of suitable, effectively trained personnel.

Section IV - Positive Aspects of Child Welfare Work

In the new child welfare program in Japan there are two important points to be brought up here: (1) there is a widespread need for the community to take part in interpreting the foster home program and other ideals of the new child welfare program; and (2) the case worker's use of his own home as a foster home, so that he can learn from first hand experience the problems of foster home care. This will enable him to appreciate what is invaluable in this type of care so that he can pass on to future foster parents any information which will help them to understand the problems which will confront them.

Community Organization

Social action at its heart has a still small
voice, taught in the inflections of patient, accurate casework observations. There is always a polarity in social planning—to look at society from the basis of the whole and from the basis of the individual. The case method addresses itself to individual adjustments and solutions, that the meaning of these cases taken one by one may prove to be of far-reaching significance.

During the course of casework treatment with the individual problem child, the worker finds invariably many needs of the children unmet in the neighborhood, in the community and in the school. In such a case the worker stimulates the people concerned, the local government, community child welfare volunteers, school superintendents and teachers, women's clubs and so on, to get together and to think and plan for the welfare of the community's children.

In two cases in case studies the worker succeeded in stimulating the people to organize a Council for Children's Welfare. In one more case the worker organized a Conference of Community Child Welfare Volunteers in the district. In another case the worker helped to hold a joint conference of The School Teachers' Association and a civic organization to discuss a new organization for child welfare. In all these community movements the caseworker is the moving spirit. He explains the new idea and methods to meet the needs of child welfare in the community, basing his explanation upon his

present casework observations.

The caseworker is concerned about the specific individual child, but he never forgets the children as a whole in the community. Here our Child Welfare Worker is a pioneer in leading the community people toward the new philosophy of child care.

**Interpretation to the Community**

The consent and participation of the citizen in all types of enterprise are vital in welfare.\(^5\)

Since the new child care program and its chief promoter, the Child Welfare Worker, were unknown before to the people in the community, it is important for this new program to be understood by them. The worker works in the community and among the people. His goal is the prevention, conservation, and promotion of the children's welfare and family life.

The people who are in need of this new type of help and the people who support this public agency, both need to know what this is, what the Child Welfare Worker is for.

In the previous section we saw the workers talking to the people at public meetings about this new child care program. This type of mass interpretation is very important. However, the worker himself and what he is doing are also another powerful and effective interpretation. Foster home care is one of our most important new approaches to child care.

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\(^5\) Ibid., p. 9
In this study we have three cases in which foster home care is the chief treatment method. The worker succeeds in finding a good foster home, and it is shown the way the child was placed, and how the foster parents and the child's natural parents are helped by the worker. These stories could be presented as an appealing interpretation to the community of the satisfaction to be gained in foster home care.

We have three other cases in which the worker used his own home as a foster home for the problem child. His pioneering in this way is also a most impressive interpretation of new child care program to the community.

The cultural pattern of Japanese family system makes it difficult for the people to take in a strange child. The new kind of foster parent is not accustomed to the new responsibility assigned to them under public supervision and would have difficulty tolerating the natural mother's visiting, and more essentially, co-planning for the child's future. Placement for babies, particularly for those born out of wedlock, is a difficult problem in Japan. The increase of homes for infants shows this situation. An unpleasant factor involved in this is that the public, including the present day caseworkers, transfer their feelings of moral wrath and ostracism for the mother to the "illegitimate child."

There are a lot of things to be done for the development of foster home care in terms of interpretation to the community.
CHAPTER IV
ANALYSIS OF CASES

Section I - Discussion of Some Basic Concepts

Need for Love

It is needless to say here that for an understanding of human needs we must understand the need of the human personality as a whole, i.e., physical, emotional and spiritual. Casework, as an understanding and helping process to the whole human personality and its total need, is deeply concerned not only with the physical needs of the personality but also with its emotional needs, that is, need for love. From this point of view it has become increasingly apparent that the healthy growth and adjustment of the human personality can be achieved only when the physical and emotional needs are met, and that living within the family group is the process by which the child can best grow up in a healthy manner.

Gordon Hamilton points to the fact that "the role of the family is of primary importance. 'Affection Hunger' is as crippling as is starvation of the body."¹

The relevance of the importance of the family life upon child growth in connection with child protection is described by Arthur Fink as follows:

"...no child should be removed from his own

home except as a last extreme measure, and for only so long a time as his removal serves a valid purpose for him and his family... his own parents, under normal conditions, are best equipped to give him the love, affection and feeling of belonging.... No matter how unfortunate the family situation may have been it must be borne in mind that the child has already put down some roots... that the family may still have meaning to the child who is bound to it by birth, by blood and by relationship. 2

Love Which Limits

It is well known that parental overindulgence and over-protection are as harmful as parental rejection. This is the reason why, in many cases of delinquency and other behavior problems, we find not the lack of parental love but rather its extravagance. That is to say, in any symptomatic behavior "parental attitudes are significantly causal." 3

It happens quite often that because of the lack of understanding of the child's personality the parents do not know how to bring up their children. As a result they often become frustrated and are led to treat the children by rejection and punishment. They begin to wonder if their children are not inherently wicked. This concept is bad by many people, but is denied by the professional caseworker.

It is no longer thought to be true that the constitution with which a child is born is permanently and immutably formed; that the limits of


growth or intellectual capacity are fixed. It was recognized that delinquents were emotionally disturbed or ill, not inherently wicked.  

**Individualization**

The casework approach to the human problem is in understanding the human being not only as a whole person but also as a unique individual. It is to think of a problem child not under the general heading of dependency, neglect or delinquency but to understand him as a specific child who has a specific problem unique to his life situation. Mary Richmond says,

> The distinctive approach of the caseworker, in fact, is back to the individual by way of his social environment, and wherever adjustment must be effected in this manner, individual by individual, instead of in the mass, there some form of social casework is and will continue to be needed.  

**The Relationship in Treatment**

Octavia Hill of England said in about 1870:

> Alleviation of distress may be systematically arranged by a society; but I am satisfied that, without strong personal influence, no radical cure of those who have fallen low can be effected.

The importance of worker-client relationship in modern casework treatment is not argued any more in America. However,

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4 Ibid., p. 23.


this method of casework is not easily applied in a society with a different socio-cultural background. As casework is a helping process, there must be some sort of positive relation between the helper and the helped. This relationship is developed and strengthened by the worker's non-judgmental handling in one cultural pattern. While in another it might need to be promoted rather by the worker's direct and authoritative guidance. In the final analysis the worker's acceptance of his client is still fundamental to any kind of situation of helping and being helped. At present Japanese caseworkers are taking an authoritative leadership in the worker-client relationship. They are also preoccupied with environmental manipulation and are much less concerned with the client's feelings.

Casework and Institutional Care

According to the Child Welfare Law the emphasis of institutional care for children has changed from the mere custodial care to securing those children in institutions the maximum of healthy growth emotionally and physically. The goal of institutional care is, after all, to rehabilitate the children into the normal family life and into the community life. It is apparent that institutional care needs casework service for the effective rehabilitation program for the children. At present in Japan there are many obstacles which make it difficult to introduce casework service into institutional care. It is hoped in the years to come that the prac-
tical methods of casework will be gradually introduced into the circle of the institutional workers.

Emma O. Lundberg quotes Elizabeth Munro Clarke as follows:

The progressive children's institution changes as local or regional social conditions change and as resources develop. Any serious lack in the primary services in a community or in the total social program will be reflected in the tasks the institution is asked to assume. The role is much more difficult than it was a generation ago. It is more difficult because, as financial assistance and casework service have become more generally available and many children have been able to remain in their own homes, care has been needed for children in especially complicated situations. It is more difficult, too, because with new knowledge, we have learned new ways of handling children, and institutions have had to face the challenge of providing better equipped staffs.7

Section II - Survey of the Characteristics of the Twenty Cases

In this section are given some characteristic facts of twenty cases as a whole.

Age

In considering age it will be well to keep the following in mind: the juveniles who are under eighteen years of age are treated by the child welfare worker according to the Child Welfare Law.

TABLE VIII

AGE OF CHILDREN AT TIME OF TREATMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE RANGE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 - 13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 - 16</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would appear that the greater number of children are in their preadolescent and adolescent periods.

Intelligence level and school work

Intelligence level of the children, listed in Table IX, are based on the findings of psychological examinations given to them at the child welfare guidance centers. Grades of school work are gotten from the reports from the school they are attending. Three preschool children were not tested.
### TABLE IX

**DISTRIBUTION OF INTELLIGENCE LEVELS OF SEVENTEEN CHILDREN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTELLIGENCE LEVEL</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Superior</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Average</td>
<td>⋯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Average</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dull</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borderline</td>
<td>⋯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentally Deficient</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untested</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those who were above low average were doing fairly well or very well in school. Those who were functioning on a dull level were poor or failing in school. Those who were mentally deficient did not show any interest or just could not get along in school.

The one untested case is because of lack of facilities for psychometric test.
TABLE X
GRADE OF SCHOOL WORK OF SEVENTEEN CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
<th>NUMBER OF TRUANTING CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Truancy is one of the major complaints in regard to children's delinquent behavior. The majority of seventeen problem children were truanting, as is shown above. The findings show that truancy does not depend upon the intelligence level and school work ability. Too much stress is put on school marks in the Japanese education system. This pressure makes the children uneasy in many cases and at the same time a satisfactory school adjustment impossible. Presenting problems and underlying causes

Out of twenty cases studied eighteen cases are concerned with some sort of behavior problem.
TABLE XI
PRESENTING PROBLEMS IN EIGHTEEN BEHAVIOR PROBLEM CASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBLEM</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overt Delinquency with Gang Friends</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Waif and Juvenile Wanderer</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predelinquent Behavior</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Behavior Problem</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the war waifs and juvenile wanderers are also presenting delinquency problems. However, since those who are in the first category remained in their home in the community and those who are in the second category are outside the family and normal community life, they are separately grouped into two categories.

Those who are in the category of predelinquent behavior were not disturbing to the community, if their behavior pattern is not corrected within the family, they would undoubtedly get into trouble in the community.

Those who are in the last category are the children whose emotional adjustment was seriously disturbed and so were very unhappy.
TABLE XII
UNDERLYING CAUSES IN EIGHTEEN
BEHAVIOR PROBLEM CASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDERLYING CAUSE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parental Rejection</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental Overindulgence and Overprotection</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Understanding of Child's Feeblemindedness</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Desertion</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Above are listed major causes of behavior problems for the each individual case. Of course, there are many other factors involved which caused the specific problem in each child. Thus, among those who are in the category of war waifs and juvenile wanderers, are found different underlying causes, i.e., parental rejection, parental overindulgence and lack of understanding. The same can be said of all categories in Table XI and XII.

Factors in the family situations

Among several other factors in the family situations here are two factors summarized in a table form as a whole group. The first includes the economic status of the family and the other the parental situation in the family.
### TABLE XIII

**THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE CHILDREN’S FAMILIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CASES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under Public Assistance</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Average</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above Average</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although material deprivation due to the family’s poor economic condition is an important factor in delinquency or other behavior problem, it can be clearly seen from the above table that the economic deprivation is not the dominant factor in the child welfare problem at present in Japan.

However, the fact that in two of five cases in the first category the foster home placement is the only solution for the welfare of the child should be noticed. This is because the widowed mother had to work to support the other children. This indicates that inadequate public assistance is betraying the ideal of the new Child Welfare Law by forcing the mother to give up the child only because of economic reason.
TABLE XIV

PARENTAL SITUATION OF THE CHILDREN IN TWENTY CASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARENTAL SITUATION</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CASES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both Parents Alive</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father and Stepmother</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother and Stepfather</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Widow</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Dead</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Desertion</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings in the above table explain the reason why the new child care program has been changing its traditional way of thinking, i.e., in which child protection was often identified with the problem of orphanage.

The number of cases included in the second and third categories suggests the problem in which the Japanese are sensitive and often critical toward the people concerned.

The war widow problem presents a very serious threat to the welfare of the children because of the fact that there are many obstacles in the mores of Japanese society which make it difficult for the children's widowed mothers to get married again. As it was said previously, the insufficiency of the public assistance funds is not adequate to keep the
family stable.

Treatment plan and its result

TABLE XV

THE SITUATION OF THE CHILDREN'S LIFE ADJUSTMENT
BEFORE CASE WORK TREATMENT IN TWENTY CASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIFE ADJUSTMENT</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CASES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home Life Precarious</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Placement Wanted</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeated Run-away from Institution</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeated Run-away from Relative's Home</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the cases which are under the second category the placement was requested by the parents as a means of punishment and correction.

However, it will be shown in the next table that the child welfare workers took up institutional placement as a treatment plan only in two cases in which the parents did not request placement for their child.


TABLE XVI
THE TREATMENT PLAN OF TWENTY CASES
IN TERMS OF PLACEMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TREATMENT PLAN</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CASES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Casework in the Child's Own Home</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tentative Foster Home Care</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster Home Placement</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Placement</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of six cases in the last category, four cases were not handled by the child welfare worker. They were treated by an institutional worker. It can be seen in the above table that the child welfare workers are trying to treat the problem child in the family setting as much as possible.
TABLE XVII
THE CHILDREN'S LIFE ADJUSTMENT
AFTER TREATMENT IN TWENTY CASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIFE ADJUSTMENT</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CASES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home Life Successful</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Life Stabilized</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home-going Planned</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster Home Life Successful</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adoption Planned</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Life Precarious</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placed in Institution</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remaining in Institution</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of "home life precarious" the attitude of the stepmother toward the child remained essentially unchanged. In the case of "placed in institution", despite the original plan to treat the child in his own home, the negative parent-child relationship was not improved by the help of the worker and the child eventually turned to anti-social behavior. Thus he had to be placed in a protective institution for the protection of the community's welfare.

In the last case in which the child remained in the institution the writer sees the significance of the present function of institutional care in Japan. The child has spent
four years in the institution. She is not a problem child at all at present. The institution does not question why her parents are still not willing to take her back, and takes no steps toward casework with the family.

**Summary statement of this survey**

Casework service is making it possible to avoid the separation of the problem child from his own home. Even when the limitations of community resources failed to meet the needs of the child, by effective casework service the family was able to accept the child who was uncontrollable before. In mobilizing potential family strength the parents are the most important resource and the most influential environmental factor in relation to the child's problem.

Institutional placement is often sought by the frustrated parent as a punishment, but no matter what kind of punishment is taken as a means of correction, it is the least desirable and often turns out to be self-defeating.

However, the workers' lack of full recognition of the worker-client relationship and the interpersonal relationships in the family constellation tends to limit the workers' resourcefulness in their casework approach to the problem. They tend to be absorbed in environmental manipulation, for example, the child's daily life schedule or living arrangement and to lose sight of the dynamic factors in the problem.

**Section III - Ten Case Presentations**

The cases in this section were selected by the writer as
being representative of twenty cases. For each of the con-
ceptions previously discussed two cases are selected for
presentation. The basic concepts are five: need for love,
love which limits, individualization, the relationship in
treatment and casework and institutional care.

The writer endeavoured to choose those cases which would
best give some special slant of the Japanese socio-cultural
influence upon the current casework practice and the current
child problems with which it is confronted.

In reviewing the cases presented the writer first took
the child welfare worker's interpretation and then added his
own in order to draw a comparison between current Japanese
and American casework practice.

The names and other identifying data have of course been
changed in order to preserve confidentiality.

Need for Love
Case I - Fuyuhiko

History: This is a case of a nine year old boy
who was brought to the worker's attention by his
mother who complained about his stealing. The
mother told the worker about the boy's problems
as follows: When the boy was seven his mother
found him stealing for the first time. He kept
stealing and the amount of the money taken in-
creased as time passed. The parents took every
precaution so that the boy would not steal. Then
the boy started stealing from the neighbors. His
stealing outside the family increased in fre-
quency and became a sore spot with the neighbors.
His mother was also concerned with his staying-
away from home for days at a time, particularly
after stealing. Several times he was picked up
by the police while staying away. At home he
was very defiant to his mother. He would not
stay at home after coming back from school and stayed out late at night.

Both his parents were well educated. The father was frequently away from home because of his job. The mother constantly nagged at the boy and was inclined to be nervous. She discriminated against him and showed preference toward his brother and sister. The family was well off and living conditions were good.

When the boy was two, his father was taken into the service and he and his mother went to live with the paternal grandparents. The mother constantly could not get along with the grandmother. When the boy was three, she left the boy with the grandparents and went to live with her husband when he was stationed in Manchuria. When the boy was five, the parents came back and the boy returned to live with them and his brother and sister. While the boy lived with the grandparents they overindulged him and accused his mother of deserting her own child. When the boy entered the primary school, his behavior problem became annoying to the mother.

At school the boy was doing above average work and was no problem at all. He was rather looked up to by his classmates. His absence from school was not so conspicuous. The only trouble the teacher had noticed of him was that he was poor in concentrating on what he was doing. His I.Q. was one hundred.

He was healthy but was inclined to wet the bed occasionally.

Treatment: As for his treatment the mother insisted on placement in a correctional institution. After five interviews at home the mother's attitude toward the child did not change despite the worker's effort to treat him there.

The worker decided to take the boy in to his own home as a tentative foster home placement. From the very beginning in this foster home the boy did not seem to care for being away from his family. His attitude was defiant and he also tried to get as much attention as possible. He wanted to have his own way in doing things. He had no discipline. He was particularly sensitive
at meal time. However, he was diligent in his homework and was never absent from school.

The worker was permissive with the boy, playing with him and showing his interest in whatever the boy was doing. However, the worker was firm in keeping reasonable daily routine and instructed him in those things which were necessary for the boy's character formation, though the worker neither argued with the boy nor scolded him. The worker just waited for him to come along by his own initiative. The worker got the teacher's attention and interest in the boy's needs which the worker said said included a good deal of love and guidance. From the beginning the worker gave him some spending money and let him use it for whatever he wanted within reasonable limits. At every opportunity the worker praised him on whatever good thing he did.

After four months of the boy's stay the worker summarized the boy's progress as follows:
The boy never stole. The boy was glad to do things which he was asked to do. He stopped persistent teasing. His general attitude became frank and cheerful. He gained weight and looked much more healthy. He did not make a habit of fussing any more and relaxed in his daily life. He was singing songs and reading text-books loudly and cheerfully at home.

The worker planned to return the boy to his own home. The boy was also looking forward to being back home soon.

Case II - Seiichi

History: This fourteen year old boy was caught by the station police for F city with other two juvenile wanderers on a train. They had run away from a detention home in Tokyo and were heading for a boy's town which was newly opened in S city about three hundred miles north of Tokyo. He was brought with the others to F Central Child Welfare Guidance Center and was kept in its detention home until a treatment plan was made.

The boy stated his life story at the center as follows: He was eleven years old. He did not know his registered birthplace. He lived in Tokyo at such and such address. His father was a medical
officer and died at the front. When he was five, his natural mother was divorced. His stepmother
died in an air-raid. During the war he was
evacuated to a country village with his school-
mates. After the end of war he came back to Tokyo
and found his home burned down. He lived with his
paternal uncle for a while. After the uncle's
house was also burned down by accident, he left
this home and joined the juvenile wanderers. He
was placed in W and O institutions and in U
detention home each of which was located in a
different city and all of which he ran away from.
In the meantime he had traveled over a thousand
miles and went to most of the big cities along
the railroad until the time when he was caught
by F station police.

After seven months of investigation by the
worker the boy's story was found to be different.
He admitted that he had given the fictitious
name and the people and the places in his original
story were false or disguised in some way.

The father was in the service but he was
neither dead nor a medical officer. After he was
demobilized, his job was unsteady and so the
family's economic condition was not good. He
was described as very short tempered. The mother
was married to the boy's father legally due to
the grandfather's opposition. She had Seiichi
and his brother Minoru by this father. When the
boy was five and his father away from home for
the service, she worked in a restaurant and
neglected the children terribly. Because of her
irresponsible behavior she was separated from
the father after he came home. At that time the
boy was six. The stepmother was a maid at the
grandfather's home. She married the boy's father
after the above mentioned separation and had
four children by him.

The boy and his brother were placed with
their paternal uncle after their natural mother
left them and remained there until the boy's
second grade when they came back to live with
their father, stepmother and half-brother and
sisters. The stepmother discriminated against
the boy and his brother. The grandfather and
relatives disliked them because of their hate
of the natural mother. The boy remembered his
mother. He was very resentful of these relatives'
attitude towards his mother and him.

During the evacuation time when he was in the fourth grade, the boy stole things and money from his friends and was punished severely by his teacher. After the end of the war his stealing was aggravated with behavior problems of lying, staying away from home, defiance and so on.

The father was quite irritable because of his unstable job and punished the boy harshly for his behavior. The boy completely lost his trust in his stepmother and outsmarted her at every chance. One day, when he was eleven and in the sixth grade, he was scolded by the stepmother for something he did and became fearful of beating by his father. So he took money from the mother's purse and ran away.

His school work record had been increasingly better and his sixth grade mark was above average.

The thought of leaving the home had probably occurred to him before as his brother had run away from home two years previously.

The story after he left home was roughly the same as he had stated. The one thing he did not mention was that when he was in an institution, his father was contacted by the agency. But the boy did not want to go home and his father was not willing to take him back.

Treatment: He was tested at the center and it was found that his I.Q. was on a superior level. (This is no wonder since he was tested as eleven years old.) In view of his past institutional experiences, a foster home placement was recommended by the consultant psychologist. The worker decided to take the boy into her own home as a tentative foster home after she had observed him at her home for about one month during which time the boy came to her home from the center on a visiting basis. The worker's son who was a college student became interested in him and promised to cooperate with her plan for the boy.

The worker treated the boy completely on the same basis as her own son. This was also the son's suggestion. The worker became a maternal figure in
the boy's life. To quote one example, she made all of the boy's clothing by herself. The son assumed a big brother figure. The boy began a strong identification with his college student. Every detail of this foster home life was organized in behalf of the boy's healthy rehabilitation. Abundant affection and wholehearted acceptance were accompanied by their firm guidance in the boy's daily life. Of course material richness in the boy's life was supplied by abundant food, candy, toys, books and so on.

By the school teacher's cooperation and care the boy was not discriminated against by his schoolmates because of his past history in the detention home. Due to this acceptance his school adjustment was very good. The worker made an effort to see that he was given whatever his classmates had.

In the meantime the worker found out the boy's real life background and at the end of the eighth month she sent for the boy's father. At the interview which the worker had arranged secretly, the boy was frightened of his father in the beginning. The discussion centered around the boy's return home. By the end of the interview the boy was willing to go home with his father because of the fact that the father's attitude had changed and he was more accepting. Also, his father assured him what the family was looking forward to his return. When his train was leaving, he was almost crying as he looked at the worker and her son out of the train window.

During the past months the worker had been contacting the child welfare volunteer of the district in which the boy's family was located and also the boy's old teacher to whose school he was to return. The worker asked them to follow up the boy in his own home. The worker and her son kept sending letters and presents. Later the stepmother wrote to the worker that she was surprised to see the change which had taken place in the boy and she would be happy to have him back. Four months later the worker's son went to Tokyo and was very glad to see the boy happy at his own home.

In Case I the worker rightly understood the relevance
between the grandparents' overindulgence, the mother's rejection and discrimination and the boy's symptoms and provided for him at the worker's own home what the boy needed—love, acceptance and feeling of belonging. However, when the worker was planning the boy's return to his own home, the worker seemed to have forgotten that there were the dynamic relationships between the mother's attitude and the boy's problem. The worker thought that the boy's personality maladjustment was cured at this foster home and so he was ready to go. But during treatment period there was no family casework service so that the boy might be well accepted by the mother and that there would be no relapse into the old situation.

In Case II the worker describes her intention to take the boy into her own home as follows: (1) Every day some juvenile wanderers were brought into the detention home but they would run away sooner or later. If she could make even one of them settle down to the normal life, it would be worthwhile. (2) In order to help and guide foster parents it would be of great help if she had had for herself the experience as foster parents. (3) She felt that the boy's adjustment could not be worked out in institution and might be helped in a foster home. But there was no suitable home available. The only possible way was for her to experiment in her own home for the boy's rehabilitation.

The writer wonders if the secret arrangement which the
worker made for the boy and the father to meet could be avoided and be openly discussed between the worker and the boy beforehand, because the moment the boy saw his father from afar, he tearfully complained to the worker's son that he deceived the boy and tried to run away.

The worker warned at the end of her case record that the people's sentimental and yet unthoughtful care given juvenile wanderers was futile and rather spoiling them more, and that, though these children were seeking love, the thing more needed for them was sincere and firm guidance through intensive casework. Affection, materials and guidance have to be administered to them in a well organized manner so that their confidence in the adult may be recovered together with a feeling of belonging.

Love Which Limits

Case III - Hitoshi

History: This fifteen year old boy was to the worker's attention by his stepmother who told the worker that during the past two months the boy had stolen a great amount of money from the family portable-safe on two occasions as well as suits and watches belonging to his father. He had also run away and had now been gone for several days. Whenever he had spent the stolen money up in the past, he came back home and sooner or later would repeat this pattern of behavior. The father never scolded or disciplined him. The stepmother was the only one who was worrying about him but she did not know what to do with him. She wanted to have him placed in a correctional institution so that he could be straightened out as had happened before when he was institutionalized for a year.

The boy was the only son and the youngest
of five siblings. When he was two his mother died. A year later his father married the present stepmother. The boy was more attached to the stepmother than the other children. The father and the stepmother extremely overindulged him. The boy could do anything and get anything he wanted. The boy took advantage of the parents' overindulgence. From about the time he was in the third grade he started stealing money and things and distributed them among his friends.

When he was in the sixth grade, his stealing became so frequent that he was placed with the stepmother's family in the country. A year later he came home but his stealing continued, and the amount of money stolen increased.

At last when he was in the ninth grade, he was institutionalized in an industrial school. At the institution he got along very well and became a kind of leader among the children there. However, after he came home from the institution, he started the same pattern of behavior.

His I.Q. was ninety. His school work was poor and was probably due to his truanting. He never had any close friends.

The family was well off and the boy's physical health was good. His father was a reputable and hard working man. He never disciplined Hitoshi and did not care about his school work. The stepmother was very capable in handling the family business, a fish store. She was good natured and liked by the children. But lately she was beginning to nag at them and at the same time tended to be overprotective. All of his sisters were diligent workers. The youngest sister was very strict with him and watched his behavior closely.

Treatment: The worker decided to treat the boy at home because he thought that as long as the boy's family constellation remained unchanged his institutional training would be futile. Since the boy was through school, he had too much time in the home with nothing to do.

The worker tried to help both the parents and the boy establish a daily schedule for him but the boy could not stick to one plan for long and also
could not feel any interest in the family business.

Fortunately the worker succeeded in having the boy's cousin of about the same age interested in him. This cousin happened to be working with the boy's family in a part-time job. He was in a senior high and had a well integrated personality. The boy found in this cousin a real friendship for his first time and began a strong identification with him. The boy became interested in helping the family business.

In the meantime according to the worker's suggestion the father organized a baseball team there. Gradually the whole family was united in the common interest of baseball.

The boy's relationship with the stepmother was changed from hostile and suspicious to affectionate and trustful. The boy stopped stealing and three months later the worker closed the case. Another three months later the worker found the boy so attached to the mother that he offered his blood to his stepmother twice when she was undergoing a serious operation.

The boy was now a self-confident and responsible young worker in his father's business and apparently well on his way to being a stable member of society.

\textbf{Case IV - Eiji}

History: An intelligent looking woman came to the worker's office with her thirteen year old boy. She was referred by the community child welfare volunteer. The mother complained about the boy as follows: The boy was crazy about movies. He stole money from her purse only to buy a ticket for a movie theatre. He would see the same picture several times over until the theatre closed or would go to several different theatres during the same day. He came home late but would not come in the house. He stayed out in the neighborhood until mother got him in. The teacher's special attention and the mother's efforts turned out to be futile. Recently he began to show no interest in study and started truanting. The mother was at a loss to know what to do. She thought about having him institutionalized.
The boy's growth was very retarded. He started to walk at the age of two. Twice, at four and at seven, he had suffered from a serious case of children's summer diarrhea. His external movement was slow. His speech was blurred. He was quiet and very bashful. He was always left out of things by the children of his own age. He was willing to do his chores of simple kind. He was failing in school. He was tested at the center and found mentally deficient.

The father died in the service. When the boy was small, his father and mother used to go out frequently, leaving him with the family tutor who liked movies very much and took the boy with him. Since the father died on the battle front, the mother supported the family. The family's economic condition was not too bad. The mother was very intelligent and interested in the education of her children. Because of her eagerness she became impatient with the boy's slowness. The boy's sister was very bright and she was kind to her brother. He responded well to her and so they were attached to each other.

Treatment: Since there was no special institution for this type of boy available in this locality, the worker tried to make the most of the family strengths to provide for the boy's better adjustment at home.

The worker asked the mother to avoid using humiliating expressions in reference to the boy as she had done in front of the children when the worker visited the home for his first time. She had said that his sister was very smart but that he was "crazy about movies and just a dope in school." The mother said she understood what the worker meant.

The worker suggested that the mother decide what to do with the boy after he was examined at the center. The worker told the mother about how the boy's limited ability was affecting his whole personality and what the mother's strictness in study meant to him. Then the mother stopped putting stress upon his homework and study. The worker also talked the boy's situation over with his school teacher. The teacher recognized the need to change the way of handling
him in school.

The boy's adjustment improved. However, two months later when the worker visited with them, the mother was very upset with his relapse in to stealing which occurred the previous day. The worker became convinced that the boy needed something to do to take up his spare time constructively and suggested that the mother get him a rabbit to take care of.

The following Sunday the worker took the boy and his sister to the zoo. They became fascinated in feeding the rabbits there and with much enthusiasm requested if they could have one of their own. A week later the children were given a couple of rabbits. The worker remembered that the boy was patient with simple and menial chores.

A month later the boy's life was entirely different. He never stole money to see movies and his daily activity was full with taking care of rabbits.

The worker then made plans with the mother to develop his constructive adjustment in the future.

In Case III the worker diagnosed the boy's situation as one in which, because of the parents' overindulgence in the boy's early childhood, he lacked the opportunity to build up a conscience to control his instinctive desires. The family atmosphere, preoccupied with business, made him feel left out and alone. The economic status of his family provided him abundant physical materials but emotionally he came to lose the feeling of belonging to the family. The father's complete non-restriction and non-supervision of him made him feel insecure. He was quite guilty of what he was doing but the father never scolded him. His guilt grew so great that he became afraid to see his father face to face. The boy could
not turn to the stepmother either because of her nagging. He had nobody to confide in to help him in his adolescent confusion. He looked gentle and quiet but seldom laughed. He was usually moody.

His weak ego and super-ego were strengthened by his identification with his cousin. His feeling of belongingness was recovered by the father's positive interest in the boy through his effort to organize a baseball team.

The worker's treatment plan was always organized in such a way as to make the boy's family life more responsible, orderly and disciplined.

In Case IV the worker noticed from the beginning of his treatment that the mother really loved her boy and was sincerely concerned with the boy's situation. The mother just did not know what to do with him. Thus, at first she seemed to be rejecting the boy while loving his sister. The big turn in her way of handling the boy came when she recognized the limited ability of her son. However, how to reorganize the boy's life constructively and practically was another thing. And so, if the worker's skillful and practical guidance were not available, she might have been still at a loss.

The worker showed his best service when he recognized the boy's emotional needs to have something to do with interest, to have a feeling of possessing and to have a feeling of belonging, and provided these needs in the form of rabbits.

In another case similar to this, after numerous run-away
episodes from institutions and after many a futile punishment, an eleven year old feebleminded boy was successfully rehabilitated in his own home from where he was discarded by the greater family folks conference two years ago. The mother of this boy told the worker later that it was just a miracle that the boy settled down. In this case as in Case IV the worker's approach was to guide the parents as to how to handle the mentally limited child and to make the most of it.

**INDIVIDUALIZATION**

**Case V - Toshio**

History: A district child welfare volunteer informed the worker of a boy whose delinquent behavior was disturbing the community. The worker interviewed the boy's father and was told the following story: The boy had been stealing money and other things from home, was frequently away from home over long periods of time, was often truant from school and habituated the unwholesome down town area.

The family was of average income and the living conditions were favorable. The father was in a responsible position in a factory. He was very diligent and honest. He did not drink and he loved his children but did not have enough time to be with them due to his job.

The stepmother was very sensitive of the neighbor's criticism of her way of handling the boy and tried to treat the stepchildren on an equal basis with her own children. However, when her first child was born, her attitude became a little bit different, or at least so they said in the neighborhood. The boy's elder sister loved him very much but since the stepmother's baby was born, she was required to take care of the baby and so her affectionate attention toward the boy was greatly distracted.

The boy was eleven years old at the time
of the worker's contact. He was a healthy baby. When he was two years old his real mother became ill and died a year later. He was placed with the mother's family for a year and a half. When he was fine, he returned to his father and the new stepmother. When he was four he started bedwetting.

He changed school three times in six years of primary school due to the change of the family's residence. His behavior was not unusual until the second term of the fifth grade when he started truanting and staying out late. He stole money from home and his parents scolded him severely. At the end of the year the boy ran away taking with him a blanket and the mother's watch. His whereabouts were unknown for about one month when the boy was picked up by the police. Being informed of his son's whereabouts, the father instantly went to take him back and cried at the police station because of his joy at having his son back again.

The boy was healthy. His bedwetting stopped when he became nine. He was likeable looking and outgoing. His I.Q. was 98. He liked reading and baseball. He had good marks on Japanese and Drawing, but was generally interested in school work. He was a very lively boy.

Treatment: After the worker discussed the situation over with the father, he felt that the father was concerned but he would not give real attention to the boy's rehabilitation. In an interview with the stepmother the worker judged that the chief cause of the problem was in the mother's rejection. Although the stepmother was very hostile to the worker in the beginning, when she noted the worker's accepting, non-judgmental attitude she became more agreeable and poured out her resentment of the neighbors who criticized her and of the boy who was disgracing her by his bad behavior. At the end she admitted that she had often punished him severely because of his stealing and even threatened to have him taken away. When the worker was leaving she said she was glad to have talked with the worker.

In the interview with the boy the worker succeeded in having the boy trust in him. The worker found that the stepmother had been refusing to buy a baseball glove for the boy and that the boy wanted
to go back to school but he needed a color set for painting, and that he had several gang friends with whom he was playing just to fill his feeling of lonesomeness.

The worker bought a fine color set for him on the spot. He also got the superintendent and the class teacher interested in the boy. The boy was welcomed back to school. The stepmother went shopping with the boy to buy gloves. The boy joined the school baseball team, and a month later the mother and the school teacher told the worker that they could hardly believe in the change in him. All symptomatic disorders disappeared. The boy told the worker that the stepmother now loved him and that he also loved her very much.

Case VI - Akira

History: The city authority made the referral of this twelve year old delinquent boy to the district child welfare guidance center. The city authority's information was as follows: The boy was making a habit of trusting from school and spending his time wandering about the city streets. He stayed out late and did not come home at all on occasions. He sneaked into the neighbors' houses to get food but stole no money. The father was a painter but out of work. He was drinking heavily. The boy's own mother was divorced when he was two years old. She was living with two daughters in a suburban village. The stepmother was very conscious of the boy's behavior. The boy's elder brother was a normal youngster. The father and the stepmother had two boys and two girls of their own.

The parents' marital relationship was very stormy because of the father's recent unemployment and his drinking and particularly because of the boy's behavior.

The boy was failing at school. He did not show any interest in study, though his teacher thought that he had the ability to do much better. He was not positive in anything, uncooperative and irresponsible. His physique was rather poor and he did not like athletic exercises. He was always alone in school and in the neighborhood. The neighbors knew that the boy slept in shrines or temples of the neighborhood once in a while.
At the interview the boy told the worker that the mother scolded him severely and so he slept outside. When he was in the sixth grade someone told him that his present mother was a stepmother and his real mother was still living somewhere. The father told him that this was true. After this, he found it difficult to go to school. It should be pointed out that he was treated equally with other children. But didn't have any special friends among them and he would not play with them. The worker wrote that the boy was silent and moody. His I.Q. was measured as 84 according to the Binet Test.

Treatment: The worker planned to treat him at home and if this were not successful, he planned to ask the real mother to take him, and only as a last measure, to place him in an institution. The worker contacted the parents at the agency and visited the home twice, trying to help them change their way of handling the boy.

Then one day the city police informed the worker that the boy burned down one of his school buildings and the following day he again tried to burn a shrine. The boy told the worker that he became so angry with the mother's scolding.

Soon after this the boy was placed in an industrial school. A week later he ran away because he could not get along with the others. It was later reported that he was taken again and gradually became adjusted to the new life. How this adjustment came about was not presented clearly in the record.

Case V and VI have several external resemblances. Both of the boys were a concern to the community because of their delinquent behavior. The stepmother rejected and scolded the boy in both cases. The boys had an ability to do well in school but were failing and truanting.

However these similarities are all only superficial and give us nothing to direct our thinking in diagnosis and treatment. The each individual child's unique personality
is interwoven with the individual, family constellation. As it was previously said, the family is an important resource to be mobilized for the problem child's rehabilitation but at the same time it is very important to measure carefully the favorable and the unfavorable factors in the family to determine if, within this group, the child can best make a good adjustment.

In Case V there were several favorable factors in the family constellation in view of the boy's home treatment. The parents' marital relationship was fairly harmonious. The father had steady employment and liked the child. The boy's personality had favorable features as well.

The reverse is true in Case VI. Almost all aspects of the family relationship were favorable. It is theoretically right that the worker explained his decision to treat the boy at home according to the principle of the White House Conference that the family is the best and most beautiful product of civilization and that the child should not be removed from the family except as a last extreme measure. But the most disturbing factor in this child's problem seems to be his feeling about his own mother and stepmother. The worker investigated the possibility of placing the boy with his real mother, but the mother refused the worker's suggestion because of a poor economic situation. The writer feels that, if the worker had paid his attention more directly to the boy's feelings and had established a good relationship with him, a
better treatment plan could have been worked out. Besides, there were very short interviews recorded on this case which the writer translated verbally. It is not known, therefore, exactly how much effort was actually put forth on the worker's part to provide effective casework treatment for this boy.

Relationship in Treatment

Case VII - Toshiko

A mother of four children was left helpless by her husband's death at M repatriation camp. Her family was put on the P.A. list and the mother worked in a work shop of the camp. Her eldest son was infected with T.B. and through the worker's help was placed in a national sanatorium later. Still she had a 10 year old boy, a 4 year old daughter and a one year old baby. It was impossible for the mother to take care of all these three. One day she asked the worker to place the elder daughter in a foster home. The other day at the conference of Community Child Welfare Volunteers in the district the worker explained and emphasized the need and importance of the development of a Foster Home program. On another occasion at the City Women's Club the worker did the same interpretation speech. The Vice-chairman of this club is the wife of one of the leading CCW Volunteers. The worker approached them because they have no children and they seemed to be interested in the new program. A week later they told the worker that they were willing to take a child.

The worker visited with the mother and asked if she still would like to place her child in a foster home. The mother could not make up her mind to separate from her child. She wanted to discuss this further with her mother. The worker told her that it was quite natural for the mother to feel this way and that she could take time to think it through and to talk it over with her mother. The worker told the mother about the foster family and asked her to feel free to make any further questions which might come up later.
Two days later the mother asked the worker to place her child in this foster family by all means. The worker set the first visit with the foster family at a week later. The day previous to the appointed date of visit the mother asked the worker to stop this plan. The worker suggested that the mother had better meet the foster parents anyway on the following day and that after all it would be up to her how to decide after this visit.

After the first visit the mother seemed to have made up her mind. She asked the worker that the child be placed in this nice home with understanding parents. The worker invited both families to his home for dinner on New Year's holiday. Then for a week the child lived with the foster parents for a try. All these steps only secured the feeling of satisfaction and trust on both sides. With the approval of the foster parents by the governor the child was placed with them legally.

But it was difficult to carry out this plan. The neighborhood people didn't understand this and looked askance at the placed child. An even more difficult thing for the foster parents to overcome was their relatives' prejudice. They approached the couple with why they didn't take some of the relatives' children if the couple wanted to have a child. To the traditional thinking of the people the foster child is either for adoption or for indenture. The four year old girl could not be material for labor power. If she were for adoption, the family's blood would be disrupted by a child from an alien family. The people didn't have any idea of the boarding foster home for dependent children. The relatives got mad and stopped to intercourse with this family.

This family is a respected old family in the community, economically and spiritually secure. The foster father is one of leaders in the town affairs. He is convinced of his responsibility in developing the new child care program. But the foster mother was quite upset when her husband's relatives stopped to see them. She was supported by her husband, the caseworker and the Buddhist priest.

They didn't try to argue against the opposing
people and relatives. They tried to give the child the best care of love and materials they could and to have the child play with the neighbors' children in her own home with ample toys. The girl grew up happy physically and emotionally.

The people began to realize what the foster parents really meant to do for this child. The worker did the best interpretation to the community he could. But one good example is ten times stronger than a hundred interpretations.

Two months later in the street the worker was asked by one of city hall members if the foster parents were going to adopt the girl. The worker explained to him the new system of foster home placement. This man also wanted to have a child like this girl.

Case VIII - Minoru

This case was treated by the head of O Central Child Welfare Guidance Center. A father of a sixteen year old boy asked for the worker's guidance to help him in bringing up his son. The father's concern was that this adolescent boy became increasingly hostile toward and suspicious of the family members. He was stealing money and taking things from the home. He had no close friends other than a young man whose influence upon him was not good. The parents' slightest restriction and supervision drove him into a temper tantrum. The father did not know how to handle the situation.

His father was the superintendent of a primary school. He was very diligent in his job and seldom took a vacation, even on Sunday. Even at home he was busy with his school business. The mother was well educated. She was quiet and intellectual. The boy's sister was four years his senior. She was bright and independent, working in an office as a secretary.

The boy had a good deal of digestion trouble in his first year and in general his physical condition was rather poor. Because of this and also since he was the first and only son, they gave him anything he wanted. When he was five, the boy had a serious case of typhoid and almost died. The parents were frightened by this. After
he entered the school, his parents overprotected him in his daily life. The boy never did anything by himself. In kindergarten and in school he was demanding and persistent in his way. The boy failed in the entrance examination to the local public middle school and had to go to a private, second-class one. This was very humiliating and frustrating to the boy's ostentatious pride. As he went up to the higher grades, his marks became increasingly poor and his father's help didn't help any. He became more and more quarrelsome with his bright sister.

When he was in the third grade in the middle school, his sister, their daughter had suffered a serious appendicitis attack and was hospitalized for three months. During this period the parents were concerned with this daughter in the hospital and the boy was left with a boarding family. The boy came to the hospital frequently and demanded spending money. When his demand was denied on the basis of the heavy family expenditure for the sister's illness, the boy went into temper tantrums. When they came home, they found that the money in the family safe was gone and many good suits were missing. At the same time the boy had befriended an older boy with whom he played cards and other gambling games late at night.

When he became a freshman in a senior high, the boy became overtly hostile toward the mother and the sister. On their part the mother and the sister rejected and hated him completely and at the second grade of the senior high, his situation became so bad that his father came to the guidance center.

Treatment: After the first interview with the father, the worker met the boy's friend mentioned above and also his girlfriend where he worked. Later both of them told the boy what happened to them at the office. The boy attacked his father vehemently because of this and his having been to the center, and went into a frightening tantrum. The father suggested that the boy go with him to see the worker. When they arrived at the office the boy refused to go in. But when the father asked him if he was afraid to meet the worker, the boy got angry and went in by himself.
The worker told the boy that at his age he should be thinking about the future and suggested that he think through what he really would like to do and then to come back to see the worker so that he might be able to help the boy work out his desire on a reasonable and practical basis. After this interview the worker's casework with the boy was transferred to a regular worker. Through this worker the boy got a part time job. Fortunately a senior high student who was two years older than the boy and very mature boarded in the family. The boy began to identify with this elder boy.

The head worker concentrated his treatment on the parents. He made clear to them how their overindulgence and over-protection in the boy's early life affected his later behavior, how the boy felt when they left him alone during the sister's hospitalization and what the boy needed at this adolescent stage. The worker particularly stressed the importance of their religious life, encouraging the mother to ask for the pastor's guidance much more and suggesting to the father that he join the Church. The worker warned them that it was impossible for them to improve their boy by themselves and that it was imperative for them to strive for their own salvation by God and that the boy would be saved by God's mercy.

Six months later the worker reported that the father was in a more detached attitude toward the boy and the mother was less irritated and more accepting toward him, that he was still arguing with the sister quite a lot, and that though his stealing and other disturbing behavior stopped, he went to the tailor shop next door and stayed there late at night. This tailor was a good natured mature man and was trying to help this boy.

In Case VII the worker accepted the mother's feeling about separation and never took an imposing attitude, though he knew that the child had to be placed sooner or later and that the expected foster parents were very desirable and suitable for the child.

This placement happened to be in a rural place. Tradi-
tional way of thinking of the people was prejudiced against the idea of a foster home. The worker's skillful support to the foster parents helped to preserve the placement despite this opposition and at last won the understanding of the people in the community.

In Case VIII the worker never established any treatment relationship with the boy. The boy needed a firm parental figure or a big brother's figure with which to identify. In the end the boy was seeking a father figure in the neighboring tailor rather than in his own father. The writer wonders if the worker should have tried to present a parental figure for this boy of weak ego, at least for a while. As it was now, the worker interviewed the boy only once and then turned his attention toward the parents. The reason why the worker decided to work with the parents rather than the boy is not clear from the record.

The worker's recommendation as regards to church-going to the parents, particularly to the father who had no belief in religion, was questionable at that moment because the worker's explanation of the situation was confused with his religious sermon and admonition about the parents' failure in not bringing up their son properly. It is noticeable that in the record the writer tells of his direction and censure of the parents but nothing about what the parents were thinking and how they were feeling towards the problem and the worker's direction. In the record it sounded as if the parents were
This case happened in the summer of 1947 when the writer was working for the first year in an orphanage in Tokyo. Early in summer one of the staffs in the Public Welfare Division of the Eighth Military Government in Tokyo area told the master of the orphanage of one boy who was a war waif. She knew that this boy never settled down in any of the detention homes in Tokyo. She liked him and she felt that he could be helped in this orphanage. She did not know where he could be located at the moment. A month later we were surprised to see this worker taking a boy down from a jeep in front of the orphanage. Since that hot day in summer the boy named Tsuyoshi became one of our children.

According to the boy's story his life background was as follows: He was twelve years old. His name was Tsuyoshi I. His home town was a city at the west end of the Japanese main island. His family business was a printing shop. His father died in the battlefront. During the school evacuation the home town was burnt down by bombing. His mother, brothers and sisters died and the house was burnt down due to this destruction. After the end of the war he joined the group of war waifs. For the past two years he had travelled all over the country. He was caught and put in several institutions but every time he outsmarted them and escaped. From early this summer when he came to Tokyo he slept with others in the ruins of a Tokyo Railway Station. It was a very nice place to hide themselves and the illegal black-market materials from the pursuit of the local authority. It was also near the headquarters of the occupation forces so that they could have a good source of supply of illegal things in the neighborhood. He and others earned several thousands years a day through black marketing of things. At that most difficult time he had no difficulty to get anything to eat.

When he was brought in, he wore a very poor suit. Although he had no serious skin diseases his whole body was covered by thick dirt and grease.
He boasted of his having escaped from the institution and his worldly knowledge was amazing. He bluntly said that he would stay in the orphanage as long as he wanted.

We told him that there were no fences or locks in our home and so any of the children could go if they wanted, that we welcomed him and there was nothing to be afraid of here and that the writer was going to be his special big brother who would play with and help him.

Fortunately the school children were on summer vacation and so we didn't have all their eyes on this boy, though we made every effort to avoid giving him the impression that we were watching him. All day long there were many outdoor activities going on and the boy was absorbed in them.

He was difficult at mealtime because he didn't eat the special substitute food which we were all eating at that time under the strict ration system. We had to give him special meals and extra candies. For this the worker ate with him alone in the worker's private room. It took us two months to have him accustomed to the regular meals and to eat with the others.

Every night before going to bed, he requested the worker to tell him story or to read a book to him and said that these stories were too simple to be compared to his own adventures. Once in a while he threatened the worker that he might leave at night while we were sleeping. It took us three months to put him in a regular children's room.

In September the school started, and in order to avoid making him feel left out, we had to rehabilitate him into the regular school life. Our children were going to the public schools in the community. It was our real test to know whether or not the boy had put down some roots in the home. A special preparation was done for this. He started in the fourth grade. Thus he became more and more integrated into our home life.

In the meantime the worker tried to find out some of the boy's background in his home town where the worker happened to be stationed during the war time. Through the worker's acquaintances with the area and later with the district child
welfare volunteer by spring of the next year we got information as follows: His mother and brethren were living in the home town. His father died during the war time but not in the service. The boy ran away from home in 1945 and since then his whereabouts were unknown. His uncle was living in Tokyo and working in a big printing company.

We started to investigate the possibility of returning the boy to his mother as soon as possible. We interviewed the uncle. This uncle told us that the boy was a problem child in the family and one day the boy was so fascinated by another uncle's story about the life of war waifs that several days later the boy disappeared. The uncle doubted if it were too premature to return him at this moment.

At that time the boy started to run-away, though he came back after a night or so. We hurried our plan to return him to his mother. One day when the worker came home, at the entrance gate he met the boy leaving the home. The writer suggested that he go for a walk with the worker.

On the hillside we lay down. After a casual conversation, the writer asked him if he had something which was bothering him. He dodged the writer's question for a while. The write assured him that the writer would be his friend and be on his side in any situation. Then the boy started to tell his real family background, still lying in some places.

Would you like to go home? There was no answer. And he got up and seemed very embarrassed. He never told any more. To a great extent he seemed to be relieved the last point remained uncomfortably in his mind. A few days later the mother came up to the orphanage. The uncle was also with her. The boy was at first surprised and wanted to hide. With the writer's encouragement he met his mother and uncle.

Two days later he went home with his mother and uncle. He has been living with his family for the past four years. We have kept corresponding with him. But the questions of why he ran away from home, why he kept lying still after he had known that we were getting correct information, and most of all why he did fear to go home remains
in the writer's mind.

Case X - Yuri

This ten year old girl was an unusual case to our orphanage. Because her both parents were living and the family was an average income home, the girl seemed not to be eligible for our institution.

The reason for the father's application for the girl's placement was this that the girl could not get along with the mother and was so unhappy at home. This seemed to be a neglect situation on an emotional basis, but at that time (and still at present) there was no possibility to place a child in such a situation in an institution through the child welfare guidance center. The only possibility was to place her on a private boarding basis in a private agency. In the beginning we refused the application for the reason that we were requested to take care of more urgent cases of war orphans and others.

The father returned to us again and again. He disclosed that the mother refused to serve the girl meals and to take care of her. We decided to take the girl.

Since the father was in a responsible position in the metropolitan government, we did not dare to ask him in detail about the situation. Only through the father's voluntary statement we got the information as follows.

The father was well educated and a capable government official. He loved the daughter very much. The mother was also well educated but a little bit nervous. Since the girl's brother was born, the mother lavished her affection upon the son and rejected her daughter. Their marital relationship was untouched.

The girl was very bright and keenly aware of her mother's discrimination. They hated each other openly. The girl was a very bright pupil in a special high quality school. But she was unpopular because of her demanding and uncooperative attitude. At school she also felt very bad about her clothing which was neglected by her mother in comparison with her classmates.
From the beginning at our home Yuri was unpopular among the children. She was a show off and putting her nose in everything. She did not seem to mind being away from home, though she could hardly wait for the father's visit.

She was irresponsible in her chores and grumbled on a trivial thing. She craved attention and affection. However, the big family-like way of living on the basis of acceptance and cooperation with each other and equal treatment and non-favoritism from the worker's side affected her favorably. She recognized that she did not have to compete with others to be accepted and loved by the elders. She gradually settled down and two years later she became one of the good girls in the home.

Since she came to us, four years have passed and at present time she is still living in the institution. In the meantime she has visited her home quite a few times. She does not show any interest to go back home permanently.

The worker never thought about approaching her feelings about her relationship with her mother. We never thought about any family casework. We never saw her mother. We really did not know what was going on in the parent-child relationship. The girl will stay as long as the parents want.

In such a case like Case IX we felt it very difficult to assign a special worker to only one specific child. The worker also felt that it was hard for him to concentrate on one child on an intensive casework basis while he was doing many other agency duties. At the present in Japanese institutions every worker is required to do several combined duties, e.g., administrative, clerical, educational and recreational. It will be a slow process over years to come to organize some sort of casework practice in institutional setting as a distinctive responsibility to be carried by specialized personnel.
As it was shown in Case X, the present intake service at the institution and the agency-client relationship are quite limited. There is an area traditional in the worker-client relationship, which will have to be gradually cleared up in regard to the relevance and difference between privacy, confidentiality and professional responsibility.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

In this study the writer endeavoured to analyze the function and current practice of the first caseworker in Japan, "Child Welfare Worker." In doing so, the writer tried to answer three major questions as follows:

1. What are the philosophy and principles underlying the development of the post-war Japanese child welfare program which inaugurated this new social work technique, "case work?"

2. How is the program being implemented?

3. In what ways is this new approach contributing to the needs of our child welfare program? How does this compare with the currently accepted criteria in America?

In the second chapter the writer described rather in detail the social conditions in relation to the post-war Japanese child welfare problem. This description was guided by the thought that the very nature of the problem with which the post-war Japanese social workers were confronted was the chief factor determining the ways and means by which to meet this problem, no matter what complications the socio-cultural, economic, political, and professional background; national and international, might have brought in to the new development of child care. We could see the situation in which, although the tremendous needs of the children in post-war Japan were the concern of the whole nation, at the same time the changed quality of the child welfare problem itself forced the
Japanese people's thinking and attitude toward the problem to change radically. The problem child was no longer only those people's concern who were protective workers and institutionally oriented social workers. He was the intimate concern of every family in any community.

The people came to see that for the healthy growth of children material things are not enough. If the families, the communities and the institutions fail to see beyond the material needs of the children and fail to meet their emotional needs, they fail our children no matter what else they do.

This recognition resulted in a new emphasis in the new child welfare program; that is, the important meaning of his own family life upon the child's growth and the imperative of understanding the problem child instead of punishing him. As was pointed out before, this understanding love cannot be distributed in any mass approach. Emotional needs are something personal and individually unique. They can be understood and met only on the basis of "individual by individual."

Here is, and should be, the core of the new Japanese child welfare program, particularly of its epoch-making casework approach, and of the new foster home care for the dependent and neglected.

In the second chapter the writer endeavoured to answer the second question by describing some important parts of the new child welfare legislation and the particulars of this new
legal structure somewhat in detail.

The changed nature of the post-war Japanese child welfare problem in its quantity and quality has caused new provisions to be made to meet it. However, in the developmental stage of casework practice the worker's cultural and educational background and other factors must be considered in the carrying out of those theories and practices of casework currently accepted in America. In such a cultural pattern as was described in Chapter III, it might be impractical and unworkable to discard completely the authoritative, persuasive, pedagogic direction, admonition and advice. It will be important in the future for the Japanese caseworker to make a careful study of casework in weighing the positive and negative aspects of the authoritative approach on the one hand, and of the non-judgemental, accepting worker-client relationship on the other.

The third question was dealt within the fourth chapter of this study.

Through this case study we can see how many a child's family life can be stabilized or rehabilitated by the casework approach. Even though child care in Japan is still inclining heavily toward institutional care, the fact that an increasing number of problem children are being helped in their own homes and in their own community through casework service can be seen clearly in the statistics. (TABLE VII) Particularly the rapid growth of the foster home care program
could not have been possible without these child welfare workers' activities.

The principle of casework that the child's total needs are only met individually on the basis of understanding each individual personality, and its corollary that the child should not be punished but should be understood, are being carried out by these caseworkers. And this approach is very promising for the development of the philosophy of the new child welfare program among the Japanese people.

However, the understanding love of casework is something more than the worker's individual intuitive insight. It is based upon the objective knowledge and understanding of the total human personality, physical and emotional. Casework is an ever-expanding discipline based upon the scientifically verified facts and theories. Because current Japanese practice is still limited in its use of modern dynamic psychology and psychiatry, it is also limited in its objective and diagnostic approach.

Japanese theorists on casework cover the whole field of contemporary casework in America from Richmond's "Social Diagnosis" to Robinson's "Changing Psychology in Social Casework." They say that modern social work is a science in itself, integrating other related sciences, psychology, psychiatry, medicine, etc. They urge the need of team-work in social casework. But they need to show our contemporary caseworkers where to find these resources and how to utilize
them in the present situation in Japan.

Casework must not become exhaustive accumulation of facts and data or an elaborate social investigation without being dynamically related to the diagnosis, prognosis and treatment of the problem. Although Japanese casework is at an earlier stage of development than in America the inclination toward casework activity is, in a sense, natural. Therefore, Japanese caseworkers from now on will be better prepared for Annette Garrett's statement in regard to this developmental stage:

Both "Social Diagnosis"¹ and "The Individual Delinquent,"² published between 1915 and 1917, pointed toward the general conclusion that if we could just have enough facts we would know what to do.³

In connection with this point, authoritative and dictatorial approach of the caseworkers seems to make them pay little attention to the importance of interviewing in casework. Of course we have to take into consideration Japanese cultural pattern and the educational background of Japanese current caseworkers in order to discuss this aspect of casework on its working basis in Japanese society. However, the meaning of the caseworker's attitude toward his client and the

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¹ Mary Richmond, Social Diagnosis, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1917).


type of worker-client relationship established through interviewing are so fundamental to modern casework that it has been recognized and cultivated in England and America since even before the impact of the modern dynamic psychology and psychiatry upon casework became recognizable. If this fundamental is missing, casework in Japan will be just another application of pedagogy, and the knowledge of social sciences, psychology and psychiatry would be ineffective and unworkable in our way of handling the problem of the client. For the healthy development of casework practice in Japan this aspect should be stressed more in practice, teaching and training.

The current caseworkers in Japan, "Child Welfare Workers" are the pioneers in this new approach to child care in Japan. They are carrying on, so to speak, a multi-function responsibility as a new type of social worker. Group work, community organization, public relations, these cannot be and are not overlooked by them. Of course, there is a danger in that these may be utilized only for environmental manipulation. But these are still sound groundworks of generic casework. Above all these caseworkers are experimenting in this new child welfare program not only as caseworkers, but also as citizens, i.e., the new type of foster parents.

So far in Japanese social work history the profession has been, so to speak, impersonal and synonymous with the institution. But now the profession has become personal. The individual WORKER is the core of the profession.
This individualization and personalization of the profession by Child Welfare Workers in this specific field of child care leads the writer to think of those more numerous workers in other area child care, that is, the workers in the institutions.

Their devotion and love for the children in their charge are still overshadowed by the traditional custodial care function of the institution. How to extend the casework approach to them is the problem of how to retain our institutional workers into caseworkers.

But the new approach is rapidly establishing itself as the fundamental technique of modern social casework in Japan. The foster home care program is developing. Many more children are enabled to stay in their own homes instead of being put into institutions by the new development of Public Assistance and casework service. The role of institutional care in the entire field of child care has to be re-evaluated according to this changing situation. The point of the controversy should not be institutional care versus foster home care, but should be focused upon which can serve best the specific child in a specific situation. For this shift in the aim of institutional care we cannot omit casework service as an integral part of the total institutional service for the child.

Since in almost all of twenty cases the community child welfare volunteer came into the casework picture as an information source, referral source, cooperating casework agent and
follow-up or after-care worker, in the future development of casework services for the child in the neighborhood and in the community the role of this lay volunteer should be carefully studied and guided by the Child Welfare Worker. The role of this volunteer becomes very important particularly when the child is returned to his home and community from a far-away institution or a foster home or a detention home as in the case of "war waif" or juvenile wanderer. The worker who was in charge of the child usually writes his transfer letter to the Community Child Welfare Volunteer of the community where the children's home is located. In the future there should be more institutes and meetings in which these volunteers can be given the basic philosophy, principles and methods of casework as well as the district Child Welfare Worker's supervision and guidance through his daily casework contacts with these volunteers.

As to the over-all prospect of casework practice in the social work profession in general, we can hopefully look to the newly inaugurated full-time caseworker in Public Assistance, "Public Welfare Worker" and its administrative set-up, "Public Welfare Center."

There are forces which impede the progressive trends of human welfare, national and international, but the writer is looking at the future of Japanese social work through Richmond's statement that

....not that the resemblances among men are
socially unimportant; resemblances have made mass betterment possible, while individuality has made adaptation a necessity; later we learn to do different things for and with different people with social betterment clearly in view. . . . . The theory of the wider self seems to lie at the base of social casework. We have seen how slowly such work has abandoned its few general classifications and tried instead to consider the whole man. Even more slowly it is realizing that the mind of man (and in a very real sense the mind is the man) can be described the sum of his social relationships. 4

4 Mary Richmond, Social Diagnosis (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1917) p. 357, 358.
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SCHEDULE

PART I. SOCIAL CASE INVESTIGATION.

(1) General Family Information Data.

A. Father: Age______ Education ____________ Religion ________
   Occupation ____________ Military Service ________

B. Mother: Age______ Education ____________ Religion ________
   (Step-) Occupation ____________

C. Children:
   Referred Child: _______ Age______ School______ Sex______
   Brothers & a)_________ " " " " "
   Sisters: b)_________ " " " " "
            c)_________ " " " " "
            d)_________ " " " " "

D. Other Family Members: a) Grandparents ______________________
                         b) Others ______________________

E. Relatives ______________________

(2) Case Study:

A. General Data of Referral: a) __________
   b) ________
   c) ________
   a) Case Work Setting: (1) Agency Facilities d) ________
      (2) Worker ________ (3) The Community ________
          (4) Is agency in the same community? ______
   b) Referral Date ________ c) Referral Source ________
   d) Reason for Referral ________________
   e) How was the client led to the worker? ______

B. Case History of the Child:
   a) Physical Growth History and Medical Examination
      Findings: ________________


b) Psychometric and Psychiatric Examination Findings:
   1) Psychometric________________ 2) Psycho-emotional_______

c) General Life History (Adjustment Pattern): 1) Constitutional & Personal Traits________________________
   2) Disturbed Behavior &/or Overt Symptoms______________
   3) Parent-child Relationship: a) Traumatic Experience ______________________ b) General Pattern________

4) Sibling Relation____________________________________

5) School Adjustment: a) Work_________________________________
   b) Friend-formation_____________________________________

6) Community Adjustment: a) Gang Influence_______________
   b) Anti-social Behavior_______________________________

C. Family Case History:
   a) Parents' Life History:_______________________________
   b) Parents' Marital Relationship:_______________________
   c) Impact of the War:_________________________________

D. Social Investigation Findings:
   a) Economic Condition:_________________________________
   b) Living Arrangement:_________________________________
   c) Family Atmosphere:_________________________________
   d) Family in the Community:_____________________________
   e) Community Environment:_____________________________

   f) Contacts with Community Resources: 1) School:________
     __________________________ 2) Local Government Authority_________
     3) Community People and Civic Organizations: (a) Civic
     Organization____________________(b) C.C.W.V.______________
PART II. SOCIAL DIAGNOSIS (What is the cause or causes of the presenting problem of the child?)

A. With the Family?
   a) Environmental?
   b) With the Parents?
   c) With the Sibling?
   d) With Others?

B. With the Child?
   a) Physical Maladjustment?
   b) Constitutional?
   c) Emotional Maladjustment?

C. With the Community Environment?
   a) With the Gang Friends?
   b) With the School Maladjustment?
   c) With the Community Environment?

The worker's point of view of understanding the situation of the problem:

Symptoms or Dynamics?

The writer's point of view: a) As to the situation:

                                 b) As to the worker's point:

PART III. SOCIAL TREATMENT PLANNING.

A. With the Child?
   a) Physical Adjustment:
   b) Emotional Adjustment:
   c) School Adjustment:
   d) Friends Adjustment:
e) Recreational Adjustment: ________________________________

B. Placement or Others: ________________________________

What is the focus of the worker in handling the situation?

a) Child or Parents? and why? ____________________________
b) Environmental Manipulation? _________________________
c) Supportive Worker-client Relationship? _______________

What would be the writer's focus in handling the situation?

a) The same? and why? _________________________________
b) Different? and why? _________________________________

PART IV. SOCIAL TREATMENT: PROCESS, AFTER-CARE AND FOLLOW-UP.

A. What has been done so far by the worker?

a) With the Child: 1) Physical ____________ 2) Symptoms _______

3) Emotional ____________ 4) Educational ____________

5) Recreational ____________ 6) Friend-formation __________

b) With the family: 1) With Parents ______________________

2) With Others ____________ 3) Environmental ____________

4) General Atmosphere _________________________________

c) With the Neighborhood: ______________________________

d) With the Community: _______________________________

B. What is the worker planning for the future from now on?

Why?

Does the writer think the worker's treatment process and future planning effective, reasonable and practically constructive? If not, why?

Why? ________________________________
What does the editor of the Thesis think about this point: and why?

PART V. WHAT ARE THE WORKER'S CHIEF CASEWORK TECHNIQUES IN THIS CASE?

A. Environmental Modification:
   a) Inter-personal Environment:
   b) Social External Conditions:
   c) Social Resources Mobilization:
   d) Interpretation to the community:

B. Worker-Client Relationship:
   a) Psychological Support:
   b) Clarification:
   c) Insight:

PART VI. WHAT IS THE UNIQUENESS OF THIS CASE WORK FROM THE POINT OF THE VIEW OF THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILD WELFARE PROGRAM?

A. Service given:

B. Philosophy:

C. Principles:

D. Casework Methods: