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PERSONAL BELIEFS AND PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BUDDHIST AND SOCIALIST
SOCIAL WORKERS IN BRITAIN AND JAPAN
AS THE BASIS OF AN ANALYSIS OF THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERSONAL BELIEF SYSTEMS
AND SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

BY CORDELIA GRIMWOOD B.Sc., C.Q.S.W.

PH.D THESIS

UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK
DEPT OF APPLIED SOCIAL STUDIES

THIS RESEARCH WAS CARRIED OUT IN VARIOUS SOCIAL WORK AGENCIES
IN BRITAIN AND JAPAN

APRIL 1986

12 Howitt Road
London NW3 4LL

Tel: (01) 586 3254

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WARWICK.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank everyone who helped me and took part in this research; first and foremost for years of patience to my supervisor Professor Peter Leonard of the Department of Applied Social Studies, University of Warwick; then to the social workers in Britain and Japan who kindly allowed me to interview them; finally to people who typed various parts of various drafts: Satya Barham, Graham Bevan, Sarah Crowe, Ruth Jacobson, Teresa Springer and Rachel Urbach. Last, but certainly not least a big thank you to Barbara Macanas who did most of the typing.

ABSTRACT

People with strong beliefs often argue that their beliefs have a powerful effect on their actions. This thesis takes one example of this argument by examining the relationship between social workers' beliefs and their professional practice. It starts with an introduction to the background of the research, then ideology and phenomenology are discussed as theoretical concepts, since ideology is the basic concept being analysed and phenomenology the methodological approach used. The phenomenological approach is used to discuss and analyse the results of interviews with four groups of social workers, two in which the social workers profess to use Buddhist concepts in their social work practice (one in Britain and one in Japan) and two (also one in Britain and one in Japan) in which the social workers profess to use Socialist concepts in their practice. These social workers were asked to be interviewed since they profess that their practice is affected by their personal ideology. The differences between personal ideology and operational philosophy are discussed. Three fundamental concepts of Buddhism and Socialism related to social work practice are analysed, and then used to compare the different relationships between personal ideology, operational philosophy and social work practice in the four groups, which emerged from the interviews.

The development of social work practice and welfare ideologies in Britain and Japan are discussed. The interviewees are

then described and the results of the interviews are summarised and analysed, before being compared to other relevant research findings.

It is demonstrated that two groups (the Japanese Buddhist and British Socialist) show in the main, congruence between their personal ideologies, operational philosophies and social work practice, and that the Japanese Socialists and British Buddhists do not. This is discussed in terms of various theoretical issues. The two ideologies under research, and the welfare systems in Japan and Britain, are compared in terms of their differential effect on social work practice.

Finally, some suggestions are made for further research, leading on from the results of this project.

CONTENTS AND SYNOPSIS

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL BASES OF THIS RESEARCH PROJECT

A. Introduction

The background to the research.

B. Ideology

This section looks at problems of the definition of the term 'ideology' and the four main ways in which it is used in this research, then a brief historical overview is given of the use of the term. The philosophical links between the terms 'ideology' and 'values' are looked at and the effects of ideologies and values on social work practice and training are discussed. Marx's use of the term is analysed and the way two Marxists, Gramsci and Althusser, have developed the concept are discussed. The issue of the 'end of ideology' is briefly discussed. Finally, ideology is analysed as an empirical concept, that is as an operational basis for practice. Basic concepts fundamental to Buddhism and Socialism and relevant social work practice are discussed.

C. Phenomenology

Phenomenology is the theoretical basis of the research method used in this project.

In this section phenomenology is discussed from a historical perspective, looking briefly at the work of Husserl, and then in more detail at the development of the concept of Schutz.

The problem of a natural science, that is of an objective, approach as opposed to a phenomenological, that is a more subjective, approach to research methods is analysed. The reasons for using a phenomenological approach in this work are discussed. The relationship between ideology and choice is analysed using a phenomenological perspective. Finally the problems and questions to which this research addresses itself are discussed in phenomenological terms.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY: THE RESEARCH APPROACH AND ITS PROBLEMS

This chapter looks at the difficulties experienced in finding four groups of social workers to interview and in choosing appropriate research methods. The technical problems of research methods generally are discussed, that is the difficulties in obtaining and processing information. Then the problems of methodology more specific to this research are considered and how a phenomenological approach is used towards overcoming these.

CHAPTER 3: WELFARE & SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE IDEOLOGIES IN BRITAIN

In this chapter ideological changes and the historical development of social welfare in Britain are outlined.

Particularly considered are the ideological changes which led in turn to the Poor Law, Victorian philanthropy and the COS, the establishment of the welfare state, the introduction of a psychoanalytic approach to 'case work', the expansion of the welfare state during the 1960s and 1970s, and its retrenchment as part of the ideology of present 'new right' government policy. Socialist arguments and proposed strategies to counteract this process are discussed.

CHAPTER 4: WELFARE & SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE IDEOLOGIES IN JAPAN

In this chapter the development and general characteristics of Japanese welfare and social work practice are discussed from a historical perspective. Ideological changes in social policy and social work practice in Japan are analysed.

CHAPTER 5: PROFILES INCLUDING RELEVANT PERSONAL BELIEFS OF THE INTERVIEWED BRITISH & JAPANESE SOCIAL WORKERS

This chapter discusses the social workers interviewed and gives a brief outline of their social work backgrounds and personal ideologies.

CHAPTER 6: OPERATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES & STATED PRACTICE OF THE SOCIAL WORKERS

This chapter presents the results obtained from interviews in terms of the differences demonstrated in the relationships

between personal ideologies, operational philosophies and social work practice, in the four groups of social workers interviewed, two in Britain (one Buddhist and one Socialist) and two in Japan (similarly, one Buddhist and one Socialist).

CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY, DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

This chapter discusses the issues whose significance has emerged from the results of the interviews.

Personal ideology, operational philosophy and practice are analysed in terms of their relationships and the various factors which affect these.

The chapter ends with a summary, comparisons and conclusions.

CHAPTER 1THEORETICAL BASES OF THIS RESEARCH PROJECT1. Introduction

This research is a comparative study of some Buddhist and Socialist social workers and looks at the relationship of ideology to practice in social work.

At the time of starting the research I was a practising probation officer in a busy inner-city area. I had done a conventional social work course and was dissatisfied with the relationship I and most other social workers I knew had with clients. I felt that not only was it dissatisfying but also ineffective both for me and for clients. I was meditating regularly with a Zen Buddhist teacher. I wanted to find out how best to combine Eastern (particularly Buddhist) ideas with Western theories of case, group and community work in order to evolve a more mutually constructive way of 'helping' through social work practice.

I was also influenced by socialist ideas from my family background and understood that individual pathology is insufficient to explain situations with which social workers deal. I was aware of the extent to which clients, particularly women, lack power to control important aspects of their lives such as housing and health. These ideas then evolved into asking how ideologies generally affect social work practice.

I hoped to find some dimensions which according to the social workers themselves showed in which areas of their practice (and how), theoretical ideas and values had an effect. Historically in Britain and especially since the establishment of the welfare state in 1948, there was some degree of consensus about social work values among social workers, based on a Christian capitalist ethic typified by Biestek (1970). This was based mainly on an uneasy alliance between natural science models of the social world and individualistic psychodynamic approaches to interpersonal situations. However since the 1970s this consensus appears to no longer exist and social workers now subscribe to various different clusters of values based on different ideologies (various religious, political, moral, sociological, psychological and even engineering value systems).

I was a product of this change which is perhaps why I am interested in asking why it occurred and what its effect was on social work practice other than just my own. Another question which follows is whether this 'traditional' social work practice ideology still affects the practice of those social workers who are attempting to work by different ideologies which may be incongruent with it. If this is the case, it is interesting to find out how such social workers resolve this conflict. An example of such a contradiction is where traditional social work ideology subscribes to the idea that obtaining material goods is beneficial for people, Buddhist ideology subscribes to the view that material possessions are not only superficial and unnecessary, but

actually prevent the attainment of enlightenment. Another example is where traditional social work ideology emphasises the 'individual' whereas socialist ideology emphasises the 'social' and cooperation among individuals.

I chose Buddhism and Socialism as two specific ideologies on which to concentrate since they are both ideologies to which I myself subscribe, and I was aware of the effect they have on my social work practice. Also they have sufficient aspects both in common and different, to make them feasible in a comparative research study. Another factor in this decision was that they both have very clear 'attitudes' to welfare practice and so are relevant in a research project with an emphasis on social work practice.

Thus the main aim of this research is to examine the effect of the professed personal ideologies of social workers on their practice. I am interested in this because I am dissatisfied with the traditional social work practice ideology and would like to find out how this could be modified as a result of different ideologies. Another aim of the research is to look at how social workers deal with situations where their personal individual ideologies are incongruent either with traditional social case work values and/or with the welfare ideology of the country in which they work.

This research therefore will be looking at two ideologies (Buddhism and Socialism) in two different cultures (Japan and Britain). I chose Japan as I am involved with Zen

Buddhism (one sect of Buddhism) which is established there. Also Japan is the only Buddhist country which is a capitalist industrialised one with a welfare system comparable to that of Britain. Arising out of this, the third aim of the research is to compare the welfare ideologies of the two different countries and how these are affected by their dominant ideologies.

In this chapter the theoretical basis of the research will be discussed, some definitions will be offered, along with theories of ideology and phenomenology. As the research is based on an inquiry into individuals' personal beliefs, a phenomenological rather than a statistical approach was appropriate. In later chapters, the methodology used is looked at in more detail (Chapter 2) and also the results of the research (Chapters 5 and 6), which are analysed in Chapter 7. The welfare and social work practice ideologies of Britain and Japan are compared in Chapters 3 and 4. The questionnaire used as the basis of the interviews sought information on the social workers' individual personal ideologies and the relationship/link between these and their social work practice ideology. The findings are put in a theoretical context in terms of the determination of ideologies on different levels and the identification and understanding of their effects on practice. The following two sections look separately at the concepts of ideology and phenomenology.

2. Ideology

The four different ways in which the term ideology is used in the research will be discussed and then analysed according to historical, theoretical and empirical perspectives.

(a) Definitions

Ideology can be understood in four different ways as is shown in the following:

(i) Personal Ideology

Here the term is used in the sense of an individual's world views, that is similarly to Kelly's (1955) concept of personal constructs. An individual makes sense of the world and in order to do this s/he makes certain philosophical assumptions (for example, killing people/animals is bad/wrong or accumulating goods/money is good). These assumptions together tend to form a cluster (a vegetarian is unlikely to support blood sports) and this could be said to constitute a personal ideology. An aim of this research is to look at how such personal ideologies affect the social work practice of the individuals subscribing to them. Carniol (page 1) talks of ideology at this level as "referring to our world view in order to provide us with explanations and justifications for our personal as well as our political behaviour". Clark and Asquith (1985/102) emphasise that on this level ideology is concerned with what 'is'

that is, with the social world, and it is not to be counted as 'true' knowledge.

(ii) Social Work Practice Ideology

This term is used in the sense of the philosophy behind social work practice, by which is meant the thinking behind the theories on which social work is based. Social work practice is based on various social and psychological theories but beyond these there has been a clear social work practice ideology based on particular values around case work practice, such as individuality and confidentiality. These have been expounded in Biestek's seminal work (1970) and in the work of writers such as Hollis (1968) and Perlman (1961) in America and Timms (1983), Timms & Watson (1978) and Watson (1985) in Britain.

Whittington & Holland (1985/35) discuss how this ideology is based not only on science (from psychology and sociology) but also on a view of society and its social order as unproblematic or requiring only parliamentary reform. This paradigm allows that some social problems have structural roots but emphasises that many others arise from misfortune, human tragedy and personal inadequacy.

The social work taught in Japan is very much based on this (Western) social work ideology which was taken on

after Japan opened to Western influence, since the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and the occupation of Japan by the Americans after the second world war (see Chapter 4).

This social work ideology seems to me to assume middle class white values of the patriarchal nuclear family with father in employment and the family remaining a close (closed?) unit obtaining fulfilment almost exclusively from each other and from 'high' (Christian) moral and material standards. This includes the control of the time, place and partners in sexual relationships, the high consumption of material goods and significant importance given to matters of hygiene. Dalley (1983/79) calls this "an idealised picture of a comfortably-off middle class family at leisure".

These values clearly affect and are at the same time a product of capitalist means of production and reproduction. They pervade all areas of social work practice and together constitute an ideology that has very important consequences for women, different ethnic groups, and disadvantaged people of all kinds. In the lists of social work values discussed for example by Timms (page 49) neither women nor different cultural ideologies are even mentioned. Dalley (page 76) makes the important point that an assumption of this ideology is that the nearer a form of care can be to that based on the abovementioned model of the family, the better it must be.

(iii) Welfare Ideology

By this I mean the ideology subscribed to by the dominant socio-economic and political forces of a society in relation to the help given in that society to people who need such support for whatever reasons, for example handicapped, ill, poor and underprivileged people.

A social democratic welfare ideology (as established in Britain after the second world war) emphasises the role of the state in supporting such needs. Everyone pays taxes and is supported through public funds according to their needs. Mishra (1981/134) lists the main factors of such an ideology as follows:

1. The state is responsible in meeting needs.
2. Need-based distribution is a value.
3. There is a comprehensive range of statutory services.
4. All the population is covered by statutory services.
5. There are high levels of benefits and a high proportion of national income is spent on state services.
6. There is a marginal use of the means test.
7. Clients have a say in services provided and the running of these.
8. Clients have high status.
9. The orientation of the service is solidaristic.
10. The role of non-statutory agencies is marginal.

There are several perspectives on welfare within socialism, differing on issues such as the priority given to racism and sexism and their relation to class struggle. The spectrum extends from what George & Wilding (1976/42) call the "reluctant collectivists" (Beveridge himself (1945) would represent this group of socialists) to Fabian Socialists (represented by Titmuss (1968)) and Marxists (represented by Offe (1984)) and Feminists (represented by Wilson (1977) and McIntosh (1981)) who while criticising the welfare state for not representing the needs of oppressed groups, see it also as an arena for conflict to increase collective social provision.

A conservative welfare ideology (represented by 'anti-collectivists' such as Powell (1969)) emphasises the market factors in supporting welfare needs so that individuals are helped by other individuals on a voluntary basis or by private organisations set up to make money through the provision of such resources (for example residential homes, hospitals and special aids). Here people pay for these services as and when they use them.

Mishra (page 100) lists the main features of such a conservative welfare ideology as follows:

1. The state responsibility in meeting needs is minimal.
2. Need-based distribution as a value is marginal.

3. There is a very limited range of statutory services.
4. Only a minority of the population is covered by these services.
5. The level of benefits is low as is the proportion of national income spent on state services.
6. The use of the means test is primary.
7. Clients are seen as paupers or the poor.
8. The status of clients is low.
9. The orientation of the service is coercive.
10. The role of non-statutory agencies is primary.

In practice in both Britain and Japan, welfare policy is based on a mix of these two extreme ideological positions, that is, both countries operate welfare systems based on a 'welfare pluralist' ideology which is dependent on a social democratic welfare consensus. This represents a reduced role for state intervention in welfare and greater emphasis on voluntary action, informal aid and the market. In both countries there is some state provision for services (for example, education). Mishra (page 103) points out that in Japan which has lagged behind Britain in respect of state responsibility for income maintenance, health and housing, there has for a long time been free and compulsory education for children.

This limited state provision is linked together with private provision. The mix varies in the two countries

and this is due partly to historical differences (Japan was influenced by China and closed for two hundred years; Britain was at this time expanding, founding an empire, and influenced by the Protestant ethic of work and the concept of the deserving and undeserving poor). Britain is at present moving from the more Socialist (collectivist) welfare ideology founded by Beveridge after the second world war, to a more conservative one with an emphasis on voluntary services. In Japan the emphasis has always been more on a conservative welfare ideology with much work done (even today) by volunteers, often Buddhist priests. Recently though state provision plays a relatively larger role in Japan than previously (for example, free medical services for the elderly; Mishra, page 105, table 3).

(iv) Ideology in the Political Sense

In this research, particularly when discussing ideology on a theoretical level, I am using the term in a political sense as the philosophical assumptions/bases on which a society/culture is organised. The term here could be said to have anthropological/sociological/economical connotations in that different cultures are organised on different clusters of philosophical assumptions, for example about growth and development of people, the role of religion, the supernatural, the role of men and women, and about possessions. The cluster of dominant philosophical assumptions under

which Britain is organised, based on the classical civilisations of Greece and Rome, could be said to include capitalism, conservatism, a class system, patriarchy, Christianity, individualism, and the English language.

For Japan, influenced by classical Indian, Chinese and Korean civilisations, such a cluster of philosophical assumptions would include not only capitalism and conservatism, but also Buddhism, Shintoism, ancestor worship, feudalism (in respect of human relations, even if no longer in terms of the economic structure of the society) and the Japanese language.

Ideology as a concept in the political sense is based primarily on a Marxist interpretation of this as the conscious social practice of a society based on the means of production and reproduction. Ideology is being used here in a materialistic negative sense rather than a philosophical positive one, as when it is used in its sense of a personal world view or cluster of personal values. In both Britain and Japan the means of production are based on capitalism and ideology can be interpreted in this 'negative' sense, which assumes a 'false consciousness' of the workers accepting this system. It is pejorative since it refers to those who do not benefit from the prevailing social order and its perceived wisdoms, but accept it nevertheless.

Only a revolution would alter the mode of production and thus the power of structure of society, so that then there will no longer be an 'ideology' in this sense.

Marx himself developed the concept of ideology on from this purely negative idea and other writers such as Therborn (1980) and Gramsci (1982) continued this process. This is discussed further later.

Throughout this research the level on which the term ideology is being used and the ways in which it is being compared, have had to be clarified.

The research concentrates on Buddhism and Socialism as ideologies. It is important to analyse on which of the above levels these can be placed. Buddhism can be seen most easily as a personal ideology, a cluster of values to which an individual subscribes. This is the case particularly in Britain where Buddhism is very subordinate as an ideology in the dominant Christian capitalist culture. However in Asia, Buddhism can be identified also on a political level, where it is dominant in the culture, and so part of the 'super-structure' in a Marxist sense. Davidson (1985/12) discusses the role of Buddhism in capitalist Thailand and communist Laos, and concludes that it is not dissimilar in the two countries, but has adapted to both systems.

Socialism can also be identified as a personal ideology, particularly in the case of the Japanese Socialist social workers interviewed, where socialism is such a subordinate ideology in their culture. But it can be seen more easily as an ideology on the political level, as the basis on which society is to be organised, and in the Marxist sense as the basis for structural change and revolution.

Thus the main object of the research is to look at the links between the different levels on which these two ideologies operate for social workers interviewed in Britain and Japan. One theoretical tension in the study is that ideology is being discussed from a Marxist stance (as it is such an important concept in Marxism); at the same time socialism is one of the ideologies being described as part of the research. Another tension arising is that between the Marxist approach and the use of a phenomenological methodology. These have shown themselves to be significant factors, but not irreconcilable in the research.

(b) Historical

It is generally agreed that the term 'ideology' was first used by the French in the early 19th century (what Lichtheim (1967/4) calls its "revolutionary heritage"). The French scholar Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836) originated the word. He used the word 'ideology'

in his systematic study of the enlightenment. For him, ideology was a study of the process of forming ideas, a science of ideas. There were two significant aspects of his theory. One was materialism. He thought that ideas were stimulated by material things only and the formation of ideas was physical, rather than a spiritual or mystical process. The second important part of his thought was that social and political improvement was its main goal. Thus ideology has been associated with politics from the first use of the term. He developed his ideas from Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and John Locke (1632-1704) who both developed theories of ideas based on empirical methods.

Kant and Hegel as opposed to de Tracy and his materialist use of the term ideology, both developed non-material theories of knowledge. Kant asserted the primacy of the structures and categories of mind over matter. Hegel aimed to heal this division of the world into the knowledge of things produced by mental categories and things in themselves which are radically unknowable. His method for doing this was the dialectic. This proposed a specific conception of the relation between knowledge and the world, between mind and matter, between the idea and history.

Marx then returned to and developed a materialistic theory of ideology by an inversion of Hegel's ideas.

Hall (1980/12) says that Marx in this way proceeded to inaugurate an historical materialist theory of ideology. "It is certainly within this general framework that we must understand Marx's (1970a/181) famous assertion 'it is not consciousness which determines being but ... social being determines consciousness'." Hall emphasises that the materialist theory of ideology must be understood as a break with Hegel's system, not merely as setting it in reverse.

Although the concept of ideology started off as a positive idea (a science of ideas) by the time of Marx and his successors the negative aspects of the term (prejudice and false consciousness) were significant.

Hirst (1976/386) says "False consciousness is explained in Marxism by the relation of the subject to the object ... Reality determines the content of ideology; it generates false recognitions of itself by subjecting subjects to circumstances in which their experience is distorted". So with Marx, the term 'ideology' finally catches up with and surpasses the critique of religion, thus asserting its negative and critical character. His general concept of ideology subsumed not only religion, but all forms of distorted consciousness within itself. Larrain (1982/33) says that "... he not only emphasised a negative connotation but also added to its critical force by introducing a new crucial element in its definition - the reference to historical contradictions in society".

(c) Ideology as a Theoretical Concept

(i) Ideology & Values: The Problem of Choice

When looking at ideology from a theoretical stance, it is necessary first to ask where the difference lies between ideology and values. Plant (1974/82) says that ideologies are equivalent to values because they are linked by the concept of choice. "The very existence of competing ideological outlooks and the conceptual conflicts which they engender entails that one has to choose to which one wishes to be morally bound ... no evaluative framework, no ideology thus forces itself upon us and we are forced to choose between them." But the issue of choice is not such a simple one as Plant would seem to have us believe. The values by which we live and the ideologies to which we subscribe are very much dependent on our cultural and social position (in terms of class, race and gender) that is, on where, when and by whom we have been brought up and influenced. The social workers interviewed for this research subscribe to particular ideologies in theory but their values as manifested by practice are sometimes very different. There is of course some choice in the particular values to which a person subscribes (ideology in the personal sense) for example to be a vegetarian, or to join the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Ideologies may not be forced upon us but certainly 'environmental' factors do play a large part in our

choice of ideologies and more importantly, in how these are manifested in practice. Wright (1980/1) distinguishes between values and ideology in terms of the former being 'chosen' and the latter placing more stress on cognition. CCETSW Paper 13 (1980/14) attempts to describe rather than define values and differentiates between personal preferences and values held by groups of people, that is ideology on a personal level and on a cultural/political level. There has been much written about social work values as opposed to ideology.¹

Although emphasising different values (for example, respect for persons, the work ethic, confidentiality, equality) such literature is within a traditional Western Christian psychodynamic ideological framework, and the same social work practice ideology. CCETSW Paper 13 discussing the relationship between values and ideology (page 19) says "In a changed ideological and political climate, values may change and the claims of collectivist views may supplant those of the individual". In this research I hoped to find out whether different social work values could be incorporated into the traditional social work framework, and if so how some social workers were managing to do this. Very few writers in Britain have in fact written about social work from an ideological standpoint other than the traditional social work practice one.

¹See the works of Timms (1983), Butrym (1978), and CCETSW Paper 13 (1980).

Brandon (1975 and 1976) and Keefe (1975) both write from a Buddhist (ideological) standpoint so the values that they emphasise are quite different to the usual social work practice ones. Values emphasised in Buddhism are nowness, understanding, non-attachment, change, love and compassion. Other writers (Corrigan & Leonard (1979), Walker & Beaumont (1981), Bolger et al (1981)) have written about social work from a Socialist ideological stance. The values they emphasise include change, collectivisation and democratisation of power.

(ii) Ideology Within Marxism: Marx, Gramsci & Althusser

As already mentioned, Marx developed the negative and critical aspects of the term 'ideology'. He also treated the concept from an historical rather than from just a psychological point of view. His treatment of the concept of ideology changed over time. In his earlier work² Marx lays down the concept of ideology. Originally he developed the concept by inverting Hegel's ideas. He looked at the concept of consciousness which is affected by people's social being. He saw consciousness as a practical activity. People have to produce their material existence: this is intentional and transforms not only nature but people themselves.

²The 'Theses on Feuerbach' and the 'German Ideology' (Marx & Engels (1970b) first published 1845.

Through these material conditions, relations of domination arise which lead to contradictions. Thus Marx approached the concept of ideology through this idea of the contradictory nature of social reality brought about by productive forces. Contradictions become conscious and give rise to distorted solutions (illusions and errors) - which are 'ideology'. "The phantoms formed in the human brain are also necessarily sublimates of their material life process ..." (Marx & Engels, 1970b/47). Ideology is therefore for Marx at this earlier stage a false consciousness which arises through restrictions in people dealing with the contradictions of social existence. This 'ideology' can only be dissolved by overthrowing the social relations which give rise to the contradictions.

Larrain (1982/50) highlights the problem that Marx in his early writing is using the term 'ideological' in two ways. "He sometimes uses it to make general reference to all forms of consciousness, theories and intellectual representations corresponding to a certain economic base" and sometimes refers "... to a particular distorted kind of consciousness which conceals contradiction". Larrain says that Marx refers to consciousness at a structural level (which includes all form of consciousness) but then also on an idealistic level which Larrain calls 'ideational superstructure'.

In Marx's later work³ although the essential features of ideology continue to be those which Marx analysed in 'The German Ideology', they are expressed differently. Ideology is still seen as consciousness concealing contradictions in the interests of the ruling class but this idea is now linked to economic factors in that capital is able to itself expand and produce interest.

Abercrombie & Turner (1978/150) say that Marx's first idea that social being determines consciousness contradicts his idea that it is the economic structure of society which determines the superstructure (the ideology). "The first suggested each class forms its own system of belief in accordance with its own particular interests which will be basically at variance with those of other classes. The second suggests that all classes share in the system of belief imposed by the dominant class." It seems that particularly in Britain the latter explanation would seem to apply. Social class has a significant influence on personal ideology so the idea of false consciousness is extremely significant in the propagation of the dominant class ideology throughout society (for example, unemployed working class people voting for the Conservative Party). Ideology here plays the role of hiding the

³The 'Grundrisse' (1973, first published 1858) and the 'Capital' (1974, three volumes first published between 1867 and 1894).

true relations between classes by ignoring or denying the relations of domination and subordination so that society carries on with no disruptions. Thus ideology legitimises the social structure and its forms of production and reproduction.

Two writers, Gramsci and Althusser, who have developed Marx's ideas of the concept of ideology will now be discussed.

Gramsci rejects Marx's view of ideology as 'false' consciousness. For Gramsci the starting point of ideology is that it is a consciousness of the contradictions of the society in which people live and operate. Ideology is the struggle by which people acquire this consciousness through confrontation. It is active practice, identified with politics. He is aware of the institutional nature of this practice and says that it possesses its own agents, that is the intellectuals. Merrington (1968/154) points out Gramsci's emphasis on the crucial role of ideology and the means by which consciousness is mediated in capitalist society and institutions legitimise bourgeois dominance. He does not underestimate the importance of the material structure of society to spread the dominant ideology. For him this is made up of different 'hegemonic apparatuses' (power structures): schools, churches, the media etc. Thus Gramsci queried the reductionist conception of ideology

which for Marx made it a function of the class position of its subjects. For Gramsci therefore for 'consciousness' to be no longer 'false' requires a process of transformation aimed at producing new forms and re-articulations of existing ideological elements. The object of ideological struggle is not to reject the system but to rearticulate it, to break it down to its basic elements and then to see which ones could serve to express the new situation. Gramsci (1982/377) says "One must therefore distinguish between historically organic ideologies, those, that is, which are necessary to a given structure, and ideologies that are arbitrary, rationalistic or "willed". To the extent that ideologies are historically necessary they have a validity which is "psychological"; they "organise" human masses and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc. To the extent that they are arbitrary they only create individual "movements", polemics and so on ...".

Gramsci stressed the material nature of ideology, its existence as a necessary level of all social formations. He clearly broke away radically from Marx's conception of ideology as false consciousness (a distorted representation of reality).

Simon (1982/60) points out that Gramsci considers that an ideology is not to be judged by its truth or falsity but by its efficacy in binding together a block of diverse social elements, and in acting as 'cement' or

as an agent of social unification. Thus as already mentioned, the nature of ideological struggle for Gramsci is not to make a fresh start but to rearrange elements which are already there. The intellectuals according to Gramsci would act in this capacity, combining diverse ideological elements, some of which may not have a class character.

Althusser's (1977/121) concept of ideology, similarly to Gramsci's, breaks away from Marx's idea of ideology as false representation of the real, a distorted reflection in consciousness of real social relations. He sees ideology as a structure of social relations no less real than the economic and the political and articulated with them. He puts forward two theses about ideology. The first states (page 153) "Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence". He goes on to add that ideologies make allusion to reality and need only be 'interpreted' to discover the reality of the world behind the imaginary representation of that world. The second thesis (page 155) states that ideology has a material existence. For Althusser, reality determines the content of ideology and is its origin because reality creates the different 'places' (class positions etc) from which subjects view it. Thus ideology is not 'consciousness'; it is a representation of the 'imaginary'. He says that ideological state relations are articulated within a system of

ideological state apparatuses and these apparatuses serve to reproduce the relations of production.

It would seem that Althusser's concept of ideology although rejecting Marx's reductionist view is in fact also reductionist in that both Althusser and Marx see ideology as false, that is a distortion of reality. Hirst (page 402) points out that Althusser's concept of ideology in fact requires the effects of falsity (maintenance of the existing order) in just the same way as Marx's does.

Another problem of Althusser's idea of ideology is what Therborn (page 8) calls the problem of the 'mode of ideological interpellation' that is, what ideologies tell the subjects they address and constitute. For him ideology is firmly entrenched in economic and social life, that is true or distorted 'knowledge'. Similarly to Gramsci here he sees ideology as functioning as a 'cement' which unifies society. It is therefore necessary because it secures the cohesion of society by adapting individuals to their roles in life.

Althusser attacks economistic and reductionist theories of ideology in which ideology is excluded from material existence, being relegated just to superstructure. Unlike Marx, he sees ideology as a functional requirement for all societies, even a Socialist one, and as such for him it can have no end. Ideological representations

are distortions of reality but they are socially necessary in all societies because of the opaque nature of social totality. Therefore ideology can never be abolished even if social contradictions disappear in a Socialist society.

(iii) The End of Ideology?

There has been an ongoing debate about whether ideology has 'come to an end'. Bell (1965/16) argues that ideology has already come to an end. However for him ideology refers to 19th century intellectual systems, particularly Marxism, that "could claim truth for their views of the world" and where ideology is something like a religion with an emotional appeal. This idea sees ideology as a limited concept referring almost exclusively to claims for truth from particular intellectual systems.

Waxman (1968/5) in his introduction to a book about the 'end of ideology' debate, says that the idea involves two basic premises. The first is the absence of ideological politics in modern industrial society, and the second is a positive value judgement about this, namely that we have reached the good society and ideology can only serve to hinder the progress we are making. He goes on to say that the end of ideology is due not to having achieved a good society but a result of the bureaucratisation of society, where

everything is so compartmentalised. "We can no longer think in broad terms, we are only capable of concentrating on specifics" (page 7). He concludes that what we lack and what we desperately need is a new ideology which will enable us to transcend our current stagnation.

This research has gone some way in demonstrating that this idea that 'ideology is dead' is a false one. It became apparent that ideology is still very much alive on all four levels of definition. Althusser, Gramsci and Therborn all see ideology as an integral part of social fabric, as indispensable to society, unifying it and giving cohesion. Gramsci particularly, saw revolutionary struggle as an ongoing process, changing over time rather than as a single event. These writers therefore see this debate in different terms to Bell.

Geertz (1964/51) says succinctly "We may wait as long for the end of ideology as the Positivists have waited for the end of religion".

Marx himself also saw ideology as an integral part of society but of capitalist society only. He emphasised the negative aspects of ideology (as false consciousness or the superstructure of the economic base of society) and distinguished between the practical resolution of ideology through revolution (by solving contradictions which give rise to it) and a critique of ideology. In

a Socialist society, the contradictions giving rise to ideology would be resolved, therefore it would not arise. But before this stage of revolution, a critique of ideology on a theoretical basis would be a start to the solution of the contradictions of society but not sufficient to resolve them. Gramsci differs from Marx here seeing this whole process of change in more organic terms. However as Larrain points out (1983/206) "At the same time Marx does not exempt the critique of ideology from social determination. Just as the evolution of the theory of political economy was shaped by the development of capitalist contradictions, so the evolution of the critique of political economy develops in accordance with a similar pattern of contradictory social development".

Gramsci's conception is an important development of Marx's more reductionist ideas of ideology. Certainly in Britain it is unlikely that there will be such a one-off revolution, whereas revolution in Gramsci's meaning recurs.

Exploitation of one class by another continues and could be said to change only in emphasis rather than to be alleviated. In Britain today, exploitation of the workers by the owners of production is compounded and made complex by exploitation of black people, women and other disadvantaged groups in a white, heterosexual,

male-dominated society. Old class distinctions are more blurred than previously (although clearly also still very influential). Whilst working class people in Britain are still disadvantaged (in terms of for example education and health) there is now a more common culture for all young people than previously. At the same time splits in life styles between blacks and whites, 'gays' and 'straights', women and men, old and young increase with the former of each opposite being exploited by the latter.

Using 'ideology' in a Marxian sense, in spite of social changes in many spheres of life, it is still very much with us as the superstructure of society and manifested as false consciousness by for example those working class and underprivileged who vote Conservative against their own interests. (This particular pattern is more complex, further discussion is outside the remit of this project.)

Here, by comparing social workers in two different cultures (Japan is a more homogenous society in terms of class and race than Britain) it is hoped to compare ideology on a 'political' level, how on this level it affects social work practice in the two countries, comparing groups who could be said to be part of the dominating class and those standing against this class.

(c) Ideology as an Empirical Concept

It would seem that ideology has not 'ended' but appears to have shifted from broader issues to what J Marx (1969/75) calls "more highly differentiated and functionally specialised occupational collectivities". He points out that ideological investigations recently examine ideologies associated with specific roles, statuses and positions (for example, he himself looking at the mental health field and Hardiker (1977) looking at the probation service). Thus attention has been focussed on ideologies associated with various professional occupations, the present research looking at the ideologies associated with practising social workers. In this section, Buddhism and Socialism will be discussed in terms of their operational bases for social work practice. However before that, it is important to note that although Britain and Japan have such very different histories and cultures, because of the influence of Western ideas about welfare and social work (before and after the American occupation of Japan) both the social work practice and welfare ideologies dominant in the two countries have areas in common. They both for example emphasise some form of case work as the basis of the social work practice ideology, with the family as the unit on which to work. They both subscribe to a pluralistic welfare ideology. This is further analysed in Chapter 7.

Social work practice ideology stems from different theories. It is possible to distinguish social science theories on which social work ideas are based (for example, psychological theories of development and sociological theories about poverty) from theories based more on practice (for example, theories about child care, how to help families, and what to do if a parent is battering a child).

The social work practice ideology represented by each of the two ideologies under discussion will now be analysed; that is, concepts of Buddhism and Socialism which would be expressed in the social work practice of adherents to these ideologies.

Gramsci (Simon, page 25) shows that ideologies themselves (and not only their practical manifestations) are not individual fancies, rather they are embedded in communal modes of living and acting. This is what he calls 'common sense', the uncritical, unconscious, confused and contradictory ways people make sense of the world.

Three concepts fundamental to Buddhism and part of such a social work practice ideology are: change, non-intervention (which includes acceptance), and nowness (which is linked to the Buddhist idea of reality). These are fundamental but not exclusive to Buddhism. Traditional Confucian concepts would be essentially the same.

(i) Change

This is a concept fundamental to both Buddhism and social work. Huber (1965/48) an American therapist who underwent Zen Buddhist training, describes his discovery of this cardinal Buddhist principle - the impermanence of all things, the constancy of change. He says "I realise that no matter what thought or feeling I had, it passed on ... nothing will ever come again as it comes to me at any one moment". Change in Buddhist terms is spiritual or idealistic.

Keefe (page 141) sees the case work relationship as enabling clients to accept change as a necessary part of reality.

Thus a Buddhist social worker would be aware of the limitations of 'labelling' clients as if 'fixed' forever. Descriptions of clients for example as 'difficult', 'violent' or 'passive' seem to stick and affect clients and social workers even years later, perhaps re-emerging from a medical or social enquiry report. Qualities not included in particular labels are eliminated. When clients are labelled by social workers, other aspects or changes occurring all the time are not acknowledged. This externalises the whole process of change: it is others who are labelled and so perceived as the objects of likely change. A Buddhist approach to change acknowledges that the social worker is part of this process and changes along with the client.

(ii) Non-Intervention (With Acceptance)

A Buddhist approach here implies holding cognitive processes in temporary abeyance and allowing things and others to speak for themselves. The capacity for empathy (which leads to an imaginative acceptance of the other) is enhanced. This is facilitated by the suspension of labelling and rests upon a clear perception and an unfettered response shared directly, authentically and spontaneously with the other person. As Brandon (1975/641) points out "Zen reminds us of the vast differences between 'knowing about' and simply 'knowing'". Suzuki (1974/11) says "The Zen approach to acceptance is to enter right into the object itself and to see it as it were, from the inside". He calls this the 'creative' way of 'knowing'. This leads to genuine, helpful acceptance and empathy rather than what in Suzuki's terms is the 'scientific' way of 'knowing' which dissects the client's psyche in order to reconstruct it in an intellectual or abstract manner. This Buddhist idea of acceptance can be linked to Western concepts of non-directive social work practice (Rogers 1951). The image of social workers as 'experts' undermines clients by the assumed superior knowledge. The non-directive approach is far more a function of listening. This means, as Kopp (1974/3) says "Listening actively and purposefully ... which facilitates the patient's telling of his tale, the telling that can set him free".

Using a Buddhist approach, a social worker would ask in any situation "For whose benefit is the intervention?" "Is it genuinely helpful or is it interference?"

Professional training should hopefully equip social workers to make the best decisions in situations such as non-accidental injury to children where intervention is necessary, compared to the situation as described by Brandon (1976/80) in which a local council destroyed railway cutting land (which was used by children as a play area) and then built a playground to which none of the children ever went. Chuang Tzu (Merton 1970/28) says "I know about not interfering ... so that men will not be changed into something they are not ...".

(iii) Nowness (Linked in Buddhism to the Idea of Reality)

According to Watts (1973/51) "If Maya or unreality lies not in the physical world but in the concepts or thought forms by which it is described, it is clear that Maya refers to social institutions and to the way in which they modify our feelings of the world". This would seem to mean an acceptance of the reality of clients, without any preconceived notion of how we would like them to be. An example of this concept is Keefe's (page 141) idea that the client is best helped by asking 'How do I feel?' rather than 'How should I be?'.

To the extent that a person dwells on the 'should have been', 'might have been' or 'might be' of life at the

expense of living life in the reality of the present, s/he suffers. Social work practice from a Buddhist stance would aim towards helping clients get in touch with their true selves, with the present moment as the starting point of behavioural change and growth. The experiencing of self in the present moment of reality is the prerequisite of any change.

Three concepts which are fundamental to a Socialist social work practice ideology are change, collectivisation and democratisation of power.

(i) Change

This concept arises in Socialism as in Buddhism but is interpreted differently in the two ideologies. A Socialist concept of change is structurally based, focusing on ideological changes of consciousness as the means to socio-economic and political changes leading to a shift in power to working class people from the bourgeois hegemony. According to Socialist theory, change from a capitalist to a socialist society will occur because of the inherent contradictions in capitalism itself (class conflict, power being vested in too few people and contradictions between the forces and relations of production). In terms of social work practice and the position of social workers (who are mainly part of the state apparatus) and clients (mainly welfare recipients) social change can arise from workers (that is in-

cluding clients) gaining power or hegemony through collectivisation. Gramsci (page 242) argues that revolutionary change involves ideological change, that is changes in consciousness. This involves changing the world in which people live, their material circumstances, since change occurs as a dialectic process and is brought about by the process of social action. Rein (1970/288) concludes that any socialist concept of change "... is incomplete if it leaves out political and hence environmental processes".

(ii) Collectivisation

This concept emphasises the fact that in order to achieve any real change people, particularly the underprivileged in society, must unite and cooperate. Collective consumption, that is universal comprehensive and free social services, constitutes a basic socialist welfare ideology, with production and distribution of resources brought under the communal control of workers.

Trade unions are important here especially for social workers themselves in their conflict between the vested interests of the bourgeois state in which most of them work, and the interests of clients.

All Socialist social work writers discuss collectivisation and unionisation in terms of the significance of

collective action to help with individual problems and as a means of harnessing power to be used effectively against the bourgeois hegemony. Simpkin (1979/144) says that caring is only possible if one takes the risk of being vulnerable and this can be done only with collective support. "... unions can foster teamwork not just for its own sake or for maintenance and improvement of standards which will result, but for its political consequences. The team which functions cooperatively is a break in the hierarchical command."

Brake & Bailey (1980/19) emphasise recognition of the many things social workers have in common with clients and as part of this, the importance of social workers working within a union in the context of organised labour to strengthen the collective social workers' voice within the labour union. They also discuss other areas of collective action such as community issues and politics, decentralising and democratising teamwork and welfare rights advocacy.

Bond (1971/22) sees collective action as recognition that the public component of clients' private problems are unlikely to be solved by individual actions.

Corrigan & Leonard (page 148) see collective action as "a real attempt to grasp a piece of the social world and change it".

(iii) Democratisation

This concept involves a shift in both the coercive power of the state and the hegemony of civil society (in Gramsci's terms) from the ruling bourgeois, to the workers and the underprivileged.

All social movements, for example those concerned with women, racial minorities and ecology, are part of this process. Thus Gramsci evolved a new concept of the term 'democracy' (Simon, page 103). "Parliamentary democracy needs to be supplemented by a growing variety of forms of direct democracy which enable people to participate in political activities in the local community and to acquire control over the labour process in the workplace."

This vision of the revolutionary process is concerned with popular participation and free discussion, important also for social work practice. Freire's (1982/61) concept of 'dialoguing' is useful here. Dialoguing "... imposes itself as the way in which men achieve significance as men, (sic) ... dialogue is the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world which is to be transformed and humanised ...". In terms of socialist social work practice ideology, dialoguing is a process to encourage the 'demystification' of welfare services, client participation and a shift in power and

control from the state to welfare recipients. Clients would then have a genuine say in what welfare services are provided and how, also in the planning, organisation and running of such services.

Rose (1974) distinguishes between 'participation in' and 'participation against' with welfare recipients being conceived as active not passive. Participation consists of having control over decisions, and as well as recipients can include relatives, voluntary organisations, community groups, full-time workers, and the general public.

The idea of democratising services would seem to lead to an endorsement of 'community' or 'patch' type social work but this should be in a socialist way with real power of choice going to those using the services, rather than community and patch social work being seen as by the present Conservative government, as a way of cutting public services and relying on private and voluntary resources.

Statham (1978/10) mentions that the inclusion of clients on social service department committees was suggested in the Seebohm Report but has not been taken up seriously except by some voluntary organisations. She points out also that "It is doubtful whether one or two individual clients can make much of an impact on the policies of large hierarchical agencies. Even with the backing of a collective support group, the task is an uphill one".

In conclusion, clearly, all approaches to social work practice are based on ideology. Gramsci (page 326) says "Various philosophies or conceptions of the world exist, and one always makes a choice between them. How is this choice made? Is it merely an intellectual event, or is it something more complex? ... This contrast between thought and action ... is not simply a product of self-deception ... but (can) be the expression of profounder contrasts of a social historical order".

This research examines how these concepts inform the practice of the social workers interviewed. It will address itself to the 'space' between the different levels of ideology as related to practice. Smith & Harris (1972/28) call these operational philosophies, that is the procedures through which ideologies are mediated in practice. Thus in the interviews, an attempt was made to distinguish between personal ideologies, operational philosophies and actual social work practice, and the relation between these.

3. Phenomenology

Because in the research an account is rendered of the everyday professional lives of the social workers interviewed, I was very much drawn to a phenomenological approach to the research.

Empirical social science as a contemporary method of studying and understanding society has its heritage in the philosophical approach to science known as 'naturalism'. Gorman (1975a/389) points out that this method could be said to misconceive the role of individuals in society because it ignores the subjective aspects of existence, which was just the aspect in which I am interested. A phenomenological approach based on the work of Schutz can be seen as an attempt to understand what Natanson (1962/XXV) calls the "paramount reality of common sense life". Schutz was influenced mainly by Husserl whose critique of naturalism was anchored in his systematic philosophy of phenomenology.

The term 'phenomenology' refers back to the distinction introduced by Kant between the phenomenon or appearance of reality in consciousness, and the noumenon or being of reality itself. Husserl was opposed to this 'dualism' of Kant, as he thought that consciousness was not reducible to 'nature' and could not be explored by natural science methods. He emphasised that there was not only one real world in which phenomena existed in a system of determined relations, but that individuals perceived the same thing very differently when placed in the same system of environmental events. For Husserl the world exists only through individuals' perceptions. Each person subjectively perceives objects and events by extending her or himself outward through conscious awareness. In phenomenological terminology, an 'actor' imputes meaning to the world according to her/his own values

and feelings. Schutz developed Husserl's ideas and contended that we are all unique 'actors', each a product of biographically determined situations. Factors determining how we define situations and how we act, are constituted subjectively through our perceiving and experiencing of the world. Schutz (1975/79) attempted to analyse the interplay between an individual's effort to comprehend the social world, and the cognitive prestructuring of the world. He combined two philosophical views of science, one that scientific objective knowledge of the empirical world, is possible independently of subjectively constituted transcendental reality and two, the idea that all knowledge must be consciously perceived and subjectively defined, for there is nothing apart from consciousness. For Schutz, objective knowledge is therefore subjective knowledge. Evidence is needed, he thought, to show us that what we perceive and subjectively constitute necessarily corresponds to what is empirically confirmed. His aim was to transcend the gap separating unique individuality from scientific knowledge without leaving the world of empirical fact. Thus if a phenomenological epistemology is accepted, objective knowledge must be constituted by the subject through her or his subjectivity. Phenomenology as a methodology is relevant for this research because it emphasises the subjective perspective rather than analysing social relations and actions from the onlooker's (researcher's) point of view.

With a 'natural' science methodology, abstracting from empirical evidence surrounding a limited segment of social

interaction, the observer attributes to social 'actors' a set of subjectively meaningful motives. These can be attributed on the basis of impersonal 'empirical data'. If 'actors' really do subjectively constitute knowledge, then there is no necessary correlation between empirical data and scientific certainty, so that the empirical data can represent only the observer's undirected fact-filled descriptive guesswork, rather than objective explanations. Conversely, if the empirical data actually are objectively valid, then are they subjectively meaningful?

In this research I am aware that I attributed motives and meanings to the interviewees. A phenomenological methodological perspective seems the most appropriate here for the study of issues of a not obviously 'quantifiable' nature.

However although a natural science approach is limited by its emphasis on objectivity, clearly if the research is to be viable then it is important that general problems of methodology (replication and validation) are not denied or ignored. These problems are discussed in Chapter 2. A phenomenological approach, while emphasising the subjective, would at the same time be concerned with bringing together the researcher's (and the subject's) 'objective' stance with the subject's rendering of her/his situation. Thus a phenomenological perspective is the most appropriate here, for an understanding of aspects of social behaviour, in this project, of social workers in their daily professional practice.

Hindess (1977/68) raises two important issues about such an approach. Firstly the relation between the situation and the meanings of the actor who is in it, and secondly the problem of accounting for the situation. He says that if an 'actor' 'acts' in terms of meanings of her/his definition of the situation, the meanings are never directly observable. The researcher must refer to the resulting actions of these meanings. And yet these meanings account for the actions. The actor on the social scene, unlike the puppet actor in the social scientist's model, is essentially 'free'. This research has asked 'actors' about their 'usual' behaviour but as a researcher I presented also a conceptual model, the analogues that are part of the questionnaire. However the main emphasis is in the realm of directly experienced social reality. The human freedom that has a central place in Schutz's concept of social science, produces the problem that Hindess raises of the relationship between the situation and the 'actor's' interpretation. Hindess concludes that Schutz's social science is no science (page 77). "It is a complex product of his humanism, a theoretical ideology affirming in its 'results' its own necessary and unquestioned premise: that 'the world of objective mind' can be reduced to the behaviour of individuals." This research demonstrates that Hindess underestimates Schutz here, in that objectivity and subjectivity can be viably linked by asking individuals to account for their motives and actions, and then appropriately analysing these subjective accounts.

The term 'actor' has already been used in a specific phenomenological context. The concepts of 'action' and 'act' are central to a phenomenological notion of subjectivity. Schutz defines 'conduct' as "subjectively meaningful experiences emanating from our spontaneous life" (1975/125). He avoids the term 'behaviour' because this includes subjectively non-meaningful manifestations of spontaneity such as reflexes. He defines as 'action' as "conduct which is devised in advance". The term 'work' refers to an action which has been planned in order to bring about a change in the outer state of affairs, with the help of bodily movements.

Gorman (1975b/1) emphasises that Schutz distinguished between an act as spontaneous human conduct and an act which is an accomplished action. The latter is projected as the goal of the action and brought into being by it. Action would be abstract and pointless if we had not already fantasised or projected a proposed goal to be its result. The subjective driving force behind action is motivation. Wagner (1975/26) makes the point that we are indebted to Schutz for a highly relevant contribution; the exposition of the two-pronged character of motivation. On the one hand people act from goal-directed motives, which reach out into the future. Schutz called these 'in order to motives' (1962/70). At the same time people have 'reasons' for their actions which are anchored in past experiences, in the personalities they have developed. These Schutz called 'because motives'. He distinguished clearly between the subjective and objective meanings of motives. When carrying

out an action according to plan, the 'actor' is experiencing 'in order to motives'. This is essentially subjective. When actually acting, the 'actor' is not aware of the 'because motives' which are only realised through reflection. But an observer can reconstruct these 'because motives' from the act so these, argued Schutz, are objective.

Using a phenomenological perspective, the social workers interviewed could be said to have subscribed to their ideologies in terms of 'in order to motives', but the research attempts to 'reconstruct' their 'because motives', that is, how their stated ideologies affect their 'accomplished acts'. I have also attempted to uncover 'in order to motives' as the social workers were asked questions dealing with reasons for their choice of ideologies and the resultant actions.

Such a concept of motivation, where the 'actor' freely chooses subjectively-defined projects, assumes that this free action will correspond to the personality-caused behaviour each actor is fated to exhibit. In order to explain how social action (still performed by a unique individual) can be understood, by applying generalised concepts, Schutz uses the concept of 'typification'. The 'actor' experiences events (of the external world) and these are linked together as the 'actor's' 'stock of knowledge'. Schutz (1972/80) gives concrete examples of such patterns of syntheses of past experiences. Present acts are based on present 'stocks of knowledge'. The world is organised by

rules of typicality: principles founded on our unquestioned past experiences, allowing us to anticipate the future. He says (1962/20) "Consequently all projecting involves a particular idealisation ... i.e. the assumption that I may under typically similar circumstances act in a way typically similar to that in which I acted before, in order to bring about a typically similar state of affairs ... Thus, the 'repeated' action will be something else than a mere re-performance". So 'typifications' characterising our 'stocks of knowledge at hand' are not individually constituted. Rather they are prescribed by society, especially the in group subculture of which the 'actor' is part, and normally unquestioningly accepts.

For Schutz, all social interaction is based on the reciprocal expectation that the other will behave in a predictable manner. Thus social behaviour is clearly interconnected, in that we each determine our own actions according to this expectation that the other will behave predictably. This research addresses itself to the gap between people's 'in order to' and 'because' motives. I observed certain facts in social reality (particular situations) and then proceeded to set up models of 'puppet actors' (the interviewees) to look at elements relevant to the performing of observed courses of action-patterns. Stated another way, I am interested in the congruity between the interviewees' professed ideologies, their 'operational philosophies' and their stated practice. Why do people act as they do? What is the

relationship between values and action? To approach these questions, Schutz's concept of freedom is of significance. He says (1975/146) "He who lives in the social world is a free being: his acts proceed from spontaneous activity. Once the action has transpired it has become an act and is no longer free but closed and determinate in character". If Schutz here means conscious-willing action is determined by social recipes because we each unquestioningly accept the 'real life world', then in what sense is free action initiated by the individual? Such freedom to choose would be an illusion because we cannot do other than what is expected of us. This is not really freedom because it prescribes one course of behaviour, so no genuine choice. However if individuals are self-determining, then social institutions and culture as phenomena existing separately from these individuals, do not shape or mould them in some vaguely objective sense. Then what is the relationship between these social institutions and individual actions?

For Schutz individual freedom in the common sense world seems to be the depersonalising submission of a 'wilful individual' to those socially derived and approved 'idealisations' prescribing attitudes and behaviour. For him the world is therefore a place where free individuals, having the ability to choose their own course in life, hide behind a facade of social mores and institutions. This would not explain though in this research, why for example the British Buddhist and the Japanese Socialist social workers interviewed are going against their 'common sense' world. In fact

although they use this as part of the explanation for their choice of professed ideologies, in practice they do not appear to really succeed in going against the dominant ideologies that they are attempting to reject. In many ways they act as they are expected to, but against what they say. This still leaves unanswered the question why they feel they want or need to reject the dominant ideologies of their cultures, whilst the other two groups, the Japanese Buddhist and the British Socialist social workers, clearly do not. There are various factors operating here to be explored further. A phenomenological perspective is inadequate to sufficiently tackle the whole issue of choice, that is what role do social typifications play in our choices? Schutz dispenses with the issue by assuming that our projects are both freely chosen goals of our 'in order to motives' and determined results of our 'because motives'. If the everyday social world really consists only of socially-determined behaviour patterns, that individuals unthinkingly internalise, it appears easiest and clearest for social science researchers to focus their efforts primarily on uncovering empirically valid generalisations inherent in these patterns. A Marxist approach seems more useful here. It would not only attempt to uncover such generalisations for explaining and predicting social behaviour, (for example the fact that the everyday social world consists of socially-determined behaviour which is dependent on the class, gender and race power structure of society) but it would also, through the concepts of alienation and false consciousness (ideology) explain acceptance by individuals (for example the social

workers here) of particular social values and rejection of some.

For Marx, alienation was one of the chief characteristics of the social world of modern capitalism. It refers to a state of consciousness which results from the relationship between people and the processes of production under capitalism. In the Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 (1959) Marx analyses the process by which people become alienated from nature, from themselves, from humanity (that is, from their species being) and from other people. Workers become converted into mindless appendages of machinery, their faculties crippled by the division of labour. This may seem similar to the determinism for which Schutz has just been criticised. However through Marx's emphasis on the dialectical character of social development and social consciousness, as Swingewood (1979/106) points out, although workers may be alienated, there are opposite tendencies generated by the division of labour itself that point clearly towards liberation. "Thus modern machine production concentrates all initiative into collective effort ..." Workers through the actual process of alienation become aware of the need to defend their interests through collective action. Marx was part of the strict determinism of the natural science of the 19th century, with his emphasis on historical determinism, but at the same time he also emphasised human freedom and self-realisation. He developed his criticisms of capitalism in the Grundrisse (1973) where he discussed further his ideas on the nature of individuality within social relationships and of objectifica-

tion in capitalist processes of production. Workers can overcome the false consciousness and ideology (the superstructure) under which they labour through collectivisation, leading to a change in consciousness, so to a revolutionary change in the material modes of production. This in turn will lead to freedom and self-determination.

Hall (1980/19) comparing phenomenology and Marxism, says that Schutz assumed that all that could be properly known consisted of the contents and structures of consciousness, whereas Marxism treats consciousness as a realm of 'false appearances'.

In phenomenological terms, as Wagner (page 18 of the introduction) points out, the individual in her/his orientations within the life world is guided by instructions and interpretations from others. But the connection is not made clear as in Marxism. It is presumably such exposure to other people that has a differential effect on individuals which Schutz explained by his concept of relevance (1975/236). He analysed three distinct kinds of relevance: motivational, thematic and interpretational. Motivational relevance is governed by a person's interest prevailing at a particular time in a specific situation. Accordingly, s/he singles out elements present in the situation which serve to define it in the light of purposes at hand. Thematic relevance is concerned with a situation which cannot be defined in a pragmatic fashion, that is by way of a recombination of sufficiently known elements. Thus the motivational tendency

towards action must be suspended as the situation has become problematic and the individual must concern her/himself with the recognition of the problem on hand. The 'actor' turns into a 'potential problem solver' and to do so must define the problem which has gained central relevance and become the theme of cognitive efforts.

Interpretational relevance occurs as an extension of thematic relevance. The recognition of the problem, its formulation as such, necessitates further interpretation. A new interpretation however can only be accomplished by putting the problem itself into the larger context of the frustrated actor's knowledge which s/he surmises has a bearing on the understanding of the problem (Schutz 1971/239). These concepts will be used later to discuss the reasons for the choice or acceptance of ideologies by the social workers interviewed.

Schutz paid attention also to the social system of relevance, that is relevances which in any cultural community are part of the social heritage. For example in Japan, Buddhist ideas would be taught to the younger generation and a Buddhist hierarchy of values is clearly established. In Britain a Christian (Protestant) capitalist hierarchy of values is established. However his ideas here will be shown to be less useful in the context of this research comparing two different cultures than later developments of phenomenological ideas by Berger & Luckmann (1979).

From the phenomenological approach three general issues arise, which it is hoped the research goes some way towards answering. First the issue of generalisation. Schutz contended that all typifications characterising our 'stocks of knowledge at hand' are not individually constituted; rather they are prescribed by society, especially the in-group subculture of which the 'actor' is part and normally unquestioningly accepts. However he was concerned with people operating in the same (Western) culture. This research attempts to look at this problem in relation to people 'acting' in different cultures. Schutz assumed that differences of perspective between individuals originating in differences of biographically determined situations can be eliminated or considered immaterial, so different systems of 'relevancy' can be made conformable. However this research shows the limitations of Schutz's position here, by demonstrating that cultural differences are significant in making various systems of relevancy different.

Second, the issue of the observer role. This questions whether in a project such as this objectivity is a valid and desirable goal. Also does such proposed objectivity assume that the subjects in the research are less objective than the observer? In fact an observer is always subjective as well and subjects can be objective in the accounts they give of their situations.

Third, the issue of choice. This addresses itself to the problem of why some people accept their given world (for

example the Japanese Buddhist and the British Socialist social workers) and why some people consciously attempt to reject it.

Schutz's concepts of 'doubt' (1962/77) and 'weight' (page 93) are of relevance here. He says (page 77) "The subjectively determined selection of elements relevant to the purpose at hand out of the objectively given totality of the world taken for granted, gives rise to a decisive new experience: the experience of doubt, of questioning, of choosing and deciding, in short, of deliberation. Doubt might come from various sources ... Interests are from the outset interrelated with one another into systems".

Schutz's concept of weight (page 93) is the 'good' or 'evil' attributed to either of two different projects. He asks whether this is inherent to specific projects. He concludes that interests are interrelated to form a system and actions, motives, ends, means and therefore projects and purposes, are elements among others forming such systems. In these terms it could be said that the British Buddhist and Japanese Socialist social workers show 'doubt' about the dominant ideologies in which they grew up, and through a process of 'weighting' 'chose' other ideologies to which to subscribe. Schutz says (page 94) "If, by the very vagueness of our knowledge at hand at the time of projecting, a situation of doubt arises, then some of the formerly open possibilities become questionable, problematic. Some part of the world, formerly taken for granted beyond question and therefore

unquestioned, has now been put into question". Presumably for the Japanese Buddhists and the British Socialists their purposes at hand and projects do not give rise to 'doubting' in this way. Schutz explains "A biographically determined situation selects certain elements of (the general field of our open possibilities) as relevant for our purpose at hand. If this selection meets with no obstacle the project is simply transformed into a purpose and the action is carried out as a matter of course".

Using a phenomenological perspective to analyse the interviews, the above three issues of generalisation, of observer role and of choice, will be clarified.

In Chapter 2 the methodology used to carry out the research and the problems which arose from this will be examined.

CHAPTER 2METHODOLOGY: THE RESEARCH APPROACH & ITS PROBLEMS

In this chapter the methodology used in the present research, the problems arising from this and how they were dealt with will be discussed. The issues concerned are those of finding four groups of social workers (two professing a Buddhist ideological stance and two a Socialist, one of each group in Britain and one in Japan); also the more general technical problems of the research methods used (insofar as they have a bearing on this research) for example the difficulties in obtaining and processing information, especially the difficulties involved in obtaining data by interview and questionnaire.

The main problem I have come up against is not so much how to get the necessary information but to decide exactly what information I need. I realised very early on that as Minamikata (1984/139) says, "Research itself must be an interactive process, necessitating the redefinition of concepts and purposes as well as readjustment and realignment of the procedures in response to the changing meanings and implications which invariably emerge throughout the course of the fieldwork".

My enquiry is into what Buddhist and Socialist concepts the social workers use in their case work (their operational philosophies) and how these actually affect their practice. Converse (1964/206) points out that "Belief systems have

never surrendered easily to empirical study or quantification. Indeed they have often served as primary exhibits for the doctrine that what is important to study cannot be measured and what can be measured is not important to study".

I decided to use structured interviews, that is a personal interview based on an interview schedule (Appendix C). This schedule is open-ended but it gave form and some control, that is a structure, to the interview. The structured interview usually assumes that the interviewer already knows what she or he wants to find out from a respondent. Unstructured interviews are conducted on the basis of radically different assumptions. Schwarz & Jacobs (1979/39) say that the structured interview places faith in the assumption that "a positive relationship exists between words and deeds", whereas unstructured interviews assume that "the interviewer does not know in advance which questions are appropriate to ask, ... or what constitutes an answer. The answers to these problems seem to emerge from the interviews themselves, the social context in which they occurred and the degree of rapport that the interviewer was able to establish during the interview".

The interview schedule that I evolved was structured to the extent that I knew the areas of theory and practice about which I was interested to get information, but it was unstructured in that the interviewees had the space and scope to expand as they wished on any of the questions I asked, in any of the areas covered.

Kuhn (1971/194) emphasises that the interview, far from being a kind of snapshot or tape recording - a simple report either of fact or emotional response - in which the interviewer is a neutral agent who simply trips the shutter or triggers the response, is instead inevitably an interactional situation. This is clear in my research. I was less confident and obtained less information during the earlier interviews than during the last group of interviews. By that time I knew more of what I wanted to find out and was able to interact in a more relaxed and more constructive way with the interviewees.

Whilst doing the interviews, I felt it was important in this research to gather as wide a range of information as possible in order not to lose appropriate facts whose relevance might not always be clear at the time of the interviews. Thus the benefit of using the schedule as an open-ended tool in the interview situation was that adjustments could be made and the answers probed in more depth. But the problem of reliability then arises which has had to be dealt with (see later).

The four groups of social workers to interview were collected mainly through word of mouth. In Britain I knew one or two social workers professing to use Buddhist ideology in their practice. They introduced me to others. Also I wrote to Buddhist organisations and groups asking to be put into contact with anyone fulfilling two criteria, (a) that they were in social work practice, working directly with clients

and (b) that they were professing to use Buddhism as an ideology when working. Some of these organisations sent me names and addresses of possible people to interview. I thus obtained the group of nine British Buddhist interviewees. Initially I planned to interview six people in each group but I actually interviewed as many people as came forward. While interviewing this first group I realised I needed more information than I originally thought, so I developed the schedule to include the analogues and saw all but one person of this group for a second time. The other groups were interviewed in one session with occasional exceptions when two sessions were necessary.

In Japan I met the Buddhist social workers through my Japanese supervisor and again also partly by word of mouth. It was easier in one way in Japan than in Britain to find Buddhist social workers since most people there profess to be Buddhist. However it was more difficult in another way as many Japanese social workers (particularly professionally qualified ones) had moved away from Buddhism. However I met several Buddhist priests doing voluntary social work and some therapists practising Morita and Naikan therapies which are based on Buddhist principles (Appendix A). Ten Buddhist social workers in all were interviewed in Japan.

I then moved on to interviewing Socialist social workers. In Japan I again met these people by word of mouth through a friend who was involved with a radical social workers' organisation. Ten people in this group were interviewed.

On my return to Britain I met Socialist social workers here in the same way. I knew some social workers involved with unions, socialist political parties and radical organisations, and through them met other people to interview. I interviewed thirteen people in this final group.

The same interview schedule has been used for all four groups but with some necessary adaptations. The Kelly Grid laddering exercise was not used for the two Japanese groups, because of the language problems this would have involved. Differences did arise in the interviews through using two languages but these were minimised, as far as possible. I know enough of the Japanese language and culture to be able to take the problems and differences involved in translation into account. I could follow most of the interview myself but used an interpreter as I did lose some parts of the interview and also could concentrate on the interview rather than on the language. Another reason for using an interpreter was that I felt that the subjects themselves spoke more easily and freely, knowing that they would be understood completely and instantaneously. I realised that while talking to me they very kindly spoke more slowly, using simple language which would have impeded the flow of information and have a generally inhibitory effect.

The interviews in Japan were nearly all tape-recorded in order to help me further with language difficulties. For all the interviews (in both countries) I took notes which were written up as soon as possible. A copy was then sent

to the interviewee for comments. The interviews usually took place in the homes or work places of respondents, although some took place in my home, and in Japan some took place in bars. The interviews usually lasted for about three hours. In some cases two people were interviewed together, if this is what they wanted. At first I was concerned about a problem arising of mutual contamination of ideas. However this was minimised by getting each person to answer the questions first alternately so that each had the other's replies first only half the time. In fact the system seemed to work positively in that the 'contamination' had the effect of allowing the interviewees to develop ideas by discussing the questions between themselves. This gave rise to fuller answers and some interesting opinions which might not have been expressed had the people been interviewed separately.

The main issue in the research methodology used here (interviews with an open-ended schedule) is that of the balance between observer subjectivity and objectivity. Heilbroner (1975/22) calls this "The problem caused by the intrusion of subjective values into its inquiries" which he says has always troubled social science. "The social investigator is inextricably bound up with the objects of his scrutiny, as a member of a group, a class, a society, a nation, bringing with him feelings of animus or defensiveness to the phenomena he observes." However this seems to be an issue in any research, since at some stage subjective judgement is used

in the selection of the problem for investigation, the choice of sample, selection and construction of tests and in the relative weight given to results in the selection of the presentation of findings.

This issue affects the research here in at least three ways. My ideology and perceptions firstly shaped and influenced how I approached the research and the interviewees. They affected secondly the approach I used to get information. I used a phenomenological approach; and thirdly, how I then collated and handled the information obtained. I was thus using my own position almost as a part of the research process. This will now be looked at in more detail.

1. My Own Ideological Position

J Marx (1969/82) says "The methodological premise underlying the multidimensional conception of ideology ... is that it is the investigator rather than the subjects of the investigation who determines which specific dimensions are to be included in the ideologies being examined".

This is true for the research here where the dimensions I specify as the most significant are based mainly on theoretical considerations. In my introductory letter to possible participants I wrote that I am a practising social worker involved with Buddhist and Socialist ideas. This clearly influences how I interpret these ideologies in terms of my operational philosophy and social work practice.

I started this research from the position of a social worker well immersed in traditional social work practice ideology but aware through my involvement with both Buddhism and Socialism that these could be the bases of different social work ideologies.

I defined the client as the 'problem'. S/he was given a suitable label (for example maladjusted, inadequate, psychopathic) and then 'treated'. I appreciated the effect of environmental and/or biological factors on these problems, but wanted to extend this interpretation to incorporate Buddhist and Socialist ideas (my personal ideological cluster of values) into my social work practice ideology, and so also to perhaps have some effect on welfare ideology more generally.

My first paper, outlining my ideas at that time and my research project plan, stressed the idea that I wanted to combine Eastern Buddhist and Western theories of social work practice, concentrating on the relationship between social worker and client. I wanted to attempt evolving a more constructive way of helping clients and I saw Zen Buddhist ideas as a means of doing this. I was influenced by the ideas of Kopp (1974/17) who emphasises the significance of the two-way process between the social worker and client, rather than the medical model of social work where the worker 'gives' to the client who gratefully 'receives'. "When I work with a patient, not only will I be hearing his tale but I shall be telling him mine as well. If we are to get anywhere we must come to know one another."

I was influenced also by Watts (1973/16) who talks of the ancient Eastern cultures, emphasising far more than the West has done, the concept that liberation is both personal and social. "Although the ancient cultures of Asia never attained the rigorously exact physical knowledge of the modern West, they grasped in principle many things which are now only occurring to us ... This gives these ways of liberation something in common with psychotherapy beyond the interest in changing states of consciousness."

I looked at various humanistic theories and how these refer to the relationship between social worker and client. I believed that Zen Buddhist ideas are very useful and would improve social work practice if they could be incorporated into Western (that is, my) social work practice. In Gestalt therapy terms, social workers would acknowledge those parts of themselves which relate to particular aspects of their clients without projecting their own problems onto clients. Perls (1973/296) puts it this way: "The patient comes for help because he cannot help himself ... but ... if the self-awareness is an integrative force, then from the beginning the patient is an active partner in the work, a trainee in psychotherapy. And the emphasis is shifted from the rather comfortable sentiment that he is sick to the sentiment that he is learning something". This can clearly be related to the guru (master) disciple relationship in Buddhism.

At the same time as getting more involved with Buddhist ideas, I was not only aware of the socio-economic situations

of my clients (problems of poverty and housing) having direct bearing on behaviour, but also of the politically 'left' arguments against the welfare state in Britain as a prop for capitalist activities, as being bureaucratic, paternalistic, class-ridden and sexist.¹

Similarly to nearly all the Socialist social workers interviewed in Britain, I have been a Socialist as far back as I can remember, coming from an actively Socialist areligious background. This was one important reason for my choice of this ideology to balance the research involving Buddhism. When I interviewed the British Socialist social workers, I found in fact that I felt I had more in common with and felt more empathy for this group than for the others. I realised that the other three groups (British Buddhist, Japanese Buddhist and Japanese Socialist) are looking mainly at the individual. The two Buddhist groups are particularly individualistically orientated since this is the basis of both Buddhism and also traditional welfare ideology.

I could see no resolution to the conflict I felt as a probation officer between being 'helpful' and at the same time being an agent of social control, supporting a capitalist system whose ideology I reject. Walker & Beaumont (1981/89) talk of the two main developments of the late 1960s which link up with my ideological changes of position at the time.

¹See writers including Offe (1984); Hall (1979) and Lee (1983).

First, the anti-psychiatry movement based on the work of people such as Laing (1967) and Szasz (1979). "Antipsychiatry questioned definitions of madness and inverted accepted 'truth', opening the way for similar questioning of social work assumptions." This links up with my incorporation of Buddhist ideas into social work practice, where I attempted to alter the power relationship between myself and my client. Second, the development of the sociology of deviance. "Deviancy theorists raised doubts about the usefulness of social work intervention because of the implications of labelling theory. By identifying social workers as agents of social control, they challenged the traditional assumption that social work is a caring, humane and above all essentially helpful process." This links to my relating social work to political issues rather than 'pathologising' clients. The only resolution to the contradiction that I could see was to combine Buddhist ideas with a Socialist political analysis, so positively affecting both practice and welfare ideologies. This research is part of the process of attempting to do this by discovering how other social workers are able to resolve this conflict for themselves.

Pearson (1975/49) makes the depressing comment that the value system of social work is developed and employed professionally to socialise for inaction: the professional social worker is a professional ditherer. I feel that this is not necessarily so, and that criticism can lead to positive action. My critique of social work practice has

led me to change not only my own practice but also to critically rethink the values implicit in traditional welfare ideology.

Having started off this research by trying to incorporate Buddhist ideas into my own social work practice, it has developed into being more widely concerned with the different effects of personal ideologies on operational philosophies and stated social work practice.

Initially I aimed to do this research in an 'objective' environment, making 'objective' decisions based on 'objective' data. However it soon became apparent that it was more appropriate to elicit accounts from the interviewees of how they themselves interpret their ideologies and their operational philosophies, and the effects of these on their practice. Musgrove (1977/13) calls this the 'inside view'. From a methodological point of view therefore, a phenomenological approach was the most appropriate. This is discussed next.

2. Phenomenological Methodology

This research was planned within a phenomenological perspective as a means of analysing the 'actors' (interviewees') assessments of their ideological situations and social work practice. Schutz accepted the idea of a set of general methodological principles valid for the natural as well as the social sciences. But he argued that the logical positivists were not at all justified in their claim that only specifically natural science procedures constitute scientific

methods. He saw the sociological undertaking as an "exploration of the general principles according to which man in daily life organises his experiences, and especially those of the social world" (Wagner 1975/44). In elaboration of this, he suggested ways by which to utilise the method of understanding within the framework of a subjective sociological approach. The understanding of the observed social actors' meanings and motives provides the raw material for sociologists. The latter have to construct their objective concepts on the basis of the typifications used by these actors in their everyday affairs.

A phenomenological approach has been used here to analyse the problem of motivation. Schutz suggested the creation of habitual ideal types in which personal motivation is replaced by culturally standardised behaviour patterns. He paid attention to ideal types of collectives, of languages, and of cultural objects in general. Thus parallel to his treatment of social relationships among contemporaries, he drew the lines of his typology from the micro to the macro sociological level. However he can be criticised for not extending his 'stage' (field) beyond Western (Christian) culture. This research is concerned with how personal motivation is 'replaced' and affected by different cultural behaviour patterns.

One main factor that arises through the interviews with the four groups of social workers is in the area of the balance and/or contradictions between personal motivation and the

different culturally standardised behaviour patterns of Britain and Japan. I am asking the questions put by Walsh (1972/XVIII) but attempting to do so in the context of the two cultures represented by Japan and Britain, and the effect of these on the individual. Walsh asks "In order to understand the subjective meaning of an action, must we understand its motive? But by 'motive' do we mean the balance of environmental and hereditary factors behind the action or do we mean the plan which the agent had in mind at the time of the action? In what sense is an individual 'free'? Is his action somehow determined by his ideal type, or is there a sense in which it can be 'type transcended'?" I am asking also how different cultural (environmental) factors affect this 'balance' of environmental and hereditary factors behind actions.

In this research, would the 'meaning' (in phenomenological terms) ascribed to the social work practice based on stated ideological theory, be very different for the Japanese Buddhist group (born into a Buddhist culture and mostly growing up in Buddhist temples and becoming Buddhist priests), the British Socialist group (nearly all growing up in Socialist environments at home but in a dominantly capitalist culture) and the Japanese Socialist and British Buddhist groups who 'consciously' were motivated for intellectual and philosophical reasons to take on their ideologies as young adults?

Schutz's concept of 'because motives' and 'in order to motives' are important here. Do the Japanese Buddhist

and British Socialist groups subscribe to their ideologies in terms of 'because motives', that is grasping their ideologies 'retrospectively'? Then have the Japanese Socialists and British Buddhists taken on their ideologies through 'in order to motives', that is through the significance of the ongoing action at the time they decided to take on these ideologies?

I have been concerned to use a methodology which takes into account subjective factors but at the same time also those of sampling, bias, validity and replication discussed in the next section.

3. Handling of Results (Information Obtained)

The problems of the research methods used in this research can be discussed under the following headings:

(a) Sampling

The problems of sampling are twofold. There is first the issue of 'generalisation'. How far is it valid to generalise from one person's responses to another's or from one group to another? The second and main problem has been to decide what constitutes a meaningful sample, that is who to include and who to exclude. Here, because of the particular approach to the issues under examination, no attempt has been made to draw a representative sample of the general population to interview (in terms of factors such as gender, race and class) nor

(in terms of additional factors, for example social work experience) of the social work population of either country in which the interviews took place. I have aimed to be as comprehensive as possible including anyone who fulfills the two criteria set out at the start of this chapter. I interviewed social workers who vary in both their involvement with Buddhism or Socialism (from a stated interest in the subject to living, for example, a monastic life as a Buddhist priest) and also in the kind of social work in which they are engaged, from untrained residential workers to qualified and experienced senior field social workers and counsellors. I am rendering an account of how 'belief systems' (Converse, page 207) operational philosophies and social work practice are related by the social workers I interviewed. I hope to be able to suggest some hypotheses from this, which could be tested further in more 'general' terms (on other population samples). I want also to be able to analyse how my findings confirm or contradict findings of other researchers in the field.

(b) Bias

Interview bias can be of two kinds: those arising from the bias of the interviewer and those arising from the bias of the subject of the interview.

Investigator's bias has been discussed in terms of the phenomenological context of the research where researcher

and interviewer are both 'actors' affecting each other reciprocally. Another aspect should also be mentioned, which Runkel & McGrath (1972/178) call "instrument decay". This includes both the improvement and degradation in observing and recording which happens as time proceeds. I was aware of this process in that each time I went through the interview procedure and the questionnaire, I felt that I improved the process, I have attempted to guard against the degradation in interviewing skills aspect of 'instrument decay' by checking against two pilot interviews and also by being able to return to all of the subjects if necessary.

Subject bias arises in terms of the 'guinea pig effect' (Runkel & McGrath, page 178) the awareness of the subject of being tested. Role selection results from 'actors' perception of the demands and norms of the research setting, and actual changes in behaviour result from research processes themselves (the testing effects).

Subject bias also arises in terms of the subject avoiding the possible negative consequences of answering a question the 'wrong' way. This has been minimised in this research by the development of feelings of rapport between myself as interviewer and the subjects. However this leads to the possibility of a further related problem, that of producing a strain towards consensus on the interview topic. This is particularly significant here as I am a social worker and also involved with

Buddhism and Socialism. In addition, by the time I carried out the interviews, I knew most of my subjects relatively well on an informal basis. The only way to deal with this problem has been by being constantly aware of it, by consciously keeping my own comments out of the interview as far as possible and further, by emphasising that the questions being asked are open-ended with no right or wrong answers. In this way it is hoped that verbal and non-verbal cues I was giving have been minimised even if not completely neutralised.

Another problem of bias which should be mentioned but which here has been insignificant, certainly in Britain and even in Japan, are the effects stemming from differences in class, age, sex and race between interviewer and subject. In Britain I share to all intents and purposes a similar background with my subjects in terms of nationality, education and age. I do not feel that gender differences in the area I am investigating are significant, although in all four groups there are more male than female subjects. This is I believe due to the sampling methods used, the imbalance therefore arising by chance. It is worth noting that the British Socialist group only is divided nearly equally between men and women. This may be significant in that many women social workers would perhaps be feminist and so come into the Socialist group of interviewees. The cultural differences that I came across in Japan are of course significant because they are part of what is under study, rather than factors to be taken into account.

(c) Validity

The validity of the investigation depends mainly on how sensitive an instrument the interview schedule actually is. Its validity is restricted by the questions I chose to include, therefore it is self-limiting. I am trying to quantify a subjective and so not readily measurable interpretation of answers to the schedule. The answers themselves vary also according to when and where they were given. I have tried to circumvent such problems by making the questions historical in the sense of asking my subjects how their views have changed over time.

The questions and their answers could not be easily measured since there are no accurate criteria for subjects like Buddhism, Socialism and social work practice. The only solution would be to test out the validity of social workers' statements by obtaining direct feedback from clients by asking the latter to render accounts of their understanding of the process of social work intervention. This was impossible to do due to administrative reasons linked to ethical problems beyond my control.

(d) Feasibility of Replication (Reliability)

Runkel & McGrath (page 180) define this as the extent to which a method of observation permits the investigator

to gather a new and independent set of observations of the same properties on the same or comparable population of events. This is important here where it is hoped to cross-validate results obtained not just between two groups with different ideologies, but also between two cultures.

4. Conclusion

It is clear that general problems discussed above common to all social science research, cannot be ignored or totally avoided. There are also problems peculiar to this particular research project. However by being aware of such problems it is possible to at least minimise those aspects which would grossly interfere with the results of the research, invalidating the findings. The methodological problems inherent in this research have been minimised by increasing my sensitivity to the meanings the questions actually have for the subjects.

The main issue raised by the methodology of this research is that of natural science versus social science research, which is linked to the general problem of the subjective/objective relationship in social science research. This means that there are limitations of replication and generalisation in the research. Any discussion of the results obtained is valid only for the people I interviewed. However, interesting general theoretical conclusions about the role ideology plays in individual operational philosophies and social work practice can be made.

Also various interesting cultural factors are highlighted. The aim of the research is to show how some particular social workers express their ideological stance in their practice. A phenomenological approach is the most appropriate for this and also has the advantage that the effect of myself as researcher has not only been taken into account but is also included in the total 'equation'. The fact that I am a social worker committed to both ideologies under research, gives me (in phenomenological terminology) an entry to the 'stage' or 'life world' of the 'actors' I interviewed.

Zaner (1975/126) points out that one of the most important 'attitudes' of phenomenology centres on the concept of 'reduction'. This he says has "... nothing whatever to do with any attempt to simplify or economise, ... rather, the basic thrust is found in the literal meanings of the term reduction: a leading back to origins, beginnings, which have become obscure, hidden or covered over by other things ... this fundamental attitude at the root of our every experience of things is an 'attitude': i.e. an orientation towards things (in the world), a way of regarding which is not so much an explicit action as it is an implicit informing of our lives". It is this 'attitude' to social work practice that I am exploring in this research.

Apart from 'telling the stories' of how the social workers I interviewed put their stated ideologies into practice, I am also able to suggest some hypotheses which can then be further tested and researched.

In summary, since the basic aim of this research is to look at the interaction of belief systems and social work practice, this is best approached in depth rather than extensively. This choice of method has been determined by both theoretical considerations (the nature of the material in which I am interested) and also practical ones (the limited time and resources available to me as a single researcher).

All considerations have led me to do the research with relatively few interviews, rather than attempting to work with large random samples.

The following chapters look in detail at the results obtained from this research.

CHAPTER 3

WELFARE & SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE IDEOLOGIES IN BRITAIN

This chapter will look at the development of social work practice and welfare ideologies in Britain. Ideological changes through the historical development of the welfare state and social work practice are analysed. This is important for any discussion of the relationship between personal ideology, operational philosophy and social work practice, since these are affected by dominant welfare and social work practice ideologies. A historical perspective is necessary to understand the present situation in which the social workers interviewed are operating.

1. The Poor Law

The origins of the Poor Law and the welfare ideology that it represented with its effect on social work practice ideology can be traced to the fear of social disorder following the black death of the 14th century. Support and help for the poor and needy changed from being only an individualistic part of Christian 'charity' to become also a responsibility of the state. The origins of poor relief were laws against vagrancy, and people travelling in search of work. In the 16th century parishes were responsible for supporting those unable to work, the 'deserving poor'. For the 'undeserving poor' that is vagabonds, the original vagrancy laws still applied. Thus poor relief legislation differentiated between those who could not and those who would not work. The main

welfare ideology at the time of the Poor Law Act of 1601 was to minimally support those who could not work and to set to work those who were sufficiently able bodied. Work, any work, was considered of paramount importance so that a man could support himself and his family. Women at that time were not expected to be in paid labour but to work at home 'servicing' the paid worker. To be in receipt of public (parish) assistance was made as shameful as possible, while to work at any job was considered right and proper. This ideology was represented in the legislation for three and a half centuries, and its legacy remains to this day. P & V Corrigan (1979/2) say that the sturdy or able bodied poor (who were to be feared as opposed to the impotent or deserving poor who were to be pitied and patronised) had to be forced or encouraged to labour, although at different times other expedients were used, such as coercion (shovelling out 'paupers') or inducement (as with emmigration schemes).

Unemployment was high in the early part of the 16th century due to the processes of enclosing common land which involved the conversion of arable land and produced widespread depopulation, and of inflation. Unemployment and poverty at this time were exacerbated by a series of bad harvests and soldiers returning from service. Those able bodied who refused to work were punished in houses of correction (the origins of the work houses) rooted in the localities. P & V Corrigan say (page 94) "This Tudor revolution begins the story of how 'relieving the poor' requires increasing 'central capability' in the state ... In the 16th century

existing agencies such as the church, aristocracy and gentry were introduced to 'policing' ...; and two local institutions, the parish church and the justices of the peace, were considerably strengthened ... The regulation of the labour market was central - the need to 'correctly handle' the contradiction between a policy for social tranquility, preferring 'the common people' to know and remain in their place, and a policy for economic growth, needing a relatively mobile labour force. The legislation regarding the poor passed in the next three hundred years represents repeated efforts to balance the two".

2. Poor Law Amendments

By the 18th century the system was being stretched as Britain became industrialised. The workings of the Elizabethan Poor Law (allowances in aid of wages) was open to abuse and corruption particularly by manufacturers. Fraser (1981/34) mentions two points about the changes taking place by the end of the 18th century. First, whatever the economic consequences may have been, the intent of the new modes of relief were humanitarian and benevolent to prevent rebellion amongst the poor. At the same time there was genuine concern for those who despite their labours were below subsistence level. Second, social policy is an expression of social philosophy and by then, with allowances given in aid of wages, poverty was no longer seen as degrading. This shows the changing attitude to social welfare developing from the original Elizabethan ideas. The Poor Law itself was subject to a debate which led directly to the 1834 Poor

Law Amendment Act. This attempted to deal with the problem that wage levels were being artificially determined by the Poor Law Authorities. The ideology of the Act was to deter people from pauperism by the threat of the work house as a condition of being fed. It brought in three main changes in the social welfare system.

First, the principle of less eligibility which was designed to stimulate self help and initiative as the poor relief was less than could be obtained by working.

Second, the work house test which was the way of putting the principle of less eligibility into practice. The able bodied unemployed (who would not work) were the problem. The Act was concerned with deterring pauperism (that is, destitution) not with poverty (that is, low wages). The welfare ideology was still to encourage working, so paupers would now provide service in return for relief. Those working but poor were separated from those unemployed and receiving relief.

Third, administrative centralisation and uniformity. The Poor Law Commission (later the Poor Law Board) set up under the Act had very limited powers and so local parishes operating jointly carried on in practice more or less as before.

Fraser (pages 50, 44) says that poor relief became a hated feature of working class life but that beneath the harshness there was an element of benevolence in the philosophy behind

the Act, given the welfare ideology of the day. This was that an individual should and could find his own salvation, with society acting as a loving parent inflicting punishment in order to be kind, that is short term discomfort leading to long term benefits. This welfare ideology can be linked to the stage of British society at that time, moving from a feudalistic system (with welfare being provided by the landed gentry) to early capitalism with movement of labour. The aim of welfare was to limit this movement so that parishes were not responsible for 'vagrants' passing through searching for work. Harbridge & Murray (1981/10) give a graphic description of the misery caused by the Poor Law system after 1832. They describe the regime as one which was intended to deter the able bodied but that was too often applied to the sick and old and to children, with tragic consequences. This was the punitive response to those audacious enough to be poor.

Reform of the Poor Law did not occur until 1929 and it did not disappear legally until the establishment of the welfare state in 1948. However there was a Royal Commission in 1909 which produced a divided report. The majority report virtually restated the ideology of self help with poverty as a personal failing. All it aimed to do was to tidy up the administration of the Poor Law so that it became an all purpose relief method, that is dealing with poverty as well as with pauperism. The minority report wanted to get rid of the Poor Law completely and showed an understanding of the idea of poverty as a social condition depending on the organisation of the economy. Fraser (page 149) comments

"Never can so important a Royal Commission have produced so little in the way of action for not even the more moderate suggestions of the majority were enacted". The ideology behind the Poor Law is still with us even today, perhaps especially again today, with the present government's attitude to work and the welfare state (as represented by Cabinet Ministers such as Norman Tebbit, Norman Fowler and Tory Jeffrey Archer). The basic concept is still one of distinguishing the 'deserving' from the 'undeserving' poor and helping the deserving poor (but not so much that they become 'soft' or 'dependent') and of punishing the 'undeserving' poor (in modern terms, the 'scroungers'). This is a backlash to the 'liberal' social democratic welfare state set up after the second world war, whose welfare ideology was based on the concept of universal coverage.

3. Victorian Philanthropy

Jeremy Bentham's utilitarian ideas based on the idea of the greatest happiness for the greatest number and the release of individual potential, were influential during the 19th century. Thus Victorian social and political philosophy became "crystallised into four great tenets:- work, thrift, respectability and above all self help" (Fraser, Page 95). These were the most important virtues of Victorian times linked to the accumulation of capital (through work together with thrift) and the industrial revolution. Whether this ideology resulted in the development of the industrial revolution, or industrialisation (change in the forces of

production) was the reason for the development of British social philosophy along these lines (functional to the growth of capital) is open to debate, which cannot be gone into here. Such tenets were part of the puritanical outlook of the time which however also produced an awareness of suffering in others and of social problems in general. These middle class 'virtues' affected workers as well so they absorbed such values. Trade unions at that time attempted to become 'respectable'.

The Victorian notions of respectability were based on the suppression of women in that as Elizabeth Wilson (1977/19) says, Victorian women were not seen as responsible adults. Middle class women developed into "... a leisure class playing an ideological rather than directly an economic role in their society ... At the same time (their) leisure depended on (their) working class sisters ..." (Page 22). She points out that 'ladies' were supposed to do good works although of course not working for money. They could be seen as the first modern social workers, so that the history of social work is that of elite women, whose contribution should not be underestimated.

Mention must be made here also of the Friendly Societies which offered financial, medical and social support to working people in times of misfortune and need. These developed as a way of preventing, or limiting, use of state assistance with all the negative connotations of the harsh Poor Law and the work house. Even so, about half the adult male population was outside the reach of Friendly Society

benefits and so dependent on Poor Law benefit (Hennock, undated/18).

Clearly alongside the basic Victorian ideology of self-sufficiency there was some acknowledgement of the fact that even able bodied individuals could be in a situation where for reasons beyond their control they were unable to be self-sufficient. Hence the development and the variety of Victorian philanthropy. Seed (1973/3) defines philanthropy as "the activity of giving away money for the public good" while charity is "the object for which the money [is] given". N & J Parry (1979/21) say "The 19th century was the age of private enterprise. Few could deny the drive and vigour of Victorian capitalism in the economic sphere. What is less often remarked upon is the connection between enterprise in the realm of production and that of voluntary charitable activity".

There were two aspects to this Victorian philanthropy. First, the Christian idea of charity as a virtue (serving God through helping the poor and needy); Fraser (page 118) quotes Beatrice Webb as calling this the "class conscience of sin" and secondly, the basis of Victorian philanthropy on the fear of social revolution. Social work sought to distinguish itself from political and religious movements insofar as it was less interested in the distribution of power than in the resolution of social conflict. However this posed a contradiction in that social work in its origins (and to some extent still today) was based on attempts to impose middle class Christian family values on

working class people. Social work was in fact clearly linked to religious movements, the Settlements being a good example of this. These, started by Canon Barnett, were places where members of the upper classes lived amongst the poor in order to educate them, but also to learn at first hand about the conditions in which they lived so as to be better able to promote their welfare. Most Settlements were sectarian and the religious motive was always present.

Protestantism inspired many early efforts to provide welfare facilities. It can be seen as an ideological base of the type of welfare care developed in a capitalist system to provide the healthy contented workforce necessary for the operation of such a mode of production. This attitude to charity can be compared to the Eastern one represented by Buddhism. In both cases the donor is helped as much as the recipient (for example satisfying emotional needs). However the emphasis is different in that Christian (Protestant) charity is based at least in part on feelings of guilt in the donor about the possession of wealth and of being one of 'God's elect' shown by business success, but at the same time having to live a puritan life. Buddhist charity on the other hand emphasises the donor being helped through charitable actions in terms of 'karma' and benefitting in the next life here on earth or even breaking out of the cycle of rebirth. Thus charity is seen by Buddhists as 'grace' and a beggar as 'holy' not in himself but as one whose need occasions grace in the donor.

The second aspect of Victorian philanthropy, that it was based also on fear of social revolution, meant that the wealthy middle classes were charitable partly in order to keep the poor from being too dissatisfied with their lot in life. Woodroffe (1972/12) says "Victorian society ... was shot through with the fear that one day the masses would overthrow the existing order and confiscate private property". Few people at that time saw poverty and its consequences as a function of the economic and social system. It was assumed that poverty stemmed from some personal failing. Charity was a way of initiating in individuals a moral reformation, a self help mentality which would allow them to free themselves from poverty through work and thrift.

As charitable organisations mushroomed in the 19th century there was much duplication of effort and competition with a lack of cooperation between groups set up to help people with particular needs. Recently, Sharron (1984/8) discussed similar problems arising due to the present government's welfare ideology of privatisation. "The fragmentation of the welfare state following the drastic cuts in local authority budgets has caused a huge influx of money into the voluntary sector ... There is now a Casbah-like market in grant-aided programmes for the voluntary sector. As a result ... local voluntary groups are establishing unstable services, some good some bad, outside any public accountability for any coherent plan for different client groups in any area".

In 1869 the Charity Organisation Society (COS) was established to bring together all charitable efforts.

4. The Charity Organisation Society (COS)

The ideology represented by the COS was based on that of the Poor Law, that is individualistic self help with punishment for paupers. However the COS was also the originating agency of social case work with its basic concept of assessment and treatment. Fraser (page 121) rightly comments that "The essential duality of the COS was then that it was professionally pioneering but ideologically reactionary". Its social work ideology was firmly rooted in a welfare ideology based on a concern for the moral welfare of clients. There was no acknowledgement of the possibility that individual problems could stem from a political and economic system which was unjust and had weaknesses and faults, or at least which was not representative of the interests of its economically weaker members. Pauperism was seen as moral weakness and laxity. The fact that the COS pioneered case work practice was based on its concern that 'undeserving' people did not receive charity. Thus requests for assistance and also the clients themselves had to be carefully vetted and assessed by voluntary visitors with appropriate and sufficient training. Then certain 'deserving' clients would be offered personal as well as financial help. Woodroffe (page 39) describes such assistance as "individual, temporary and reformatory". This was the origin of social case work practice in Britain.

The COS also firmly believed that private charities were able and sufficient to help deal with problems of poverty. It did not see the need for state intervention here, as it acknowledged neither the extent of poverty at that time, nor the level of destitution in which so many people were living.

But at the end of the 19th century, the shock reports of researchers such as Charles Booth and Henry Mayhew were published (Woodroffe, page 9). The middle classes slowly began to realise the necessity for state intervention to alleviate problems caused by poverty at the same time as more of the population (males at least) obtained some measure of political power in terms of the vote. The Poor Law thus came to be more and more criticised. By the 1890s the state was intervening in the fields of education and public health. Lloyd George's 'Peoples Budget' of 1909 was a significant step in this process.

The first world war exposed the bad health and living conditions of many armed forces recruits, and also furthered the cause of women's equality. The class system of Britain was irredeemably altered so that workers were less willing to accept the 'charity' of the upper classes. The economic depression and mass unemployment immediately after the war had a great effect here as the numbers of poor increased very suddenly with soldiers returning from the war. The fact that poverty is a social rather than a personal phenomenon became clearer. A state welfare policy had been established so more people were protected by law. However state protection

and benefits covered working men, but not their dependants. Despite the enormous scale of social and economic distress between the wars, social policy actually occupied little parliamentary time and did not figure prominently in public discussion. It was Beveridge who developed and put into practice the ideology of a universal state welfare system and so was the originator of the modern British welfare state which was initiated in 1948.

5. Development of Social Work from Victorian Times to the Establishment of the Welfare State

Parallel with the changes in welfare policy during the end of the last century and the beginning of this century were changes in social work practice ideology. Woodroffe (page 54) says "Originally based on the concept of charity, (social work) had evolved from a set of rules to guide volunteers in their work as friendly visitors to the poor, into a philosophy which embodied many principles of modern case work and a technique which could be transmitted by education and training from one generation of social workers to another". Woodroffe, writing in the early 1960s, shows how she is a product of her era by her underlying assumption that case work is the best method of social work intervention. She represents the social work practice ideology of that time in that she underestimates the socio-economic problems affecting most social work clients. Case work in her terms had more the function of helping clients adjust to or accepting their oppressed situation, rather than confronting and changing these by developing an understanding of the relationship between present emotional distress and personal history.

Younghusband (1980/16) for example has a different outlook to Woodroffe on the historical development of social work practice in Britain. She says "For all practical purposes social work lay fallow in the 1930s and indeed earlier in this century. It began to come alive during the (second world) war largely as a result of wartime evacuation experience. But the enormous changes in social work knowledge and practice ... only really started after the second world war".

Thus by the time the welfare state was established, there were two ideological strands on which social work practice was based. There was the Christian philanthropic element seeing help in social, economic, religious and educative terms, with poverty explained as a moral failing. There was also the psychiatric influence which affected the content and emphasis of social workers' thinking about individual problems, these being seen in terms of personality and family influences.

In summary we have a picture of the welfare state with its ideology of universalism developing after the second world war. This developed out of the failure of the Poor Law to deal with the poor, from the fears of the dominant classes of social unrest amongst the working classes (and the oppressed poor in general) and also from a settlement between capital and labour which was the economic and

political base of the post-war welfare consensus. Social work practice developed from philanthropy and charity done by leisured women to assuage their guilty consciences and to give meaning to their otherwise inactive purposeless lives. New psychology and psychiatric theories also had an influence on the establishment of social work as a profession by the 1950s.

6. The Modern Welfare State

The welfare state planned during and after the second world war legally replaced the Poor Law as it provided universal protection and a 'safety net' of income maintenance below which no-one was supposed to live. However as Silburn (1983/132) points out, "Perhaps it was naive to suppose that the animating spirit of the Poor Law would be abolished along with the institution itself. But it is possible to detect almost from the beginning a counter-pressure to the vision of an unstigmatising and compassionate system of relief for the poorest".

Beveridge saw social insurance as an attack on 'want' which was one of the five 'giants' he wanted to eradicate (the others were disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness). He attempted to revolutionise (not just to patch up) existing social security measures on the principles of universality and administrative uniformity. Contributions and benefits were all flat rate. This meant clearly that the poor paid a higher percentage of their income in contributions than did

the rich, which militated against any tendency of a move towards a more equitable distribution of income. The principle of universality was taken up by Beveridge partly because the second world war (as the first had also) showed up the inequalities still very great in British society, but also with the aim of making services available and accessible to the whole population, in such ways as would not involve the users in any humiliating loss of status, dignity or self respect. Hence the emphasis on social rights of all citizens, as responsible people, to use or not to use the services made available by the community in respect of certain needs, which the private market and the family were unable or unwilling to provide universally.

Titmuss (1968/129) argues that "Avoidance of stigma was not, of course, the only reason for the development of the twin concepts of social rights and universalism. Many other forces, social, political and psychological, during a century or more of turmoil, revolution, war and change, contributed to the clarification and acceptance of these notions. The novel idea of prevention ... reinforced the concepts of social rights and universalism ... Prevention was not simply a child of biological and psychological theorists; at least one of its grandparents was a powerful economist with a strongly developed streak of nationalism".

Beveridge developed his policies on the assumption of full employment. However in the post-war years while unemployment was very low, inflation increased. Social security did not

keep up with this which created a situation in fact not unlike the outdoor relief system of the Poor Law. Beveridge's concept of universal benefits therefore became slowly eroded in favour of earnings-related and means-tested benefits. Foreman (1978/142) makes the significant point that Beveridge also outlined a number of strict principles about the role of women in society and on them built the entire structure of the welfare state provisions. Despite the fact that at the time he was writing the report most working class women were engaged in the war industry, his two major principles were first, that during marriage most women will not be gainfully employed and second, that maternity is the main object of marriage. From these he proposed that the work of women in servicing this and the next generation of workers be recognised as an important social task. "By enmeshing the role of women in the home within a network of pension and social security schemes, tax and family allowances, William Beveridge made it extremely difficult for them to avoid this destiny." Wilson (1983/37) argues here that "It was not out of malice that Beveridge turned married women into a special insurance class. On the contrary he firmly believed that his reform would enormously improve both the economic position and social status of women". Nevertheless the ideology to which Beveridge subscribed was clearly based on the concept of the middle class Victorian lady at home living by her husband's employment but with the important difference now, of the acknowledgement that women had the important task at home, to create and provide for a healthy educated workforce, as there were no longer servants easily available to actually run the home.

The welfare state was definitely a gain for working class people as it provided access to a wide range of state services. However at the same time the middle classes were also beneficiaries of the new system of social security. Abel-Smith quoted in Woodroffe (page 209) points out that "It is they who get the lion's share of the public social services, the elephant's share of occupational welfare privileges, and who in addition enjoy hidden social services provided by concessions in the income tax". This is perhaps one reason why Beveridge's five giants were never slain and why poverty was still with us in the 1950s and 1960s (and of course still is). The stigma attached to the Poor Law attitude to social welfare was still felt by the poor.

The problem of poverty was still a political issue. Cooper (1973/187) summarises some of the findings into poverty in the 1960s to show that in spite of the welfare state, about 5% of the population were living on incomes below supplementary benefit levels. "The causes of this poverty were and still are intimately related to the life cycle ... Three periods of want - childhood, child rearing or parenthood, and old age - and two periods of relative plenty between the periods of want, characterised the problems faced by the poor." That research can be paralleled with the work of Booth & Rowntree sixty years earlier. It broke the complacency of society after the war and had a considerable effect on the Labour government of 1964, which resulted in increased expenditure on welfare services in the middle

1960s. It was realised that poverty was due not so much to Beveridge's interruption of earnings, but due to some people (for example the sick, the elderly and the unemployed) not being able to earn. However in ideological terms the social work solution to poverty was seen basically in terms of psychopathology.

7. Development of Social Work Practice Ideology in the Post-War Years

Seed (page 57) discusses the fact that the number of professionally trained social workers after the war was very small; "... it is ridiculous to pretend that the welfare state in any real sense 'depended' on such small numbers of supposedly key people". While socialists at the time argued that with statutory welfare provision, social work as done in the 19th and early 20th centuries concerned with public welfare had become redundant, at the same time it was thought that case work involving rehabilitation of individuals into society was particularly necessary with the new bureaucratic welfare state.

One effect of the establishment of the welfare state was the sudden increase in direct intervention of the state in the lives of individuals after the second world war. This was of great significance on an ideological level. The state intervened in a practical way in both the work place (setting standards of working and safety conditions) and in the home (through education, the health service and benefits). It

intervened also in ideological terms through an emphasis on bourgeois moral values of family life and of how care of the needy (such as the elderly, handicapped and children) was to be done. Thus through its practical influence on people, the state also had a very clear ideological effect. Social workers, as representatives of the state, were very important 'carriers' of the dominant ideology, especially through the process of case work.

Yelloly (1980/96) points out that the term 'case work' was not new, and had been in use by the COS to refer to its work with individual cases as opposed to dealing with categories of persons. After the second world war it came to be used in a somewhat more specialised sense to describe a distinctive orientation to human problems. "This relationship was seen as characterised by certain accepted values and principles - it reflected a nonjudgemental approach in which the client's right to determine his own actions was to be respected." However clients' statements were (and still are) too often seen as material to be interpreted by the caseworker as a means of reaching underlying pathology. The social work practice ideology of this time emphasised the professionalisation of social work and pathology as explanation rather than the use of volunteers and of moral explanations for individual situations as in the Victorian era.

Social workers in the 1950s were part of the process of propagating the idea that the family is a 'good thing' and

that couples should stay together and children be with their natural parents. Seed (page 70) says "Keeping the family together became a kind of slogan. This emphasis was perhaps to some extent a reaction to separation on a large scale occasioned by the war, together with the association of separation with the old Poor Law and more generally, the legacy of 19th century social conditions which the welfare state was pledged to erase". Women, even if having to work outside the home for financial reasons, were expected to be the carers in the home. The emphasis in social work moved from the 'poor' family to the 'problem' family.

Thus social work practice ideology after the war developed towards the support of a prescriptive model of familial care and control. Rustin (1979/140) argues that this supportive familial care by the state represented the strengthening of an altruistic principle within the dominant capitalist order. He suggests that there is a continuing contradiction between this element and the dominant market ethos, which is often overlooked by radical and Marxist critics of social work who overassimilate social work to a dominant system of social control. However, Rustin seems to me to be over-emphasising the altruistic aspect of familial care. It is often simply cheaper for the family to be kept together as a unit, while caring for any members that need help. Also this is clearly a means of social control, the working class taking on the bourgeois moral ideology of the nuclear family. Another criticism I would make of Rustin's argument is that he does not emphasise sufficiently the fact that social

workers in the 1950s using a psychodynamic approach to social work practice, were often underestimating political and economic elements of clients' situations.

Social workers were concerned at the time with those poor families who were not benefitting from the welfare state. Instead of being labelled as feckless and undeserving, they were now seen as problem families in terms of their psychopathology. Thus social work still represented the dominant individualistic capitalist culture. A comparison of the writings of Woodroffe and Seed highlights changes in social work practice ideology after 1948. Seed (page 60) writing in the 1970s describes 'problem families' as "the deviants of the 1950s who, like the paupers in the 19th century, were in many ways the scapegoats for the unfaced fears of society and the inadequately understood deficiencies in the social and economic system".

Woodroffe (page 209) writing in the 1960s says "... the reforms of the immediate post-war period in England have gone a long way toward slaying the five giants of the Beveridge Report. In this slaughter of ignorance, idleness, disease, squalor and want, the English social worker once regarded as a doer of good works in a voluntary organisation, has become an accepted part of the machinery of the state social services. For whereas a 19th century predecessor almost without exception worked outside such statutory social services as existed in her day, the modern social worker is being summoned to staff those numerous and diverse

social services which the British government has since created to ensure the well being of its citizens". Woodroffe expresses in concrete terms the social work ideology of the 1950s where social problems were seen in psychopathological terms and in isolation from their politico-economic context. She writes of people's abhorrence of the work house and those needing daily care not wanting to go into such establishments. She assumes that life at home is good "the familiar and comforting confines of the home" without showing any awareness of the pressures on the carers (mainly women) in such situations, or that maybe social attitudes to handicaps and age (and not the handicaps or the ageing process themselves) are at fault in our society. She is writing still in the legacy of the philanthropic tradition of social work and so has no concept of services being run for and by the users, rather than being imposed on working class people by the bourgeois hegemony.

Woodroffe and others of her time in their complacency were not able to see two important factors. First, the five giants of Beveridge were by no means disposed of and second, the main reason for the changing and widening function of the social worker at this time was because so many people were slipping through the welfare net. Discussing this factor of the widening range of social work functions, Lee (1982/23) points out that "This role expansion then was not a sign of a society demonstrating increased concern for the well being of its citizens; social work was gaining increased responsibility but always in a position of structural subordination to other state agencies".

This challenged the psychological determinism current in social work in the mid-1950s and early 1960s, and raised the question with which social workers are now still faced as to what part should be played by them in a society characterised by inequality of resources, opportunity and power - an inequality which the major social institutions appear to reinforce.

To summarise, social work ideology in the post-war years up to the Seebohm Report (1968) was still influenced to some extent by the Poor Law and ideas of Victorian philanthropy. But it was influenced also by the psychodynamic approach, looking at individual's problems in terms of psychopathology and in relation to their family and social situations. However poverty and the issues stemming from this still remained a crucial issue and was not really dealt with in a sufficiently constructive way.

8. The 1970s Onward

Silburn (page 138) notes the way the "optimism of the 1950s slowly gave way to a more cautious and anxious mood which finds its reflex in social policy debates and preoccupations". This was affected mainly by rising inflation and unemployment in the 1970s to levels unimaginable a few years previously.

An example of this was the replacement of the National Assistance Board (NAB) by the Supplementary Benefit Commission (SBC) in 1966. The notion of social assistance as a temporary and last resort service for small numbers of people un-

protected by social assistance, was abandoned. It had now to be acknowledged that means-tested benefit was an institutionalised and permanent feature of social provision.

The main issue of the early 1970s was rising unemployment which increased the numbers of people receiving supplementary benefits. Voluntary organisations and groups (for example, Child Poverty Action and organisations for single parents) obtained publicity so that problems like poverty and housing, although always social issues, were publicly discussed in a different way to previously. They were seen more as political issues rather than individuals being blamed for their situations. People on the receiving end of the welfare state (and even those still falling through its net) like single parent families and those with handicaps were beginning to demand a say in the quality of services they received.

However with the present Conservative government coming into power in 1979, there has been a backlash against benefits, with the Supplementary Benefits Commission being abolished under the 1980 Social Services Act, and the whole process of receiving benefits becoming more complex, bureaucratic and again stigmatising.

Looking at social work practice ideology at this time, there was a tendency to attack the psychological foundations of social case work and to discredit the concept of treating social problems on a case by case basis. Social work became

redefined in terms of changing the political, economic and social circumstances in which clients lived. Social case work became an extension of welfare rights. This tendency to politicise and radicalise social work ideology was on an intellectual or academic level (welfare rights becoming more significant parts of social work training courses). Actual practice probably lagged behind, still based on traditional philanthropic and psychodynamic case work ideologies.

9. The Seebohm Report

The social service departments of today grew out of the wish of social workers to unify and professionalise, and also from the dissatisfaction and cynicism about the welfare state as it existed. This process of unification and professionalisation of social work culminated in the Seebohm Report of 1968.

Social work became part of the local bureaucratic organisation, with other departments such as housing and education. Social workers successfully campaigned for more resources, more personnel and more training.

Goldberg & Warburton (1979/1) looking at social work practice since the implementation of the Seebohm Report, show that "Since the reorganisation of the social services ... social work has become big business. The boundaries are ever extending. They range from psychotherapy to social planning".

10. The Barclay Report

The next important landmark in social work after the Seebohm Report was the Barclay Report of 1982 (Barclay, 1982). The report looked at the wide range of tasks that social workers are needed to do and the economic context of social work. It discussed working with the poor and deprived at a time when massive cuts were being made in social service budgets; also whether social workers should simply accept the way the financial cake was being cut or whether they should be engaged in a struggle for more resources for their clients. It looked at the problem of making the most effective use of available resources at a local level. The report argued that social work must hold fast to its commitment to the underprivileged, but that resources that did exist could be used more effectively. It encouraged an increased involvement of social workers with the community. In the Seebohm Report the unit of social work intervention was the family. In the Barclay Report, it was the community.

This report then seems politically as well as practically radical. There are however severe criticisms that can be made. An obvious one is that community-based social work could be seen as a way of cutting and privatising services. It is important to note here that the Barclay committee was established by a Conservative government committed to the reduction of public expenditure. The report failed to make clear statements about needs of clients, the extent of unmet need and the necessity for increased resources to meet these needs at a community level.

Also a policy of community social work without interlinked policies on other aspects of social services could increase the already huge burden of care that informal carers bear, too often alone and unsupported. As Finch (1984/6) discusses, this caring is done mainly by women.

11. The Present Ideological Situation

The last decade has been a period in which the new social services departments were established and a time of expansion of social work tasks and practice, yet with a worldwide economic recession beginning to be felt. Prices in general in the 1970s increased sharply due to the oil crisis and unemployment also increased. The economic recession led to a time of retrenchment (following the earlier expansion) with cuts in social service departments and welfare provision being felt by both social workers and welfare recipients. Social workers went on strike in 1978 in order to attempt at least to maintain welfare services at realistic and necessary levels.

Hall & Jacques (1983/9) point to three factors explaining the rise of the new right ideology in Britain at this time. "First, the point where the long term structural decline of the British economy synchronised with the deepening into recession of the world capitalist economy; second, in the wake of the collapse of the third post-war Labour government, the disintegration of the whole social democratic consensus which had provided the framework of British politics in 1945; third, the resumption of the 'new Cold War', renewed

at a frighteningly advanced point in the stockpiling of nuclear weaponry, and with Britain sliding under Thatcherite inspiration into a mood of intense bellicose patriotic fervour".

However it is important to realise that the process of economic retrenchment was started by the Social Democratic Labour government under Harold Wilson, and not by the present Conservative regime.

But whereas the Labour government basically supported the welfare state but felt that continuous expansion was impossible because of the economic situation, the present Conservative government has ideological objections to the welfare state as such. This attitude to welfare services is part of its total 'package' of privatisation. H & S Rose (1982/7) describe this ideology as "authoritarian populism mobilised by issues of law and order, sexual permissiveness, strikes, immigration and scroungers". At its heart lies a particular conception of human nature as individualistic and competitive, which "... stands in opposition to the social constructionist view which had been the dominating ideology of socialist theory since the Utopian hopes of 1968".

Boyson (1978/381) a representative of the 'new right' writes "The present welfare state with its costly universal benefits and heavy taxation is rapidly producing an (similar) economic and spiritual malaise among our people". He talks about 'the wastes of welfare' and 'strength through self help'.

Brewer & Lait (1980) criticise social work practice as either 'wet case work' or political subversion. They suggest social workers be attached to general practitioners, uphold existing conventions, and that common sense rather than social work is sufficient to deal with social and personal problems. They dismiss social workers as bureaucratic pseudotherapists.

This 'new right' philosophy affects both welfare and social work ideologies. It has (as in the last century) reemphasised the role of the family in providing welfare services and personal support for itself. This has then implications for sex and gender status in society, and the roles of men, women and children. It also emphasises self-reliance, and as Martin (1984/16) says, "For the disabled who are by necessity more reliant on others, the rediscovery of such Victorian values bodes ill indeed".

A significant development of the present dominance of this new right ideology is that socialist social workers are today in the paradoxical position of defending the social democratic welfare state established in Britain, against cuts imposed by the Tory government while at the same time continuing to levy relevant criticisms against it. These include the fact that it is paternalistic, bureaucratic, dominated by 'experts', and has failed to contextualise individual problems and experiences within an understanding of class, gender and race.

This contradiction for socialist social workers leads to the problem of 'softening' these criticisms of the 'old' welfare state either from expediency (to fight further cuts) or because in contrast to the present situation, the social democratic past looks more acceptable. Also there are within socialism many perspectives concerning welfare and involving differences between, for example, some Marxists and socialist feminists on the priority in critiques of welfare given to issues of women's oppression, racism, agism and homophobia in relation to class struggle.

Gough (1979/12) for example points out that the way the social democratic welfare state is financed, administered and delivered is conditioned by the larger structures of capitalism, giving it its characteristic flavour, yet at the same time owing something to socialist demands for protection against the cruelties of a capitalist system through collective social responsibility within the confines of the present system. Feminist critiques of the welfare state have focused on its patriarchal nature, its role in reproducing the sexist structures of wider society, so underpinning the oppression of women instead of benefitting them. However the reemphasis of the 'new right' on the domestic role of women has resulted in an awareness by feminist writers of the importance of collective social provision in giving women greater autonomy and power (see McIntosh 1981/40).

Such differences of emphasis lead to the problem of an imbalance between criticisms of the present and past, and concrete realisable proposals for social policies in the

future. Some proposals could be seen as 'mere reformist', since generally socialist critiques assume that welfare is not really possible in a capitalist system, but must be part of wider changes involved in transforming present social relations. However just as it is important not to soften valid criticisms of the social democratic welfare state, it is also important not to conclude that the whole range of welfare services are irrelevant and unpopular. A distinction must be made between critiques of welfare policy and criticisms of the actual administration of welfare services, in order to make them more accountable to and relevant for users.

The present government is retaining some social service provision, not a universalist welfare state but one for the poor which has controlling and rationising aims rather than to alleviate poverty, redress imbalances of power, and to generally improve the quality of life in our society. Mishra (1986/15) rightly warns against underestimating the role of ideology in lowering expectations and undermining the welfare state. It is important to emphasise the humanitarian aspects of social welfare, and the devastating effects of cuts in social service provisions on the unemployed and other oppressed groups with implications for class, race and gender issues.

In the following chapter, the development of welfare social work practice ideologies and the present situation in Japan will be discussed and compared to that in Britain.

CHAPTER 4WELFARE & SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE IDEOLOGIES IN JAPAN

This chapter looks at the historical development of social welfare and social work practice in Japan with an emphasis on the changes in ideology, as a comparison to the situation in Britain described in the previous chapter.

1. Introduction: Japan's Cultural Background & Origins

A useful start to a discussion of Japanese culture is to quote Felix Moos (1975/123) who tells what happened when in April 1974 Leonardo da Vinci's 'Mona Lisa' painting arrived for a fifty-day special exhibition in Tokyo, since the Japanese reaction to this painting illustrates change and persistence in Japanese society. "Within the first week after the arrival no fewer than twenty-seven shops, bars and beauty salons in Tokyo had changed their names to 'Mona Lisa'. A Tokyo night club staged the world's first 'Mona Lisa Nude Review' and a Japanese version of Mona Lisa's torso wound up topping a traffic safety campaign for Greater Tokyo." A well known fashion model and several other Japanese women spent hundreds of pounds on plastic surgery to turn themselves into living reproductions of the famous Florentine - but at the same time when all this was happening, a Japanese woodcut artist used a thousand-year-old technique to create an equally captivating Japanese Mona Lisa in the Ukiyo-e style. This seems to highlight the persistent mixture of modern and ancient culture which is such a feature of Japan.

Japanese social structure is now based firmly on a capitalistic economy but it retains remnants of feudalism, particularly in human relationships. Modern and traditional phases are intermingled. In Japan the delicate balance of new and old is the most outstanding characteristic.

One factor to the distinctiveness of Japanese culture in relation to Western civilisation is that it belongs to the rice-growing cultural sphere characterised by irrigated rice cultivation. Consequently, Japanese culture belongs to a very large agrarian cultural sphere or to the set of agrarian cultural zones which developed along the southern borders of the Eurasian continent.

However a factor making Japan distinct culturally not only from the West but from other rice-growing cultures (for example India or China) is what Ishida (1980/112) calls the "secluded stability" of the culture. For a period of a thousand and several hundred years the Japanese developed an increasingly homogenous culture with neither large-scale movement of peoples from outside nor invasion and subsequent conquest by an enemy. (After the second world war, Japan experienced for the first time an occupation by a foreign army.) However, in spite of this secluded stability as a distinctive characteristic of Japanese culture, there has been a rapid assimilation of foreign cultures. In fact it may be because of this seclusion that it was possible for the Japanese to continue to assimilate foreign cultures so rapidly without anxiety.

In the development of Japanese society, indigenous Shintoism, also Confucianism, Taoism and above all Buddhism, left profound imprints. But in the period of modernisation which followed the Meiji restoration (revolution) of 1868¹ and the opening up of Japan to Western ideas which followed, it became a matter of vital importance for the Japanese to catch up with the civilisation of the Western powers. The West was in every respect advanced and civilised from the Japanese point of view, and Japan was in comparison an extremely backward nation. Spurred by this consciousness of the country's backwardness, the Japanese absorbed Western civilisation with great rapidity. Especially in technological fields, the fact that in one century Japan caught up with the revolution which had taken Western Europe over five centuries to achieve, is an indication that for the Japanese there was no other course of action. It must be remembered though that some technological information, for example firearms, also agricultural and shipbuilding technology, came into Japan via the missionaries and traders who were allowed to operate in Nagasaki even while Japan was otherwise closed to the world. In the early years of the Meiji era it was an accepted fact for the Japanese that European civilisation had to be their model. This tradition persisted and continues even today.

¹Japanese history is divided into periods named after the reigning Emperor - now the period is called Showa and 1986 is Showa 61 by the Japanese method of reckoning. The present Emperor has therefore reigned for 61 years so far.

However, recently the experience of the second world war, and as contacts with Western civilisation have become closer, there has appeared a series of critiques of Western civilisation which form a contrast to the views of the West held since the Meiji era. Criticisms have been made of the limitations of Western humanism, ways of life and survival. Kawai for example (1981/371) talks about Japan following the 'maternal' principle whereas Europe and the United States follow the 'paternal' principle. He uses these terms in the context of a standard of judgement in relation to the social behaviour of people. "The paternal and maternal principles used here can be distinguished by whether their chief function is to cut or to contain. The maternal aspect contains everything ... In contrast to this, the paternal aspect cuts and separates all things. It classifies everything into the subjective and objective, good and bad, top and bottom, and so on." He argues that many misunderstandings arise between the Japanese and Western people as a result of this difference in principles. Europeans and Americans brought up on the basis of the paternal principle criticise Japanese for being too tolerant towards 'evil'. On the other hand, Japanese raised on the maternal principle censure the Westerner for being 'too cold'. Societies based on the paternal principle place a high value on the establishment of individuality. Societies based on the maternal principle, however, accord priority to the maintenance of a condition of equilibrium with regard to 'space'. Here the individual restrains personal self-assertiveness and everyone acts in concert so as not to disturb the condition of equilibrium in which every person has his or her given 'space'.

In fact Kawai seems to present a rather idealised view of Japanese society. The Japanese are usually intolerant of deviant behaviour. Kawai ignores the fact that an individual's 'space' is strictly controlled by relations of respect and obligation, which often stop people from expressing themselves directly and too definitely, for fear of offending.

When looking at the more recent development of Japanese society and culture, the traumatic experience for Japan of the Meiji restoration should not be underestimated. When the isolation of Japan's feudal society was forcibly broken and the country opened up to foreign intercourse as a result of outside pressure, the shock was devastating. As the 'advanced' Western countries passed through the bourgeois revolution and matured as modern societies, capitalism expanded into imperialism. Hence the pressures on Japan to open the country carried with them the danger of colonisation.

Some of the main ideological influences on Japanese culture will now be discussed in more detail. An obviously important one is the indigenous religion of Shintoism (literal translation: 'the way of the Gods').

Shinto is a faith in various Gods (called Kami, seen as noble sacred spirits) but has no founder nor sacred scriptures. It is an amalgam of attitudes, ideas, and ways of doing things that through two millenniums and more have become an integral part of the way of the Japanese people.

Shintoism and Buddhism have developed side by side in Japanese culture. Even today many Japanese people follow both religions (as well as maybe being also Christians). Shintoism can be regarded as the ideological basis of the nationalistic, militaristic and Emperor-worshipping aspects of Japanese culture. It is also concerned with the secular in that commercial activities linked somehow to the Shinto gods are deemed to be good. Shintoism subscribes to the idea that to promote individual happiness, it is also necessary to promote the happiness of society.

In a way similar to Protestantism in the West, Shintoism can be seen as the ideological basis for the development of capitalism in Japan since if the desire for material things is related to the Gods and public welfare, it is good. Shintoism however differs from Protestantism which emphasises the concept of 'the elect' with the idea that God rewards these people with material success. Shintoism does not lead to feelings of guilt as in those 'elected' by God to be successful in Protestant ideology and from which philanthropic social work in Britain originated. Shintoism as such has had no direct influence on the history and development of welfare in Japan. This is in contrast to Buddhism which in this area has had some considerable ideological influence. Shintoism is a religion very much of the world, with direct communication to Gods. Buddhism emphasises individual development towards Buddhahood. Welfare is part of this process through the concept of karma (gaining merit to prevent rebirth).

When the feudal system (the shogunate)² was overthrown, Buddhism which had been too closely associated with it, was also attacked, and in 1868, thirteen centuries after being introduced from China to Japan, was disestablished. Two years later Shinto was made the state religion. Woronoff (1980/241) states that Shintoism was drawn upon as a source of legitimacy for the Emperor and the ideas and concepts for the new national doctrines. "Ultimately it was made an integral part of the growing nationalism. When this collapsed during the war, Shintoism was stunted as badly as Buddhism had been before."

Linked to the rural feudal society that was Japan before the Meiji restoration was the traditional view of the family and the role of women. In pre-war society and before, the great majority of people in Japan believed that women were intended for one major role in life, that of wife and mother. Behind this view were certain interrelated assumptions. Men and women were seen as essentially different beings. Men were considered superior with many rights but also duties and responsibilities. They answered to society for the households bearing their name. Women answered to men (either their fathers or husbands).

Pharr (1981/48) makes the point that what is unusual was not this traditional view which operated in most societies evolving

²The country was ruled by a Shogun (a feudal Baron) at this time, the Emperor having only titular power.

from patriarchal traditions, but the fact that this idea persisted with only minor challenges and still persists. One obvious example of this is that women still use more polite forms of speech than men, and use special 'feminine' words. There have been some challenges to this traditional role. The constitution after the war explicitly forbade discrimination on the basis of sex. Increasing prosperity has increased the possibilities of education for women as well as for men, and also lightened the burden of housework to some extent, allowing women to pursue other tasks.

However gender roles are still clearly defined. Generally men are devoted to their work firms and women take over all responsibilities for home and children (to the extent of organising their husbands' social lives). This freedom of men from responsibilities other than at work is an important factor in the economic success of Japan.

2. Social Security & Social Welfare - Origins & Buddhist Influence

The welfare state as we know it in Britain does not really exist in Japan. However there are state welfare services and a social security system but these have developed relatively recently and are by no means as all-embracing as in Britain. (The welfare state in Britain can be considered still to be just about all-embracing in spite of the ideology and policies of the present Tory government.) However Japan has always had a welfare system locally based through the

Buddhist priests and the ideology that they represented. Welfare is an important and significant aspect of Buddhist ideology. Helping others is seen in Buddhism as almost more important for doing good to the donor than to the recipient as a means of improving the donor's 'karma'. The Buddha (Sakyamuni) himself emphasised helping others, the importance of human rights, charity and preventive work.

Buddhism emphasises that only through caring for the welfare of mankind as a whole can the individual attain happiness. Organised charitable work in Japan was begun by Prince Regent Shotoku. He ruled Japan about thirty-six years after the introduction of Buddhism and proclaimed it the state religion. He established four famous institutions called respectively The Home of the Merciful Rice Field, The Home of the Venerable Rice Field, The Home for Treatment of Diseases and The Medical Alms House. The establishment of these four institutions characterised the later development of social work in Japan so that relief of the poor and care for the sick became closely tied with the educational and religious work of enlightenment and ethical teachings based on Buddhism. Although originally Buddhist priests in Japan were primarily wealthy literati who could afford to take up meditation and other cultural pursuits, they were later also concerned with public welfare.

A report on child welfare services in Japan by the Children & Families' Bureau of the Ministry of Health & Welfare (1977/1) maintains that "With the introduction of Buddhism

early in the 6th century, the voluntary child welfare services were launched in Japan in the various forms of charity works by Buddhists and by the Imperial Family who believed in the philanthropic deeds advocated by Buddhism".

Thus social work in Japan before the Meiji restoration of 1868 when Japan opened out to Western influence, was based on the charitable activities of Buddhist priests. This took the form mainly of residential establishments attached to monasteries for the sick, orphans and elderly with no families. There was no idea of differentiating the 'deserving' from the 'undeserving' poor. The harshness and the inhumanity of the Poor Law of Britain was absent in Japanese welfare. Because in Buddhism charitable deeds are necessary to attain salvation, so the idea of self-sufficiency, and helping only those deemed 'deserving' did not arise in Japan until very much later and took a different form to that in Britain.

3. Industrialisation & Modernisation: Welfare After the Meiji Restoration

It is since the Meiji restoration of 1868 and the influence of the West since then, that a more state-based system of welfare has become organised in Japan. Japanese contact with the West had started in the 16th century. This initial contact was mainly with missionaries but also with merchants, medicine and gun boats. It was only after Japan officially opened up to the West in the mid-19th century, that a rapid assimilation and synthesis of Western culture took place and

continues to do so.

This was a period of establishing social legislation for relief work. Sugimoto (1968/7) says "The Buddhists were concerned about the increase in the rate of suicide among the aged and so they built charitable institutions for them ... Buddhist institutional work in the welfare field increased steadily ... This is due to the fact that they were competing with other religions and struggling to find their position in society." Buddhist priests established the forerunners of the modern employment office and free government eating places as well as becoming involved in various kinds of prison and prison rehabilitation work. Work with prisoners and establishing and running nurseries became the two leading forms of social work carried on by Buddhists, and are still an important part of their welfare work today.

It is interesting to note that as in Britain, welfare legislation was laid down in Japan originally as much to maintain public peace as well as for charitable purposes.

The first welfare legislation in Japan was the Self-Relief Regulation of 1874. This was the basic instrument of public assistance during the next sixty years. Relief was given to people who had no means of supporting themselves and who were 13 years or younger, chronically ill or 70 years and over. Relief was issued in rice. Social security and welfare lagged behind economic development and the industrialisation process. However as the ideology of Emperor worship was energetically propagated and the morality of

loyalty and filial piety was emphasised, it was not necessary to develop social security and welfare systems since the family and local community supported its members. There was still strong mutual neighbourly assistance in villages and urban neighbourhoods. However, with the linked processes of industrialisation and urbanisation, the 1874 Regulation became inadequate and a Special Assistance Law was passed in 1929. This law extended assistance to those who became temporarily or permanently incapable of gainful employment due to illness, disablement, pregnancy or wound in war. But it still left out many people who needed assistance. Taira (1966/136) shows that during the 1920s, after fifty years of economic development, there arose a strong and widespread consciousness of the problem of poverty in Japan. It was later that people in need, excluded under the 1929 Act, were gradually brought in under separate measures of assistance provided for by other laws. After the second world war, public assistance schemes were subjected to a drastic reform. Only then were eligibility conditions differentiated by cause of poverty swept away.

Fukutake (1982/196) says that there was a great element of shame in accepting any public assistance since this was used by those with no family or relatives, "Something that happened only to the dregs of society ... proper and pitiable objects of charitable works". This is similar to British Poor Law ideology, but its origins are different. There is in Japanese society a fundamental feeling that the family looks after its members. So the sense of shame felt by

people with no family support was due to this indigenous attitude.

At this time too, social work was affected by Christian ideas. Higgins (1981/75) shows that the Christian missionaries, by their more efficient methods and better organisation, overshadowed the work of Buddhist reformers. Even though the number of Christians never rose above about 1%, the influence of their ideas in relation to social work was in many ways quite substantial. They contributed to the progress and modernisation of social work from 1860 to 1958. Lamb (1968/14) lists the changes they brought about, as follows:

1. from transitory treatment to preventative activity
2. from common sense treatment to scientific treatment
3. from casual treatment to systematic treatment
4. from material care to personal relationship guidance.

Fukutake (page 197) stresses that this close connection between social work and Christianity was a significant indication of the extent to which social work was alien to Japanese traditions.³

³I myself experienced this still when at the Japan School of Social Work doing field work for this research. When I said that I was interested in Buddhist ideas about social work, people were intrigued as there seemed to be a general assumption that social work was very much linked to Christianity.

It was only when the limits to family and neighbourhood assistance became all too clear that any kind of medical insurance for example became general. It was in 1938 that a national health insurance scheme was started. As the number of workers in industry increased, one might have expected growing demands for industrial and old age pension schemes to have developed. But in fact no such movement was apparent. There was a general tendency to be content with the welfare schemes operated by the owners of the familiaristic enterprises as a means of strengthening a sense of membership in the enterprise 'family'. The general expectation was that a man should be able to rely on the support of his eldest son. Thus for a long time post-retirement incomes were left to lump sum retirement benefits and a certain amount of mutual insurance, and it was not until 1942 that the first national scheme for workers' contributory pensions was established. Moreover, this scheme itself had as one of its major purposes the mobilisations of savings for all expenditure through fund contributions.

4. Socialism in Japan

Both socialism as an ideology, and in terms of political parties based on the Western parliamentary system, developed in Japan after the Meiji restoration of 1868.

The Meiji restoration was a revolution in many ways, but it is significant that it is known as a restoration which emphasises the links with the past still maintained. The

Emperor was restored to his rightful position as ruler of the country after his role had been usurped by the Shoguns for centuries.

Stockwin (1975/149) analysing the Meiji restoration in terms of its revolutionary processes, says that "It was not in Marxist terms a 'bourgeois-democratic' revolution, since the merchants no doubt because of their low formal status, took no active part". The restoration was carried out by disaffected members of the ruling class. Although they emphasised the process of 'Westernising' Japan, at the same time they did not want to lose the indigenous cultural spirit of the people. This gave rise to the often conflicting ideologies still characteristic in Japan, between Westernisation (synonymous with modernisation) and a very conservative nationalism. This conflict is perhaps epitomised by the life and death of the writer Yukio Mishima. He was Westernised to the extent that he was influenced by Western culture, literature and art, yet his death by the traditional Japanese harakiri suicide method was a violent way of expressing his desire to return to traditional nationalistic warrior values.

Socialism in its early stages was largely an intellectual movement and its adherents were very split ideologically. Ayusawa (1966/30) shows that "Beside the moderate liberalism of British origin among the extreme ideas that came to Japan were anarchism, syndicalism and socialism of Russian, French

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and German origin respectively." There appear to have been two significant splits, which are still influential in left politics in Japan today. The first is the split between the Marxists influenced mainly by Russia and Leninism, and the social democratic socialists influenced mainly from America and the West.

The second split is the generational one. Older socialists tend to cling to traditional tenets, while the younger generation look for fresh approaches to social problems. This split often centres around the issue of violence and methods of confronting conservative elements in Japanese society.

Scalapino (1962/103) in his discussion of the historical origins of the fragmentation of the Japanese 'left' says about the first split, that although Japan was one of the first Asian countries to be influenced by socialism, this was based on a social-democratic ideology stemming from Christian Humanism. Crump (1983/92) too notes the 'radical' influence of Christianity during the Meiji era in Japan when it was seen as very progressive. In fact the first lectures on socialism in Japan were delivered by an American Christian socialist. It was only after the first world war that Marxism itself made its first significant gains among the Japanese intellectuals. Marxism was initially seen in Japan as a method of protest, and of revolution, similarly to Christian socialism earlier, of progress to Western standards, from the traditional Japanese ideologies based on Confucianism, Shintoism and Buddhism.

After the second world war, the Japanese Socialist Party was formed and included several factions with varying ideological stances, from the left-wing Marxists to the more moderate groups associated with trade unionism.

The second major split, the generational one, is significant in that younger intellectuals now tend to see Marxism as dogma, as stagnant and old fashioned. There has been no significant development of Marxist theory in Japan as in the West, or in some African and South American countries.

The younger radical generation in Japan is relatively apart from political society - with a negative role, for example against the development of the new airport at Narita. This group (mainly students) is known for its militancy and use of violence.⁴ But as in the West, such activity has decreased in the last decade or so as students are affected by the world recession and what McCormack (1971/52) describes as "repression, fatigue and disillusionment". He mentions the massive build up of riot police with imprisonment of many militants and the movement in the universities towards indifference and taking things more easily. As well as this more worldwide generalised phenomenon, in Japan particularly there is a wide gap between the young radicals and the older socialists or Marxists.

⁴See for example an article in the London Standard (November 29, 1985, page 12) describing a bomb attack on a Tokyo railway station in the rush hour by "leftist radicals wearing steel helmets and commuter suits".

Krauss (1974/152) describes the radicals he 'revisited' as having entered a profession chosen in order to attempt to fulfil a need for autonomy, a concern for political and social problems and a desire for political change. They are alienated from the political system of which they are members. "Less sympathetic to Marxism now than ten years ago, he (such a profiled radical) is likely to combine any belief in Marxism with other beliefs and is losing his faith in Marxism's predictions of revolutionary change and in the type of society that might result from such a revolution. Nonetheless he still strongly maintains his 'universalistic humanism' ... his belief in the basic correctness of Marxism's premises, and his desire to work for change in the capitalist system in Japan."

In summary, the influence of socialism on social work practice and welfare ideologies in Japan has been minimal except in terms of the early influence of Christian Socialism from the West. This led to the development of case work and the welfare state (as far as this has gone in Japan) as opposed to the localised voluntary social work practice and welfare ideologies of the Buddhist priests.

It is noteworthy that in Japan, Christianity has been an influence for change on these ideologies. Buddhism there represents traditional values. In the West, however, Buddhism is seen as a new 'radical' ideology, positively influencing traditional Western social work practice (based

on psychodynamic case work) and welfare (based on the Protestant ethic) ideologies. Christianity represents traditional values here.

5. Post-War Changes: Development of Welfare Services

After the war, Japan's social structure again changed considerably. There was much poverty with family and community support systems breaking down. In 1947 the new constitution came into force and with it also welfare legislation linked to Article 25 of the constitution, the right to live. The earliest of such new legislation included the Workers' Accident Compensation Law and the Livelihood Protection Law. The sense that receipt of public assistance was a matter for shame was far weaker than it had been before the war. This new legislation itself defined its purpose not in terms of charitable assistance but as a matter of protecting the right to a minimum livelihood. Concepts of social security and social welfare thus took root in Japan for the first time.

By 1950 there was already an outline social security system and social security council. There was an ideological shift from the pre-war concept of welfare as charitable benefits to those in need, ultimately traceable to the benevolence of the Emperor as the parental head of the national family.

The Japanese National Committee of the International Council on Social Welfare reference material No.10 (1979/1) describes

the years 1955 to 1964 "... as a period of laying the legal and institutional foundations for more comprehensive social welfare".

6. Social Security & Welfare Services in Japan Today

Today the social security system in Japan covers four main areas: social insurance, public assistance, social welfare services and public health. In the decade since 1970, benefits have increased by seven times while the national income has roughly trebled. (Ministry of Health & Welfare Annual Report on Health & Welfare 1982 (1983/1).)

(a) Social Insurance

This covers medical, pension and employment insurance with varying levels of cash support in different circumstances. There are for example two kinds of unemployment insurance, one for workers in non-agricultural establishments employing five or more workers, and another for day labourers. However security against unemployment is still exclusively for paid employees and there is no unemployment insurance for self-employed persons.

(b) Public Assistance

This assures a minimum standard of living to all citizens with no other means of support through the provisions

of seven categories of cash benefits. Public assistance schemes are borne wholly by the state, to ensure this minimum standard of living, or for specific purposes such as medical care, children's education or housing subsidy.

(c) Social Welfare Services & Benefits

This programme provides guidance, consultation, maintenance, supply of goods, medical care, home help and institutional care under the provisions of five basic welfare laws. These laws relate to children, the elderly, fatherless families, the physically handicapped and the mentally handicapped.

(d) Public Health

This programme provides prevention of disease, immunisation and health examination to the general public.

The administration of public welfare services is carried out on three levels, national, prefectoral and local, with the cost of programmes being shared according to the respective law involved, by these three administrative levels. However a considerable proportion of institutional care and other services are entrusted or contracted to voluntary institutions and social welfare agencies.

There is great variation in the Japanese public welfare system both nationally and locally which is the cumulative result of pragmatic actions in the allocation of scarce resources. Taira (page 148) raises the question "How far has Japan developed towards a national welfare community through these diverse measures of social insurance, public assistance and welfare service?" With Japan's high economic growth rate, it is perhaps inevitable that the social value of those with social handicap and consequently low economic efficiency, are rated low. Thus Japan today cannot be described as having a welfare state. There is too great a dependence on the voluntary sector.

7. Voluntary Agencies

Voluntary work in Japan is today of far greater significance still than in Britain. As in Britain, most welfare activities in Japan were initiated under voluntary auspices. However the ideology behind this was different in that Christian philanthropy was based on the idea of a person doing good deeds to be one of the 'elect' in God's eyes. The Christian God is clearly superior to human beings. In Buddhism the concept that all, including the Buddha, are equal in potential to be saved is very important. Thus in Japan, voluntary work stemmed from this Buddhist ideology which emphasises mutual aid leading to a tradition of community service. So, still today most social work and probation practice in Japan is done by volunteers called 'minsei iin' and 'hogoshii', who work in local welfare and probation offices respectively. They enjoy considerable prestige and authority and are used

comprehensively in official social work practice, playing an important public role between government and other private citizens. They carry out almost all the treatment of clients. This has various advantages and disadvantages.⁵ Advantages have to do with the accessibility both geographically and psychologically of volunteers to clients. Also responses to clients can be flexible as volunteers are less bound by agency restrictions than statutory workers. Disadvantages of the volunteer system include the fact that volunteers are now quite old since Japanese society is changing and the Buddhist emphasis on community care becomes less relevant to young people. Volunteers are more likely to use just personal rather than professionally trained judgement. Also problems can arise between the voluntary and professional social workers if the latter's role is undermined. A report on social welfare services (Ministry of Health & Welfare (1979/Introduction IV)) concludes: "The problems of voluntary social welfare are taking on a new significance in the light of changes in and the development of the social security system ... even if the primary responsibility must be taken by national and local governments, the role of voluntary welfare remains very large".

There is a Japanese National Council of Social Welfare whose function is to work with private welfare institutions at the

⁵See Angata (1971/197) and the National Volunteer Promotion Center (1978/24).

prefectoral and local level and to coordinate efforts to solve welfare problems at the national level and strengthen the social action potential of local communities. The stated ideology of the Council is that "only private social welfare can with objectivity enable a broad segment of the public at the community level to participate in the welfare policy and decision-making process within the welfare state". (JNC of the ICSW Fact Sheet No.1-R1, March 1979.)

Thus it is significant that in Japan the situation concerning statutory and voluntary work is at present very much in line with the policy of the present Conservative government in Britain. Japan for historical ideological reasons has a limited welfare state (playing a subsidiary function) but now has a pluralistic welfare system with the private and voluntary sectors being of great significance in the care of members of the population needing help.

8. Problems

The JNC of the ICSW Fact Sheet No.17 outlining the social welfare system in Japan (1978/2) very honestly states: "Since some parts of the (social security and welfare) system have a rather short history, improvement is needed in many programmes". Problems of the Japanese welfare system include the excessive complexity of the system and shortage of both manpower and social welfare institutions.

When compared internationally (Cutright 1965/549 and JNC of ICSW reference material no.7, 1977) Japan's welfare system does lag behind that of other industrial countries. For

example it is only as recently as 1961 that universal insurance coverage in the fields of medicine and the old age pension was established.

Although a right has been established that public assistance is available to all needing it, in practice many benefits are dispensed as discretionary services. These include for example, loans for one-parent families and some benefits for handicapped children. Much welfare is still on a voluntary basis.

Fukutake (page 199) concludes that the Japanese national welfare facilities and social security system "... are insufficient in quantity and still leave something to be desired in terms of quality. They are still some distance from providing a welfare system appropriate to an economic great power".

The development of social security is greatly constrained by the traditional Japanese view of individual/state relationships. Taira & Kilby (1969/147) demonstrate that Japan is a country with a modest social security system and phenomenal household savings. The reasons for saving are largely to provide for illness and other contingencies and for security after retirement. "To these, other surveys add the desire to secure housing and to provide for children's educational expenses. All these factors can be interpreted as weaknesses of Japan's social security system."

Training of social workers in Japan also lags behind that in the West. The JNC of the ICSW Fact Sheet No.13 (September 1977/1) explains that in spite of Japan's relatively early involvement in social work education (1918) there has been a surprising lack of correlation between educational background and present professional status. "Professional identity tends to revolve around functional involvement rather than academic background."

Social workers in Japan appear to have a variety of training. Governmental recruitment policy for social workers up until the past decade did not stress social work education and people are still employed as social workers after having passed only a general test for civil servants. This is due partially to the limited number of schools for social work resulting in the inability to supply the trained manpower needed. In-service training therefore plays a major role in the practical field. These issues will be highlighted in the discussion of interviews carried out with social workers in Japan.

9. Recent Changes & Issues

Japan, as Western industrial states, suffered economically in the 1970s through the oil crisis and other world financial factors. Also cultural and ideological changes are taking place in Japanese society which have a direct bearing on social security and welfare services. As in all industrial societies, the extended family is diminishing with more people living alienated lives on their own in cities. The

elderly population in Japan is increasing since more people are staying alive for longer. Changing family patterns mean that the number of nuclear families and of the households of the aged have increased, resulting in a decrease in the numbers of families in which the children and their aged parents live together. At the same time an increasing number of housewives take jobs outside the home, so the traditional role of the family (the women in it) in bringing up children and caring for aged parents has undergone a profound change.⁶

Omachi (1962/282) says "The process of change in attitudes is revealed through the son's complaints of his father's feudalistic attitude or through the father's resentment in the decrease of the feeling of respect and filial piety from his children".

Whereas previously in Japan, families did most of the caring for any members needing support, now the state and voluntary organisations do have an increasingly significant role to play in caring for weaker members of society. The JNC of the ICSW Fact Sheet No.4 (June 1976/2) makes clear that recent trends are increasing the demands for welfare services. It clearly supports the idea of continuing and developing the present pluralistic ideology of welfare. "At present nursery services, for example, cannot be offered, as they were in the past, simply in response to the economic need

⁶For a graphic even if fictional description of the effects of such social changes on the lives of individual people, see S Ariyoshi, *The Twilight Years* (trans M Tahara) Owen 1984.

which a parent may have to be employed ... Many parents apart from economic need, want nursery services for their children and are willing to pay for it. If improvement continues in benefits paid under old age social security programmes, the same kind of observation can be made about care for the elderly."

This can be compared to comments by, for example, Boyson (1978/382). "There is little choice of school either by type, discipline or area and the neighbourhood comprehensive school with a complete egalitarian ethic could have disastrous effects upon educational standards. As long as choice is confined to parents who can afford expensive school fees, the lower and middle income groups will have less freedom of choice than they had in 1870."

Two articles in the journal 'Japan Quarterly' discuss changes in Japanese society and their effect on welfare ideology, but from different ideological bases. Tokoro (1981/369) looks at delinquency and why this is on the increase in Japan, from a 'liberal' viewpoint. He describes post-war changes in society affecting both the family and the educational system as having occurred too rapidly and so having fallen out of step with the traditional concepts of the role of home and school. These, he says, are still expected to administer proper guidance over children but without the necessary authority and power to force obedience. This is apparently why violence within the family and violence on campus has escalated.

The other article (unnamed - 'Japan Quarterly' 1983/322) discusses the problem of the increasing number of elderly in Japan but from a politically radical stance. It looks at the argument that a main cause of the increase of social welfare expenditure is that Japanese society is ageing so rapidly. It then discusses what it considers to be the government's rather reactionary solution to this problem. This solution is to promote what is known as a 'Japanese-type' welfare system based on traditional Japanese welfare ideology. This emphasises three characteristics of Japanese society: the tendency for old people to work and to accumulate savings; the high percentage of elderly living with their children; and corporate welfare and Japanese-style labour/management relations. The article argues that the problem with this concept of Japanese-style welfare is that it fails to take into consideration the effect that changes in society, as Japan has continued to industrialise, are having on the above three patterns. It discusses these changes. Fewer older people are working and saving. Fewer live with their children as family patterns change. Also, employment is no longer 'lifelong' but only up to retirement. The article concludes: "As Japanese society ages, it will find itself beset with the same problems Western countries now face. It is high time the government took stock of the situation and made realistic plans for the future".

Fukutake (page 206) also criticises the ideology represented by the 'Japanese-style' welfare. He argues that advocates of this are expecting to economise on social security ex-

penditure "by relying on what remains" of the traditions of the Japanese family. "They are nourishing an illusion, the eventual cost of which is bound to be severe. Even to sustain a so-called Japanese type of welfare system, we must look forward to maintaining social security standards at least to their present levels and to making social welfare policies more adequate and effective."

10. Summary

Buddhism in Japan has had a similar role in establishing welfare services as Christianity did in Britain. But the way in which Buddhism differs fundamentally from Christianity in its ideological concept of the role and function of the Buddha compared to that of the Christian God, has had a profound effect on the different development of both voluntary and statutory welfare provisions in the two countries. Since Japan became industrialised through its contact with the West, after the Meiji restoration, it has moved very rapidly from a feudal to a capitalist economy. The fundamental fabric of Japanese culture has changed from a rural society with the Emperor as a god-like father figure to the nation, to an urban one with the extended family becoming fragmented.

These far-reaching relatively recent changes have also affected the development of welfare services. These are based, as in Britain at present, on the ideology of a pluralistic economy with a balance between statutory, voluntary and private sectors, subordinated to the economic

requirements of the country. The fact that Japanese welfare services today are similar in many respects to those in Britain is due in part also to the influence of Christianity on both welfare and social work practice ideologies. The training of social workers in Japan is based very much upon Western theories and ideas. Many social workers there use Western theories and ideas in their practice, even if their own background belief systems are Buddhist. However, the fundamental difference between welfare services in Japan and Britain, namely the importance of volunteers in Japanese welfare provision, can be explained in terms of the Buddhist ideology of the country.

CHAPTER 5
PROFILES INCLUDING RELEVANT PERSONAL BELIEFS
OF THE BRITISH & JAPANESE SOCIAL WORKERS INTERVIEWED

This chapter will present the interviews completed with two groups (Buddhist and Socialist) of social workers each in Britain and Japan. The interviewees will be described and their comments and attitudes summarised as far as possible, in terms of factors which emerge as relevant/significant from the interviews. Before this though, two points must be made.

First, there was a four-year time gap (1977-1981) between the first and the last sets of interviews, those in Britain. This time was politically significant here as the Conservative Government was re-elected in 1979 confirming the move to the right, with an emphasis on self-help and with cuts in welfare and other services. This clearly affects the responses of the Socialist group in that they are taking a particular stance against this ideology.

Second, by the time I interviewed the Socialists in Britain I had done two other sets of interviews as well and so was more experienced in teasing out aspects of the effects of ideology on practice than when I interviewed the British Buddhists.

Pen portraits of the social workers are given, describing their professional and ideological backgrounds and how they feel their stated ideologies and professional practice are linked.

1. The Buddhist Social Workers in Britain

Nine people (eight for the second part of the interview) in this group have been interviewed. They all profess a Buddhist stance affecting their social work practice.

Bob Archer is a young man, with a social work qualification. His work experience is mainly with local authority social service departments, and his involvement with Buddhism, mainly academic (through reading). He was involved with social work before becoming interested in Buddhism. He is at present between jobs and so could not discuss a particular post. He became a social worker because he was interested in people. He moved from the Youth Careers Service to social work because his skills lay more in working with individuals than on a 'macro-level' doing publicity work. As a social worker he is quiet, easy-going and someone who listens a lot; also he is 'nice', meaning fairly insipid at times.

He came to Buddhism from an agnostic-Marxist stance; however he became disillusioned with politics and while on his social work course felt in a personal turmoil and came back to looking at spiritual matters. Buddhism gives him a sense of calmness which is not defensive but more a growing part of stillness in activity and activity in stillness. Doing social work affects his Buddhism in that it keeps him in touch with all aspects of human nature, which gives him a more balanced view of both. Zen-Buddhism teaches self-discipline and doing social work teaches him to keep in touch with the material aspects of life.

Barry Bates is a young unqualified social worker, the only one with no CQSW qualification in this group. His social work experience is mainly in residential work (with adolescents) and his involvement with Buddhism practical, in that he lives in a Buddhist community. He is antagonistic to the more theoretical and academic aspects of Buddhism. He was a social worker shortly before getting involved with Buddhism. He became a social worker because of the prestige involved. He had been drifting and wanted to do a useful job without having any qualifications. He feels he is a bit odd as a social worker, that is not easily understood. His present job in a children's home is uncreative and lacks outlets for himself. He came to Buddhism from a generally philosophical outlook on life, from the drug scene and flower power, that is the whole alternative underground society of the sixties. Buddhism is a means of helping him live a life that is valid and also gives him a sense of identity. Being involved with Buddhism makes him calmer, less speedy and less intense about his needs in relationships. For him, Buddhism and social work are intertwined in that doing social work makes him aware of being a Buddhist.

Betty Carr is a young woman with a professional qualification. Her social work experience is mainly with voluntary agencies working with children, and her involvement with Buddhism consists of regular meditation within a group. She is also a practising Catholic. She is interested in the philosophical

side of Buddhism, seeing it to some extent as a tool for gaining personal insight rather than as a religion. She was involved with social work before getting interested in Buddhism. She became a social worker through her own experiences of ill-health and being in hospital as a child. She wanted to do work with other people but for various reasons rejected medicine, nursing, teaching and so came to social work. Her present work is as a social worker in an NSPCC special unit for abused children. She is ambivalent about it as she is aware that the job emphasises protecting children and she is aware also of the rights of parents. She enjoys the good resources and also having a small case load as this means she can work in depth. As a social worker she is accessible and friendly but over-concerned and anxious about the children on her case load.

She became involved with Buddhism through a friend and feels that it provides a useful resource to help cope with 'living'. For her, Buddhism and Catholicism work together, not in conflict. Buddhism provides a focus because it is internalised, and Christianity helps from without. Through her involvement with Buddhism she has become more open to situations and has a sharper sense of humour. It creates more awareness of the 'why' of any situation. Practising social work helps her to come to terms with other people and with herself and Buddhism is a very useful tool for this. Through doing social work she feels less frightened of working on herself, so being a social worker supports her Buddhist practice.

Bill Dawkins is a young man with a professional qualification. His social work experience is mainly in residential work with children and his involvement with Buddhism, a total commitment in that he lives in a Buddhist community. His knowledge of Buddhism is deep as well as wide and based on theoretical foundations as well as meditation and other practical aspects. He was working as a social worker before becoming involved with Buddhism. He became a social worker as this seemed to be the only worthwhile job to do apart from becoming a Buddhist monk, which was not feasible for him at the time. He works as a residential worker in a local authority children's home and feels confident and happy about the job. As a social worker he is probably incomprehensible, as one of his clients has actually asked him why he says such complicated things!

He became involved with Buddhism through a friend and then started reading about it. Previously he was involved with humanistic psychology and encounter groups. He had attended church until he was eighteen. He then had a long spell of nihilism because he saw everything just as 'mirror wiping' and Buddhism seemed to him to point out the fallacy of this. He is surprised at the effects himself of Buddhist training. He feels less confused and able to do the 'human' thing more quickly without being indecisive. Being a social worker has the effect on his Buddhism of making him aware that perhaps he should become a monk. He is stalling by working with people through a social work framework instead of a religious one.

Basil Evans is a young man professionally qualified as a social worker. His experience is mainly in local authority social service departments and his involvement with Buddhism through meditation. He has been on several 'retreats'. His background was actively Christian. He was a social worker before becoming involved with Buddhism. He became a social worker because he wanted to work with children and felt that social work was ideologically acceptable as a job. He works in a long-term generic local authority social services team. His feelings about this job are negative as he is bored and also frustrated because there is too much bureaucracy involved. His colleagues are uninspiring and he feels out on a limb in his team. As a social worker he is easy to get on with, reliable, sympathetic and helpful.

He became involved with Buddhism after going to India but does not see his role in the third world but in a culture he can understand. Life is suffering and one's duty is to help all people. He moved to Buddhism from a paternalistic political analysis. He was disillusioned both with left-wing politics and with the Christianity of his early life. He has dumped Christianity and Buddhism has become a reason for living beyond politics. His involvement with Buddhism has made him more subtle about himself and his relationships.

Bronwyn Frost is a middle-aged woman, professionally qualified, and trained also in group work and family therapy. Her social work experience is mainly in local

authority social service departments. She has also taught social work. She is active in one of the larger Buddhist organisations in Britain, meditates regularly and has read widely about Buddhism. She was interested in Buddhism before becoming a social worker but became actively involved as a Buddhist afterwards. She became a social worker because she felt that she understood people and herself through having been involved in groups on various courses. Going into social work was a way of getting a qualification and taking up psychotherapy training. Also it seemed a good job to do and gives her a regular income. She is at present involved with Jungian therapy, treating private patients as well as teaching social work. She feels positive about her work, both teaching and practical aspects, because she is still learning herself and updating her own knowledge. As a social worker she is understanding and is able to see what processes are going on.

She became involved with Buddhism through Quaker meditation and her interest in Jungian psychology. She read various things about Buddhism and went to lectures and so joined a Buddhist meditation group. She feels that Buddhism suits her in a way which other religions and techniques do not. It holds her strong warm feelings as well as keeping her thinking. Buddhist concepts and images come readily to her and seem rooted in her as part of her background. Buddhist training has a positive effect on her personality, giving her a direction in life and developing her spiritual side. It has given her a framework to look at her assumptions, and taught her to look at her negative characteristics and see

them as positive, so not feeling bad any longer because she has these characteristics. Being a social worker has the effect on her Buddhism of making her aware that she would like to say more about it to help clients as they would benefit from meditating.

Bernard Gates is a young man, professionally qualified and very experienced as a social worker, mainly in local authority field social work. He has specialised training in group work, psychodrama and family therapy. He is the most involved in Buddhism of this group, being an ordained Buddhist priest and living in a monastery with his family. He was involved with Buddhism many years before becoming a social worker. He became a social worker because he was working in an administrative capacity for a voluntary organisation and decided he wanted to do something practical with people and not just shift pieces of paper. His present work is in a general hospital social work team. He likes his work and could not wish for a better team. As a social worker he is somebody about whom it is difficult to get the measure.

He became involved with Buddhism in his teens when he read everything religious and philosophical that he could find. He found that Buddhism 'rang bells' for him. He came to Buddhism from a nominally Church of England background. He had also had an intense religious experience as a child which has coloured his life ever since. Training and practise are synonomous and involve him living in a Buddhist monastery as a priest. The effect of Buddhist training on his personality is to make everything 'more so'. It makes

things lighter. Being a social worker does not affect his Buddhist beliefs as Buddhism has no beliefs, but social work does bring him in contact with the whole range of human distress in its unequivocal forms. Buddhism is about suffering so social work practice provides endless experience tailor-made to deepen Buddhist training.

Boris Hall is a young man, professionally qualified as a probation officer. His social work background is in probation and his involvement with Buddhism consists of meditation and reading. He was a social worker before becoming involved in Buddhism. He works as a main grade probation officer and feels positive about his job, saying that he would not do anything else. He is frustrated at the lack of organisation in his office. As a social worker he is consistent and reliable, but can be hard at times.

He became involved with Buddhism through somebody he met. He had been brought up as a Methodist but then was interested in esoteric religions. He found something that he needed to learn. He moved on to Buddhism from Hinduism and yoga because it has no dogma. The effect of Buddhism on his personality is to make him calmer and easier to be with. He also has a greater sense of 'feeling'. Being a social worker has the effect on his Buddhism of amplifying the Buddhist ideas. It allows him to be in touch with himself by making him aware of suffering and what it is he sees in Buddhism.

Boyd Irwin is a young man with a professional qualification. His experience of social work is in local authority field work. His involvement with Buddhism is to some extent more superficial than that of the others in this group, and he describes himself as a 'student' of Buddhism, interested in it. He became a social worker before becoming involved with Buddhism. His present job is as a generic social worker for a local authority social services department. His feeling about his job is that he is surrounded by bureaucrats and the salary is pathetic. As a social worker he is likeable, a little weird perhaps initially but basically all right.

He became interested in Buddhism because he took drugs which led him to things 'Eastern' and so onto Buddhism. He was previously a hippy and a humanistic socialist. He is involved with Buddhism because it can involve anything potentially without one even knowing about it. The effect of his interest in Buddhism on his personality is that although he is still anxiety-ridden, his non-serious side has come to the fore. The effect that practising social work has on his Buddhism is that it takes up too much time which leaves insufficient time for him to develop his interest in Buddhism.

Summary

Only one person in this group has no social work qualification. All nine have considerable and varied experience as social workers. Most are positive about their jobs, although many

criticisms are levelled at management and colleagues. The degree of involvement with Buddhism varies but all said that Buddhism has positive effects on their personality. Most see the effect of being a social worker on their involvement with Buddhism as both confirming their commitment to it and giving a more balanced view of it.

2. Socialist Social Workers in Britain

This group of social workers all define Socialist social work in terms of a political process. For two people in this group, the interviews took place in two halves for reasons of time and convenience. In one case this meant that in the first part of the interview the social worker was being interviewed in a pair and in the second part alone, as only she returned to complete the interview.

Sixteen people were interviewed initially but three have been excluded from the discussion as there was insufficient time to complete their interviews properly. In two cases it was not possible to set up another meeting and in the third case, the social worker did not come to the further meeting. Thus thirteen interviews were completed.

Roy Armstrong is a young man with a social work qualification. His social work experience is mainly as a field worker in a local authority social service department. He has also done some work for voluntary agencies. His involvement in Socialist ideas is deep as he belongs to the Socialist

Workers Party and is also very involved in NALGO Union politics. He talked about attending many meetings and having a good network of comrades, with the same attitudes and beliefs and involved in similar activities. He was involved with Socialist ideas well before becoming a social worker. He drifted into social work to some extent. He had been involved in school with the social services committee, doing voluntary work and he had also done some voluntary work at university. His Socialist background was an influence on him going into social work. He found it easy to get on with people and could identify with their problems. He was not ambitious about money. Generally social work seemed a good job to get into. He is a senior practitioner and group worker for a local authority social services department. He is unhappy about professional aspects of being a social worker as he feels he should be doing something manual. He is ambivalent about his present job. He very much enjoys working with groups. However there has been much reorganisation due to financial cuts which has led to some exciting development, but also to much confusion. He feels that he is working on the defensive in terms of always responding to management. As a social worker he is not fantastically reliable in that he promises more than he can give. He is challenging but sympathises with what clients are feeling and does not leave things. He has a sense of humour.

He came from a Socialist background and became involved with Socialist ideas through this. He has always been an active Socialist, starting off as a pacifist and becoming involved

with the CND movement in the 1960s. His Socialist stance affects his roles both at home and at work. He is less romantic than he could have been and he cannot separate his political and social work activities. Being a social worker confirms his Socialist beliefs. He feels no loyalty to management, but to his clients. Being a social worker also emphasises for him the collective aspect of his Socialist ideas such as union activities and the advantages of working in groups.

Ron Barker is a young, professionally qualified and well experienced social worker. He has worked in local authority social services departments in voluntary residential establishments, and also managed a psychiatric day centre. He became involved in Socialist ideas mainly while training as a social worker. This involved seeing other people's problems as a result of a 'crushing' by an unjust society rather than due to individual pathology. He became a social worker before becoming involved with Socialist ideas, and after doing some voluntary work as a means to pass some time constructively. He then wanted to get paid and was also interested in community living so drifted into residential social work. He likes giving as he has compassion for others. He has an attraction for crises, needing to be in a situation of anxiety to operate well. His present work is as a generic field worker for a local authority social services department. He is involved with various particular projects, for example supervising a student, running a volunteer scheme and a mental health

crisis intervention scheme. His feelings about his job are basically positive. He likes his team colleagues and the job is safe with a reasonable salary. He has the freedom to do the job as he wants. Management above the team is not good, as it is authoritarian and vicious, for example victimising people following union policy. As a social worker he is warm, caring, perceptive, kind, dedicated, serious, a little anxious and sometimes nasty. He gives a lot of time and is reliable but not particularly practical. He appreciates what happens to families in social terms in Western capitalist society, where there is an assumption that marriage and the nuclear family is the norm, and everything else is inadequate or pathological. He realises the oppression of people that this ideology entails. Supplementary benefit is also basically oppressive and unemployment leads to people becoming clients through poverty. He initially subscribed to a psychodynamic approach to social work and had been interested in counselling and group work in a therapeutic sense as opposed to a political one. He now sees groups having the function of getting people to see how their problems are a result of oppression rather than of personal inadequacy. Unions and collective action are very important. Being a social worker has a positive effect on his Socialist stance in that he is less idealistic. Doing social work has rubbed the 'sharper edges' off his theoretical Socialist position. Things are not as simple as it first appeared. For example, educating people politically from the outside does not seem to work. It can only happen through people acting for themselves, getting power for themselves.

Rachel Coombes is a young woman with a professional qualification. Her social work experience consists of working for local authority social service departments. She developed her Socialist ideas relatively late, when she came into social work which she found to be an eye opener. She was involved with social work before clarifying her Socialist ideas. She became a social worker through doing voluntary work at school and at college. After graduating she decided to train professionally. From an early age she had read the 'agony columns' of magazines and had been interested in people's problems. She is a social worker in a generic local authority social services team. She feels ambivalent about this, finding it frustrating but rewarding at the same time. She is aware of so many contradictions, also agency, social and moral restrictions and that it is something of a dustbin type of job. She believes in it though and is quite happy for it to take up a lot of her time. As a social worker she is voyeuristic, nosy, curious, sensitive, kind, compassionate and with a soothing voice.

For her, commitment as a Socialist involves union work and being a member of the local Labour Party. She cares about particular issues and would go on marches and even risk losing her job. She became political through the women's movement. Originally she had been involved in academic life and was having a good time. Her parents had always been good working-class Labour Party supporters but she really started thinking when she became a social worker, and her Socialist ideas became clarified and consolidated. Socialist ideas affected her in that through the women's movement she

has become more assertive, forceful and clearer about her own identity. She is more aware also of other people and the limited lives they lead through constraints and state control. The effect that being a social worker has on her Socialist ideas is to diminish her political activity because work uses so much of her energy. It also makes her more aware of the complexity of issues.

Richard Denton is a young man with a professional social work qualification. His experience in social work consists of voluntary work before he became a research assistant for a social services department. He has been a committed Socialist since he was an adolescent so was involved with Socialist ideas before becoming a social worker. He became a social worker for very pragmatic reasons, having got the job as a research assistant and then wanting to work with people. He was offered secondment and so came into social work practice. Having done sociology at university he did not want to go into industry for political reasons, and so took advantage of the 'post-Seebohm' explosion in social work jobs. It was politically and personally more palatable than many other jobs. His present work is as a generic social worker for a local authority social services department. He feels very frustrated in his work. It is riddled with ambiguities about class, race and gender. As a social worker he is somebody that can help people sort things out and somebody to confide in. He has a sense of humour, is forceful and not a 'soft touch' which his accent (he is from Sunderland) accentuates.

He emphasises politically Socialist ideas as opposed to 'liberal progressive' ideas. His work however does not always demonstrate real Socialist social work. It is more often the case of doing bits of Socialist social work sometimes. He became involved with Socialist ideas through attending the Young Communist League, because they had good badges (this was important to him as he was then a 'Mod!'). At university he became involved with left-wing student union politics. He then joined the Socialist Workers Party and also became involved with NALGO, where he is a militant shop steward on the Executive Committee. Mainstream social work practice does not provide a solution to social problems. An uneven society is being maintained and poverty being perpetuated, rather than being alleviated. His Socialist ideas affect his personality in that he feels an outsider but politically and intellectually 'rounded'. Being a social worker has the effect on his Socialist ideas of giving him an opportunity to constantly reappraise his political stance. This is an irritant but a necessary one. Social workers are working directly with the 'stuff' that society is doing to people. As a social worker he makes perhaps ten thousand decisions a day trying to live life through his political views at the same time, as making necessary compromises. He is therefore living with contradictions all the time which is draining. He needs safety valves, for example his personal life and meditation.

Robert Ewing is a young man who works with Ron Barker through whom I met him. He has a social work qualification and experience in local authority social service departments.

He has been involved with Socialist ideas since being at university, before becoming a social worker. He became a social worker because of his Socialist ideas, not wanting to work in private enterprise. His present work is as a generic social worker in a local authority social services department. He feels positive to some extent about this, but is at present 'dis-enthused' and needs a break. He would like to use other skills but is not moving because of the economic climate. As a social worker he is easy-going, helpful, flexible and approachable.

He became involved with Socialist ideas at school when he edited a magazine with a left-wing slant, but he really clarified his ideas at university. He became involved in union left politics but never joined a political party. For him, involvement in Socialist ideas means channelling his energies into union (NALGO) activities. His Socialist ideas affect his personality by affecting what he does at work, that is, encouraging group activity and decisions, and in not being dogmatic. He works on not being sexist and racist. The effect that being a social worker has on his Socialist ideas is to knock the tenets of Socialism about. The way individuals actually react allow breakthroughs in the ideological stranglehold that society imposes on them through the state system. Being a social worker also makes clear to him the need to press for Socialist policies through face to face education of people. The personal individual problems he is trying to help with cannot be separated from their socio-economic and political contexts.

Ray Farmer is a young man, professionally qualified and experienced mainly in local authority social services department work, although he has done some community work. He describes himself as very committed to Socialist ideas. He was involved with Socialist ideas before becoming a social worker. He works as a generic social worker in a local authority social services department. He hates this job. Although most of his colleagues belong to a union, they are inactive. Most of them believe in a psychodynamic approach to problems and he finds this very disillusioning. He feels that he is a square peg in a round hole and it is only because he is seen as a good social worker that he is accepted in the team. His colleagues are radical in a social work, but not in a political, Socialist sense. As a social worker he is likeable but hateful if doing something heavy. He is less patronising than most social workers, does practical things to improve people's lots and does not go around psychoanalysing people.

He became politicised when he was doing his social work course. Before this he was a drug-crazed hippy. For him, Socialist action involves trade union activity which he sees as central to being a Socialist social worker. He set up the local social services shop stewards committee, of which he is a convenor. He is involved with Irish politics and the gay movement and belongs to the Socialist Workers Party. He comes from a Fabian Socialist background, his grandfather having been a secretary of the Scottish Miners' Trade Union. Being a Socialist has made him stronger as a person, better at organising and influencing others, and more cogent in

argument. He could have gone up in the social work hierarchy and his social life also suffers from the time commitment to trade union activities. Being a social worker stultifies his Socialist ideas. If he were working in a more militant team he possibly would be less politically active, so he has become more politicised by defending his Socialist ideas. He wonders if Socialist social work exists, since most Socialist ideas are being lost because of cuts in resources. Joining a revolutionary party is the only way to fight the more oppressive aspects of social work.

Rebecca Gieve is a young woman, professionally qualified, whose social work experience consists mainly of working for local authority social service departments. She has been a Socialist since she was very young, joining the Young Socialists at 14, as her family are very committed left-wing people. She was involved with Socialism before becoming a social worker. She drifted into social work from teaching which she had left as she wanted to do something with more immediate social relevance. She did not come into social work because of an interest in people, but rather through an interest in the political aspects. Her present job is in the intake team of a local authority social services department. She is also involved with projects in the community, for example a local health clinic and some warden-controlled accommodation for the elderly. She is frustrated at work because of the vastness of the problems and the paucity of the resources. She is bombarded by the work and the team as a whole is rather like mother earth, in that they cannot say no. As a social worker she feels pretty useless, only

touching the surface of things because she is always dashing about.

For her, being a Socialist means being involved with the trade union NALGO, where she is a shop steward. She was involved with student politics while at university. She is not sure that there is such a thing as Socialist social work because of the limitations of the system. Socialism affects her whole outlook on life and how she relates to others. For example, she believes in the equality of people and does not believe in marriage as an institution which affects her personal relationships. She is aware of the effect of society on people and the levels of oppression that make people what they are. Being a social worker is detrimental to her socialism, "killing it" because she is caught in the trap of working for the state which potentially operates against clients. So she has become worn down and affected by the ethos of the state, aware of not responding with a gut feeling, and of becoming fed up with having to fight state institutions, such as the DHSS. Doing social work limits the practice of Socialist ideas. These limitations are imposed by the relationship of the job to society. She can channel Socialist ideas into trade union activities but in her social work practice, she finds it is hard to carry through what she believes.

Rosalind Hanwell is a middle-aged woman with a professional qualification. Her social work experience consists mainly of local authority field work but she has worked also as an assistant housemother in a reception assessment centre for

children and as a psychiatric nurse. She taught general studies at a technical college for five years prior to becoming a social worker. She became involved with Socialist politics while at university where she was involved in the movement against the Vietnam War, the Cuba Crisis and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. She was a Socialist before becoming a social worker. She became a social worker as she liked working with people. She was fed up with teaching, trying to stimulate uninterested people, but was very keen to work particularly with disturbed young people. She works as a generic social worker in a local authority social services department. This work suits her. She works in a rather respectable area which is different to the inner-city area in which she lives. She likes the wide experience of working in a generic team and respects her colleagues but finds that management is 'lousy'.

For her, being a Socialist involves belonging to the Socialist Workers Party. She is involved also with the women's movement because she is interested in consciousness-raising, not just in party politics. She is committed to a rank and file approach to political action, not to a bureaucratic party one. She believes in people having power for themselves and in radical change to get rid of capitalism, by which she means being hard-headed and confronting power with alternative power. Before becoming a Socialist, she was an active Christian but then decided she no longer believed in God. Her Socialist ideas affect her personality in that she sees issues in terms of group

activities and is aware that most other social workers are not used to working corporately. Social work comes from an individualistic rather than a group tradition. Her Socialism is that of an old 'libertarian', she has reservations about being a party hack but does need this sort of organisation. Her values are still in line with Christianity, but she now has no belief in God. She is very involved with women's issues and with issues about nuclear weapons. Being a social worker has the effect on her Socialist ideas of making her involved with union activities. It makes her aware also of the bureaucracy at work and of wanting to work directly with people rather than doing paper work. It is important to always keep a political perspective rather than slipping into the 'psychodynamic received wisdom' pattern. Through being a social worker she realises the importance of 'head ideas' as well as 'gut reactions'.

Russell Ince is a young man with a social work qualification and work experience in local authority social service departments and at a voluntary day centre. For him, Socialist activity involves union and party action. He was already a Socialist at school but really became involved with Socialist politics at university, where he joined the Communist Party. Initially he would have described himself as a libertarian Socialist but he now tends more to Marxism. He was involved with Socialism before becoming a social worker. He works in the intake team of a local authority social work department. He enjoys the variety of intake work, but the office management is stifling. Through union

activities he is fighting for a more democratic approach to decision making. As a social worker he is friendly and usually goes out of his way to help. He became a social worker in order to help people.

He belongs to the Communist Party and is the convenor of the local NALGO shop stewards' committee. He believes in democracy and collectivity. Socialist social work practice is not just dealing with clients in a particular way but also involves team, office and union meetings. A democratic social work office is better for clients as there is less danger than of social workers falling into the 'case work' trap with its aura of mystification. Socialist ideas must be put into effect through democratising and collectivising the system. His Socialist ideas have no noticeable effect on his personality. Being a social worker has the effect on his Socialist ideas of giving him a real awareness of poverty and of giving him a particular interest in the role of the state in affecting people's lives.

Rita Jeffreys is a young woman with a professional qualification and social work experience mainly in local authority social work. She has also worked in a psychiatric hospital and in a women's aid centre. She became involved initially with Socialist ideas through the women's movement before going to university and was involved with Socialism before becoming a social worker. She became a social worker as she had enjoyed working in the women's aid centre and wanted to do something similar, whilst getting paid. She therefore came into social work for academic and personal reasons, not

political. Her job now is as a generic social worker in a local authority social services department. She dislikes her colleagues. They are a disintegrated team because of personality and ideological conflict and there is a general feeling of apathy and antipathy. There is no united approach either to management (to fight cuts for example) or to clients. As a social worker she is tolerant, warm, insightful, friendly and supportive. She can also be controlling, doing things that clients do not like, but then as a person she does not like doing some of these things either, for example taking a child into care. She would run a mile from any social worker!

She rejects class politics as sexist, so for her, Socialist politics involve working mainly on feminist and anti-racist issues. She became involved with Socialist ideas through being aware of the oppression of women. She had no particular theoretical approach prior to becoming involved with the women's movement. She is a NALGO union shop steward. Her political energy goes on doing advocacy work, representing a voice for clients against the system. Her political stance is wider than just Socialist, which she thinks sees things from a class angle. Her Socialist stance affects her personality in that it demonstrates the importance of communication. She is aware of the hard struggle for people to fight oppression. Being a social worker has the effect on her Socialist ideas of preventing her romanticising the working class in general or women. Her daily contact with underprivileged people dispels some of the myths. Being sensitive is a middle-class attribute and perhaps not useful

for political change. Working class women have an important contribution to make to politics as they are generally tough which is necessary for political change.

Rudy King is a young professionally qualified social worker with experience both as a residential worker with children and as a local authority field worker. For him, being a Socialist means belonging to the Labour Party. He belongs also to NALGO. He was a Socialist before becoming a social worker. He came into social work through taking on a residential social work job for money. He had found this revealing and frustrating as it was so undervalued. He would be waiting to talk to a field worker about a child and the field worker, if s/he came at all, would ignore him and see the Officer in Charge. His motivating factor for coming into field work was to see that such mistakes were not continued, particularly in the area of child care. He also came from a family with a social conscience and had always been aware of poverty and class conflict. He works as a specialist senior social worker for under 5s in a local authority social services department. His job is stimulating, varied, exciting but colleagues are frustrating. As a local authority social worker he is subject to changes and dictates of policy, with a management not able to communicate. This is also frustrating. As a social worker he is sensitive, decisive, understanding, involved, impatient, heavy and with a sense of humour. He tries to get the most out of clients and can certainly arouse hostile feelings in some.

He has been involved with Socialist ideas since being very young, remembering when he was nine years old being told off

by his headmistress for his Socialist ideas! His family was Socialist. He joined CND and the Young Communist League when a teenager and belonged to the Communist Party while at university. He found the Young Communist League parochial and the people not very active. After university he left the Communist Party and remained unaffiliated for some time. He is now an active member of the local Labour Party. His Socialist ideas have the effect on his personality of leaving him very highly tuned to the needs of disadvantaged people. Being a social worker has the effect on his Socialist ideas of confirming these. He is not left with a simplistic interpretation of society. Being a social worker makes him aware of the intricate dynamics of society which have gone wrong. He is tuned to 'where things are at' politically, economically and socially.

Ruth Lennox is a young woman, professionally qualified, whose social work experience consists of residential work in a local authority children's home and social work in various hospitals. She became involved with Socialist ideas through the women's movement and trade union activity. For her, being a Socialist involves trade union activity and trying to politicise colleagues as much as possible. She is one of the few people in this group who was involved with social work before becoming a committed Socialist. She came into social work out of a naive concern with social conditions. She had loose uninformed ideas about doing social work when she did her degree. She had a real urge to help people overcome injustices. She was aware though that she started doing things for people and they

were not learning to cope with the system themselves. She has not yet solved this dilemma. She is now a fostering and adoption officer for a local authority social services department. She enjoys this work. Her practice has improved, particularly in the specialised skills needed for this particular area of work. But she resents the fact that her union work is not recognised by management. She often disagrees with management policy. For example, she is under pressure to get the number of possible fostering and adoption parents up and this obviously affects standards. Management is pushing this policy at the expense of the support she gives to current parents and she has to resist this. She gets on well with colleagues, but they are a bit 'wet'. As a social worker she is unpretentious, approachable, but not always available.

She became involved with Socialist ideas through meeting colleagues who were members of the International Socialists. She was taken to trade union meetings and had been impressed by the Social Workers' Action Group which looked at professional issues overlapping with trade union issues. Her family always voted Labour and at school she was encouraged to read the 'Guardian' newspaper. She was not particularly politically involved at university, but when doing her social work training she became involved with the women's movement and particularly with the campaign against an anti-abortion bill at the time. Her social work course had been geared very much towards psychoanalysis with which she disagreed. She became a NALGO representative whilst working in a hospital because she felt with so many non-trade union people working in the hospital,

she needed some contact with the outside world. Her Socialist ideas affect her personality through her having become more self-confident and outspoken. As a union representative she has to both have and express views on issues, which has given her confidence. It has also increased her interest in social problems. Being a social worker has the effect on her Socialist ideas of giving her evidence for her feelings about how wrong society is. The range of clients coming to any social services department confirms her Socialist ideas.

Rowena Murray is a middle-aged women, the only person in this group with no social work qualification. She has taught for fifteen years, and then trained as a parish worker (an unordained clergy person) which is an academic theological training. Her social work experience consists of five years' work as a parish worker in inner London. Her involvement with Socialism is through her work as she does not belong to a political party or union (mainly through laziness). She became involved with Socialist ideas when she took on her present post, so was a social worker before becoming involved with Socialism. She is the only person in this group who took on Socialism as an adult, rather than growing up in a Socialist environment. She became a social worker from religious motivation, but then found herself more interested in disadvantaged families than in religious work. She felt very insecure and unsuccessful herself, which allowed her to empathise with clients. There was apart from luck, no difference between herself and her clients. She felt angry at the differences in class and birth that she saw. She works for a Church of England

voluntary organisation based in an inner London borough. She works alone in a small office and is clearly very committed to her work and clients. She emphasises that she is not professionally trained and has read very little relevant literature. She is scathing about the local authority social services department, which due to lack of resources, she sees as totally ineffective and negative in its approach to clients. She is positive about her job as she enjoys working with different people and doing different things every day. She is frustrated when she realises she has no authority or power and so feels hopeless, for example about the housing situation. Every client, whatever the presenting problems, seems ultimately to have a housing problem, which seems therefore to be a common denominator. This is a political problem and financial cuts hit the poorest the hardest. The people she works with are at the bottom of the pile. She is aware also that clients satisfy her need to be needed; she uses them for support. As a social worker she is too soft, believing everybody's story. One symptom of being poor is not being believed and so she, on purpose, tries to get over such negative labels.

She became a Socialist particularly through the housing problems with which she has to deal in her job. She is also still a committed Christian, with its emphasis on helping others. Her father was a Tory councillor and had a strong influence on her. After her father died she changed from reading the 'Daily Telegraph' newspaper to reading the 'Guardian' and gradually started seeing things from a different ideological standpoint. The effect of her Socialist ideas on her personality is in terms of giving her a different

perception of poverty to that usually held by middle-class people who have not met poor clients. She does not see them as scroungers but as individual human beings. Seeing people treated as dirt goes against her Christian-Socialist idea of all people as brothers and sisters. She thinks that all Christians have to be Socialists. She has gained in confidence and has a rationale for her actions, for example sharing money. Being a social worker has the effect of confirming her Christian-Socialist ideas. She stands against the Protestant ethic attitude to the Poor Law. She knows that people are poor by chance, not through personal inadequacy. She would work illegally if on Supplementary Benefit and would steal to eat and keep warm if she were poor. She admires so-called scroungers. In the Bible, God is on the side of the poor and her work confirms her ideas about fighting poverty.

Summary

This group as a whole are homogenous in terms of their work. Twelve out of thirteen people are professionally qualified and work for local authority social services departments. Previous experience is varied. They all became social workers either through being interested in helping people or because of their political stance. Only three people became social workers more or less accidentally through drifting into it. Most people find their colleagues and the management structure in which they work frustrating and limiting. They are all committed to Socialism, seeing this as a positive influence in their lives, and that their social work practice confirms their Socialist views.

Japanese Social Workers

This section will give a brief description of the two groups of Japanese social workers. It was not possible to match the subjects in Japan to those in Britain as carefully as I would have liked because the situation of social workers in Japan is different to that in Britain. The most significant difference is in the level of social work training. Far more social workers in Britain are professionally trained compared to the number in Japan. The role of the volunteer social worker in Japan has far greater significance than in Britain. Another factor is that of the differences in language. Only two of my subjects in Japan speak fluent English, having studied in the USA. The others were interviewed in Japanese using interpreters. In all, ten Buddhist and ten Socialist social workers were interviewed in Japan.

3. Buddhist Social Workers in Japan

Benichi Abeno is an older man who trained both in psychoanalytic techniques in the United States and in Morita therapy (see Appendix A) in Japan. He has no social work experience but is very experienced as a private therapist. His involvement with Buddhism stems from his childhood and for him, this means regular meditation and reading. He was involved with Buddhism before becoming a therapist. He became a therapist because he wanted to do something useful and practical. He had been a lawyer and businessman, through family pressures, but then reached a crisis point at

the age of 31 and trained as a Morita therapist. He wanted to do something basic about the terrible social conditions in post-war Japan. He works as a private therapist. As a therapist he is different to others as he does not wear a white coat, has a breadth of understanding and is permissive.

He is deeply involved with Buddhism as it is part of his culture and daily life. As a teenager he was introduced to a Zen Buddhist temple where he was taught to meditate and breathe properly. The effect on his Buddhist beliefs of his being a therapist is that he is aware of self-realisation as part of the Buddha nature. Neurotic symptoms are a result of the entanglement of conventional values which are artificial and unreal. In his work he uses Buddhist teaching which sees such values giving rise to conflict and suffering.

Busuke Bando has no social work training but considerable experience in the use of Naikan therapy (see Appendix A) having attended several workshops and practised it for some years. His experience is mainly in individual counselling of students but he has also counselled mothers with young children and businessmen. He teaches Naikan therapy at a private university. He was born into a Shinto family and has formal Buddhist training. His involvement with Buddhism consists mainly of reading about it. He has always been involved in Buddhism peripherally, but became more interested and seriously involved with its precepts when he became involved in Naikan therapy.

He became a social worker because he wanted to teach Japanese literature but at the same time wanted to have real emotional contact with his students, so he studied psychology. He wanted to share the strength he had from his good stable background and to be effective in helping ordinary people. He teaches Naikan therapy at a private university as well as having private patients and working in a Naikan centre with the founder of this therapy. He feels very positive about his work. It is well paid and satisfying, and he is able to work independently which is important for him. As a counsellor he is calm, not aggressive, sometimes rather soft, and kind. He sometimes gives up too easily on clients. He is not actively involved in meditation but is aware that he lives in a Buddhist culture. He thinks that this is typical of Japanese Buddhists in that they are open to other religious ideas and not blinkered as people of other religions seem to be. For him it is important that in Buddhism it is not necessary to believe in God as such or in hell or a soul, but he has very strong spiritual feelings at moving or important moments in his life.

Being a counsellor has the effect on his Buddhism of showing him the practical application of Buddhist ideas. For example Shinran, the founder of the New Pure Land sect of Buddhism, grieved about the sins of the world and felt guilty at his part in this, but at the same time emphasised the joy of living. He feels that after experiencing Naikan therapy, this has become more understandable and sensible.

Banroku Chikaoka is an elderly man, a Professor of Buddhism at a private university, as well as being a priest of the Pure Land sect of Buddhism and a volunteer probation officer (hogoshi). His social work training consists of a week of lectures at the local probation office when he became a volunteer probation officer twenty years previously, and another week of lectures twelve years after that. He has attended other individual lectures at irregular intervals. His experience consists of twenty-seven years of work as a voluntary probation officer. His involvement with Buddhism consists of having been born into a Buddhist priest's family and himself being a priest. He was involved with Buddhism before becoming a volunteer probation officer.

He in many ways typifies a voluntary probation officer. He has up to five cases at a time and is involved mainly with young 'delinquents'. He is allocated cases from a particular geographical area (the area in which he lives) and works with one probation officer. He divides his work into the 'relationship' side with which he deals, and the 'legal' side with which the probation officer deals. If he and the probation officer disagree about a case they go to a senior probation officer for arbitration. He attends monthly meetings for voluntary probation officers which are alternately for up to thirty voluntary probation officers from a local area or for up to one hundred voluntary probation officers from a city or prefecture. At such meetings, cases are discussed and sometimes difficult situations are role-played. He finds these meetings supportive and interesting. He became a voluntary probation officer

because he was a Buddhist priest and social work in the community is part of Buddhistic ideology. He was interested in voluntary work in the penal system because he was particularly concerned to prevent young people from getting into trouble and becoming institutionalised. He has the interest, patience and time to do this type of work. The work is interesting but not easy; it is more difficult to work with delinquents outside than inside institutions (where they are 'captive'). Clients have autonomy and cannot be permanently supervised but volunteer probation officers have to be willing to go and help clients at any time of the day or night. He emphasises it is important also for the public to be educated to help delinquents in the community. He feels supported by the professional probation officer with whom he works, as their relationship is good.

As a social worker, he is understanding and helpful, like an uncle or friend, and he can be trusted. Buddhism pervades his whole life as he practises deeply, living and working as a priest in a local temple. Being a social worker has the effect of strengthening his Buddhist beliefs and demonstrating them in practice. The fundamental Buddhist idea that we are all of equal status and can be helped to find our true Buddha nature, is confirmed through his social work practice.

Bessho Dassai is a young man with a professional qualification as a family court worker, and social work experience mainly in the Family Court (see Appendix B). His involvement with Buddhism consists of coming from a priest's family of the Pure Land sect of Buddhism. His father is a priest and so

is he (but does not practice). At one time when he was at university he rejected Buddhism but is now very involved again. Professionally he is also interested in Western radical psychotherapy ideas, for example in the work of R D Laing.

He was involved with Buddhism before knowing anything about social work. He became a social worker through the encouragement of his father who felt that he had the right personality, stability and an interest in people. He felt that he did not, but events proved his father correct. He works as a conciliation officer in the family section of the Family Court. He feels positive about his work; it is interesting and he gets on well with his colleagues. The work is emotionally exhausting. As a social worker, he is very helpful. Being a social worker has the effect of making him more aware of the helping aspects of Buddhism. It has encouraged him to develop his ideas about Buddhism intellectually, rather than not thinking much about it, just being a Buddhist because of his family background.

Bunkichi Ebayashi is a young man with no professional qualifications but experienced as both voluntary social worker and a volunteer probation officer. For training he has attended various seminars and lectures at the local probation office. His involvement with Buddhism is particularly deep since as well as having studied it as an academic subject, he comes from a 'Pure Land' sect priestly family and is a priest (not practising) himself. He studied Buddhism to doctoral level (specialising in Ancient

Buddhism and Buddhist Philosophy). He teaches Buddhism and Sanscrit. He was involved with Buddhism before doing social work. He started doing social work as a volunteer as part of the Buddhist tradition in which he grew up, seeing it as his contribution to society. His work situation as a volunteer probation officer is similar to that of Banfoku Chikaoka. He likes doing the work and likes doing it on a voluntary basis. It is interesting and fulfilling; also he has no stressful career problems in relation to it. As a social worker he is friendly and warm. The effect that doing social work has on his Buddhist beliefs is to broaden his knowledge and feeling for Buddhism and emphasise its helping aspects. He can relate his social work practice to Buddhist ideas in a direct, practical way.

He made some pertinent further comments at the end of the interview. He said that he is interested in early Buddhism, in how the Buddha himself instructed people and caused them to learn. He tries to use these ideas as an approach to life in general and to effective counselling. Suffering is caused by wrong desires and mercy is an important concept because we all suffer. This is the framework of Buddhist therapy. He talked about the concepts of Jihikisha (mercy and donation) where the Chinese characters mean to cherish or to pity, to be sad, and the joy of giving or throwing away things. He mentioned also the concept of 'Tengen' which is the 'Divine Eye', in other words the idea of empathy. He talked about communication as passing into the other's heart. He talked about the concept of acceptance (shukumeizu). Buddhist psychology puts the individual at

the centre of things and only Jung in the West seems to have understood Buddhist psychology and the role of meditation in psychotherapy. For him one important difference between Buddhist and Western therapy is that Buddhism emphasises self-analysis (introspection) whereas Western psychodynamic ideas are concerned with a medical model of one person 'treating' the other. He discussed finally the concept of 'Tenne' which means 'that turning on which the sentient being depends'. This refers to the process of enlightenment, the realisation of the Buddha nature which is the fundamental aim of Buddhist therapy.

Buntaro Fukuda is an older man in his 70s, extremely well known in his field for having founded and for practising Naikan therapy. He has no professional social work training but his experience of social work goes back 49 years. He was a Pure Land Buddhist priest and millionaire businessman who underwent strict religious training himself and developed the ideas from this into Naikan therapy. His involvement with Buddhism is deep as he comes from a Pure Land Buddhist sect family and was a priest. He was involved with Buddhism before doing social work.

He became a social worker because he found the intensive meditative therapy that he developed helped him and he wanted to help others. He runs the main Naikan therapy centre in Japan. He accommodates up to twenty clients per week. He is totally committed to his work, working long hours each day interviewing clients and propagating his theories publicly. He also regularly visits four local

prisons to work with the inmates and staff. At first he was keen to promote his therapy widely but now he is more orientated towards clients and helping them resolve their problems. As a social worker he sees himself as a means to an end. He might be stupid, crazy or both but he is a means for clients to obtain therapy and help with problems. Being a social worker has strengthened and confirmed his Buddhist beliefs. Seeing people benefitting from the therapy, re-confirms his Buddhist faith. This interview was not easy as he was rather taken aback by my line of questioning. He was used to giving interviews but seemed to expect factual questions about the form of therapy he practised. He was a little disconcerted, I felt, when asked about his own ideas.

Bokkai Genda is a man in his 80s whose professional training consists of traditional medical training where he specialised in pharmacological pathology. His main interest was in the relation between mental and physical illness. He then moved on to become a private therapist specialising in Morita therapy (see Appendix A) having undergone the treatment himself under Dr Morita (the founder). He was impressed by the way patients suffering from obsessions seemed to radically improve with the treatment in two or three months. He describes himself as a 'bad' Buddhist. He has been influenced by the older doctrines of Buddhism, for example the concept of confronting desires, but does not have a concept of God, paradise or hell. He is interested in the concept of enlightenment. He comes from a family of doctors and tries to avoid superstition. He has been very

influenced by Western psychological ideas, for example by the work of Kretchmer and Freud. He was involved with Buddhism before becoming a therapist. He became a therapist largely because as an adolescent he was very neurotic, very depressed and obsessive and so he wanted to help others with similar problems. His own background gives him empathy with his patients. His work is his life.

His work experience has been mainly as a psychiatrist and therapist. He runs a private Morita therapy clinic which he started in 1941. The clinic is attractive and well kept. It is run on community lines with the patients making close relationships with each other. There are up to twenty patients at any one time and a large personnel including three psychiatrists and several assistants. Patients pay a high fee for entering the clinic and stay on average between thirty and forty days. The community aspect of the hospital is considered important. There are follow-up group meetings and an active association for ex-patients. As a therapist he is understanding but tough, very practical and a rather no-nonsense type of person.

Being a therapist has the effect of making him more aware of the relevance and validity of Buddhist concepts. For example neurotic patients have a higher than average level of want or desire which is the root cause of their suffering. He is also aware through his work of the fundamental Buddhist principal of acceptance, that one must make the most of one's allotted share.

Benjiro Hamamoto is an elderly man with no professional qualifications. His social work experience consists of having worked as a volunteer in the local authority social services office for five years and then for twenty-one years as a volunteer probation officer (hogoshi). His involvement with Buddhism is deep as he is a practising priest in the Pure New Land sect of Buddhism and comes from a priestly family. He grew up and lives in a totally Buddhist culture and environment. He has been involved in Buddhism long before becoming a volunteer social worker.

He works in a central area of Tokyo where the temple of which he is the priest and where he also lives, is situated. He feels his volunteer probation work is limitless in that he is still learning. He has a lack of confidence still, to the extent that children in bad environments kept re-offending and he cannot foresee the future. Every now and then he hears from a client who has done well and then he is encouraged. He finds the group meetings (kenshu kai) for voluntary probation officers very useful. His work has changed over the years from being more active (preaching to and doing things for clients) to being more passive (listening to clients). As a social worker he is rather gentle, not severe.

The effect that being a social worker has on his Buddhist beliefs is to make him aware of different Buddhist sects and how much helping people attain the right attitude of mind is an important part of Buddhism, connected to world peace generally.

Bisako Ichikami is a middle-aged woman priest (the only woman in this group) with no professional qualifications and whose social work experience consists of teaching at nursery and working as a volunteer in a local social services office prior to working for six years as a volunteer probation officer. She had also taught Buddhism as a youth worker, but was asked to move to volunteer probation work as more young female 'hogoshi' were needed. Her involvement with Buddhism is deep. She is the head priest of a temple belonging to the Soto branch of the Zen sect of Buddhism. She became a priest because her family had encouraged her to do so when she was young. Her aunt had been the head priest of the temple of which she herself is now head. She was ordained when she was fifteen and studied Buddhism at university and then trained at a temple for women priests. When she had been ordained her knowledge of Buddhism was superficial. She knew then about the external aspects of Buddhism. Only after she left university did she feel that she understood its deeper significance. The nursery school teacher training college that she attended was Christian and they had tried to convert her. But she felt that Buddhism was best able to help people obtain a cure for spiritual poverty. Thus she was involved with Buddhism long before she became a social worker. She became a social worker as most of the other Buddhist volunteers had done because it is part of Buddhist practice to do public service, and she felt able to help others less fortunate than herself. Because she has faith, she has something to offer people suffering from spiritual poverty. Her volunteer probation work consists of acting mainly as a go-between for clients and families,

particularly while clients are in prison, then also after their release. She supervises five families at present, three of whom have members in prison and two where the client has been recently released from prison. She is proud and pleased to be able to do her work and spends much time on it. As a social worker she gives everything to her clients, particularly time and energy. She is earnestly concerned for their rehabilitation. Although she is a middle-aged unmarried Buddhist priest she has led a full life and knows about worldly things and family problems. For her, social work and Buddhism go hand in hand. Social work has the effect of demonstrating her Buddhist faith in a practical way, particularly the basic Buddhist tenet that everybody can be helped to attain Buddhahood. It is not sufficient to practice for oneself; one must devote energies to helping others.

Bihoru Jimatsu is an elderly man, a well known therapist following Morita therapy practice in his private clinic. He has a Western medical training and has also studied and practised Morita therapy for five years under Dr Morita. His experience consists of five years' work as a therapist mainly with opium addicts in China, and then in the south of Japan before opening his clinic in Tokyo in 1962. His involvement with Buddhism seems to be not as deep as some of the other members of this group. He does no Buddhist training himself now but he used to meditate when he was young. He is involved with Buddhism to the extent that it is a fundamental part of Morita therapy. He became involved with Zen Buddhism when he became a patient of Dr Morita as

an adolescent. He was involved with Buddhism before he became a doctor and a therapist. He became a therapist because he was neurotic himself at school and he was treated and cured by Dr Morita. He was so impressed by this therapy that he wanted to help others. The clinic he runs has large grounds and is well kept and comfortable. There were about forty patients at any one time. He feels good about his job. He is proud of his hospital and that it is run on strict Morita therapy lines. As a therapist he is a master of personality change since he is a doctor not a father figure. Being a therapist confirms his Buddhist beliefs. However for him there is perhaps not so much a direct relationship between Morita therapy and Zen Buddhism, but rather parallels. For example, the new patient and the new monk both came seeking answers to life's problems. Both come to realise that they cannot solve these problems by intellectual rational means. They are forced to deeper levels of mental functioning by being placed under social and psychological pressures. In both cases minimal verbal communication is necessary, as progress could be seen in the face and bearing. There is no intent to convert Morita patients to Zen Buddhism but rather to provide an ancillary support for the treatment. Zen Buddhist meditation provides certain disciplinary techniques which can be used to re-channel patients' attention and energy away from themselves toward constructive behaviour. Zen Buddhism is used ideologically to support the world view of Morita therapy, where there are common principles underlying both.

Summary

Seven people became social workers because of wanting to help people less advantaged than themselves and because this was part of Buddhist culture. Those in the sample who are priests feel that having compassion and helping others is very much part of being a Buddhist priest. The therapists who are medically qualified and practising specific therapies came to these out of sympathy for people with similar problems that they themselves had experienced. One person became a social worker because of his parents' influence. The group as a whole are very positive about their work. This is perhaps something to do with the Japanese way of responding to such a question, in that people feel they cannot criticise their situations, especially to outsiders. In Japan it is against good form to criticise family and/or colleagues to 'outsiders'. One person (Benjiro Hamamoto who has been a social worker for twenty-seven years) talks significantly about the lack of success he has with cases and his pleasure if clients show even the smallest movement in the right direction. Four people however describe themselves as totally committed to their work. This group is very involved with Buddhism, usually from childhood, and six of them are in fact Buddhist priests. They all come from Buddhist families (except Busuke Bando whose father was a Shinto priest) and so have absorbed Buddhist ideas and culture from birth. One person rejected his Buddhist heritage and then came back to it, and five people are involved with therapies based on Buddhist ideas. It is generally felt that doing social work confirms their Buddhist beliefs by

giving practical examples of fundamental Buddhist ideology, particularly the helping aspect of this. Several people mention that through doing social work they understand the idea that suffering stems from illusion and false attachment, and that there is a joy in living if the true Buddha nature is discovered. Several people emphasise the Buddhist concept of basic equality of all people and that one cannot help oneself without helping others.

4. Socialist Social Workers in Japan

Nine people in this group are working in a northern suburb of Tokyo in the equivalent to a British local authority social services department (in practice, tasks cover both social services work and what would be DHSS functions in Britain). The tenth person is a private counsellor. I feel that the homogeneity of work situations in this group shows in less variation in replies given to some extent by this group, compared to the other where experience and history vary considerably.

Reisuke Aibara is a young social worker who entered the civil service as an unqualified local authority social worker. He then completed a three-month in-service training course which was very practical, related to his social work practice. He had also completed a three-week course, designed for social workers in Tokyo specifically, which was more theoretical.¹ His social work experience consists

¹High school graduate entrants into the civil service in Tokyo have to take a three-month course, whereas university graduates do only a three-week one.

of work in a mental hospital and seven years so far as a local authority social worker in the same office. He is very committed to Socialist ideas. While at school he studied Marx and Lenin. He became involved with Socialist ideas before becoming a social worker. He became a social worker because he found the work in a mental hospital so interesting, also he had a friend who was blind and became suicidal and he was able to give some help and support to this friend. He did not want to become a businessman because even at school he was against competitiveness. He thought social work would give him plenty of variety. He deals with 'life protection' (Seikatsu Hogo, similar in function to a British DHSS official's tasks) and also with children (Jidofukushiho). His job is fulfilling and satisfying, particularly because he is one of the team 'veterans' and can help newer social workers which he enjoys. As a social worker he is a good listener but rough. He does not run with the system. He is concerned with people not with administration.

He believes in action as well as just studying Socialist ideas. He became involved with Socialist ideas at school because he was dissatisfied with the competitive system of life in Japan. At university he was involved with left-wing student politics and with the student power movement at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s. At that time in Japan left-wing students were divided into the old left and the new left (the former being more theoretically orientated and the latter more actively orientated). He fitted into neither faction but he was concerned for Japan's future.

Being a social worker has the effect on his Socialist outlook of making him aware of how correct Marx and Lenin's ideas are. Most people see the modernisation of Japan in capitalistic terms as a good thing. He does not, because as a social worker he is aware of the disruption of the harmony of society. Capitalism has certainly not solved the problem of poverty in Japan and as a social worker he is obviously aware of this. Labour and civil rights movements are relatively new in Japan and will increase in power and importance in the future.

Raishiro Beshida is a young local authority social worker with similar in-service training as a local authority social worker described for Reisuke Aibara. His experience consists of local authority social work. He developed his Socialist ideas when studying law at university. He became aware of the problem of poverty and that the Socialist ideas are the only ones relevant to this problem. He was involved with Socialist ideas before becoming a social worker. It was partly because of these ideas that he chose to be a social worker rather than a practising lawyer. He has a generic case load covering 'life support' work, old people and children including those awaiting allocation to nurseries. The job is very satisfying. As a social worker he is kind, appreciative of life, hard working but sometimes cold. His involvement with Socialism consists of reading books and being active in the union. He is chairman of his local branch of the civil servants union, which is important as a forum for the development of new ideas. Prior to becoming a Socialist at university he had no particular ideological

stance. The effect that being a social worker has on his Socialist ideas is to make him aware that poor people must help themselves. For real change, no-one can help poor people except themselves.

Reikichi Chatsubo is an older man with local authority in-service training as a social worker. His experience consists of doing this work for twenty-seven years. He has been involved with Socialist ideas also for many years and these have developed for him slowly over time. He was involved in social work before becoming a Socialist. He became a social worker because he had a social conscience and felt he was suited to this work since he is patient and understanding. He works in an intake team. He feels very good about his job and is glad he has been doing it for so long. As a social worker he is hardworking, and concerned about clients, realising their individuality and the significance of their problems. He is aware of the negative aspects of the capitalist system when actually working with clients. Capitalism as a political system is inadequate to help poor people. He is aware also of the 'patching up' function of social workers under capitalism. People can be better helped through a Socialist system.

Doing social work has the effect on his Socialist ideas of making him aware of the individual within the social system. The system needs broadening because too many people are excluded. For example, he will have to retire in a few years, regardless of his capabilities, so he will be out of the system. People are being rejected by the capitalist system with negative results for them.

Reiko Domoto is a middle-aged woman, professionally qualified with a degree in social work. Her social work experience consists of local authority social work in two different areas of Tokyo. She has been a Socialist since being in high school and becoming aware of social problems. This involves seeing social work problems in terms of their socio-economic origins rather than on a personal level only. She is not really active politically. She was involved with Socialist ideas before becoming a social worker. She became a social worker for the practical reason that the fees of the university she attended were cheap. She is ambivalent about doing social work so studied law for two years some years ago, but found this too demanding so came back to social work. She has an interest in people generally. She is in charge of the social work for older people for the whole area covered by the office and has three assistants. Her feelings about her job vary because of her ambivalence. As she is the only trained social worker dealing with old people in her area, she sometimes feels imposed upon and frustrated since she cannot help people properly because of lack of time and resources. Also there is too much administrative work to do. She does enjoy the fact that her work is varied and that she spends a lot of time out of the office. She likes dealing with the clients. As a social worker she is warm and concerned but sometimes rushed and impatient. Being a social worker confirms her Socialist ideas. She is aware that the problems of the elderly are to a great extent caused by socio-economic factors and changes in social values since the second world war. Ideas about the family and so people's responsibility to old people are altering, but the government does not yet do enough to help old people because it still expects family units to support them.

Ryu Ehara is a young man with in-service local authority social work training and experience in a local social work office in a suburb of Tokyo. His interest in Socialist ideas arose when he was very young. He became involved with Socialist ideas because of his poor home environment. He was involved with Socialist ideas before doing social work and this was the main reason he became a social worker. He came from a very poor, large family and his father was an artisan. From an early age he was aware of poverty and particularly of the Burakumin (the 'untouchables' in Japan) problem. He works in the life protection section and is positive about his job. He has been doing this job for ten years and finds it fulfilling. The population in his area is always changing. He is very involved with the community. As a social worker he is practical and caring but sometimes tough. Socialism involves his whole life style and way of working. He is aware of the problems that arise through poverty and he works so that young people will not suffer through poverty as he did as a child. He reads relevant books and goes to meetings of Socialist groups. Doing social work is a practical way of expressing his Socialist ideas and confirming his stance.

Rosodo Fujimaru is a young man who worked for three years in the tax department before electing to work in the welfare department of a local authority. He has the standard local authority in-service welfare training and his experience consists of ten and a half years in the 'life protection' section of his office. His involvement with Socialist ideas has developed over time. Although he was interested in both Socialism and social work at school, he did not see

social work in socio-economic terms as he does now. He was involved with social work before becoming really involved with Socialist ideas. He became a social worker because he was interested in welfare work at school. He belonged to a drama group which would perform in old peoples' homes and in this way he became aware of people's sufferings and the inequalities of society. He feels satisfied in his work. He enjoys his clients but finds it frustrating when people criticise the social work department for giving too much money out. Even his boss has this attitude to some extent. He is also frustrated about the time he spends on administrative work. He spends only about a half of his working time actually with clients. As a social worker he is caring and concerned.

Being a Socialist means helping clients to get what is due to them without being judgemental about what they receive from the state. He is very concerned about economics as this is the basis of society, social interaction, and also social and personal problems. He became involved with Socialist ideas through his work and through meeting and discussing things with other social workers. Being a social worker is the basis of his involvement with Socialist ideas. He is aware daily of the practical meaning of poverty and suffering and the relevance of Socialist ideas to help solve these problems.

Rinpei Goto is a young man whose social work training was a one-year evening course at a private university, and whose experience consists of local authority work. He became involved with Socialist ideas when he started work, although at school he was a rebel. He was involved with Socialist ideas before becoming a social worker, but the two areas of his life have developed together, at the same time. He became a social worker because he had a handicapped friend. This friend and the nurses caring for him always seemed to be cheerful, which made him start thinking. In this way he became interested in social problems. On leaving school he entered the local authority social services department in the pensions section, then moved to the old people's section and then to the 'life protection' section, where he now works. He feels his work is satisfying, but that social welfare generally is bad in Japan. The authority of the government hangs over everyone, so his work is hampered because people do not get the benefits to which he feels they have a right. There is too much specialisation in his department. As a social worker he is kind and understanding but sometimes unwelcome because of the embarrassment felt by people having to ask for financial help. For him, Socialism consists of fighting the hypocrisy of society, and the authority of the state. He does not feel that he is particularly politically radical but when he compares himself to other social workers, then he thinks he is. He is considered so by his colleagues.

Rokutaro Haimatsu is a young man with local authority in-service training and whose experience consists of working in the 'life protection' section of a local authority social services office. He transferred there from the pensions section. He took on Socialist ideas when he really started thinking about things at university. He was involved with Socialist ideas before becoming a social worker. He was originally not interested in social work but he saw how authoritarian and bureaucratic social workers were and thought that he could do the job better. He finds his work situation difficult because he has too many cases and too few resources. Good relationships are necessary but resources are obviously also vital. Wages are too low for the responsibility of his work. As a social worker he is intimate, friendly and ignores the rules. He does not achieve much, often promising more than he can actually offer. Being a Socialist for him means going to radical social work group meetings and trying to practise his Socialist ideas in his work. He became involved with Socialism because of the contradictions in capitalism, that is, in the unequal division of wealth. The effect that being a social worker has on his Socialist ideas is to make him more aware of the inequalities in society and the need to change these. Clients' situations are determined by society, so he wants to change society, because when people are poor the whole of their life deteriorates.

Riikoro Ikeda is a young man with the standard in-service training of a local authority social worker. His social work experience consists of local authority social work

in the 'life protection' section of an office in suburban Tokyo. He has been a Socialist since school, when he became aware of social problems and of developing various ideas about changing the social system. He was involved with Socialist ideas before coming into social work. He became a social worker by chance. He wanted to go into education but came into social work and became interested and stayed. In his work he has too many cases and is too short of time. Social workers in general are confused as to what they are actually doing. As a social worker he is kind, gentle and warm-hearted. He does his best for clients in spite of bad conditions and a very rigid administrative system. Being a social worker has clarified his Socialist ideas, that is the things he wants to change in society. For example, he wants to change the criteria used as a basis for giving financial help to people which are set by bureaucrats in the Ministry of Health. The means test for getting help is bad and the forms too complicated. He would like to simplify and make fairer how people obtain help from the welfare department.

Rumiko Jouchi is a young woman, a professionally qualified social worker and counsellor, having done a social work degree in Japan and further training in the USA. Her social work experience consists of working in two psychiatric hospitals in Japan and in various counselling agencies in the USA. She has been involved with Socialist social work ideas since studying in America. She became involved with Socialist ideas through the women's liberation movement. She read a particular book which had an enormous influence

on her, and then went to various women's groups and lost interest in social work for a time. She was involved with social work before being involved with Socialist ideas.

She became a social worker as her mother was a social work type: warm, helpful and friendly. She similarly has something to offer others and needs to be needed. She also had a friend at school who encouraged her to become a social worker. She now runs a private feminist therapy clinic. She feels positive about this; she is independent and enjoys her work. As a social worker she is strong, well-organised and warm. She can also sometimes be wild, intolerant, domineering and regressive.

For her, being a Socialist consists of being involved with the feminist movement and attempting to change society's prejudices against women which she sees as being founded on economics. She is against the competitive capitalist system of the West but feels also that to have a democratic society is important. The effect of being a social worker on her Socialist ideas is to clarify them. Through her Socialist ideas she uses case work practice in a more aware, realistic, effective way. She is trying to change society's moral values and attitudes to women, so that they are treated as equals and given equal opportunities. She is also aware of, and fighting against, prejudice against handicapped people. In a Socialist society social workers will not be needed because everyone will care more for other people and the state will also provide sufficient care and protection. As a social worker she is partly patching up society as well as trying to change it.

Summary

In this group, seven people have local authority in-service social work training. Two have social work degrees and one has done a year's evening course at a university. Seven people are 'life protection' officers, one works as an intake team social worker, one works as a geriatric social worker, and one works privately as a feminist therapist. Five people became social workers because of an awareness of poverty and political issues. One became a social worker because as a child she learnt to care for others from her mother, and one person became a social worker because the course was cheap at the university. Reiko Domoto just 'fell' into social work. As social workers they see themselves in terms of being caring, and three people say they are unbureaucratic. All ten took on Socialist ideas at school or university, and ideological considerations affected their career choice. They all say that their work confirms their ideological positions. Only one belongs to and is active in a union.

The following chapter will compare the four groups in detail and analyse the responses obtained in the interviews.

CHAPTER 6
OPERATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES & STATED PRACTICE
OF THE SOCIAL WORKERS

This chapter will present the results of the interviews in which the relationship between stated 'personal' ideology and social work practice is looked at. The results are analysed and discussed in the following chapter.

When asking the fundamental question to which the research addresses itself, that is about the relationship between professed ideologies and practice amongst the social workers interviewed, the results show that it is a complex one, influenced by various factors.

Ideological Factors

There are three levels on which assumptions made by individuals (that is, personal ideologies) affect social work.

1. Formal Allegiance to an Ideology

In this case, all four groups of social workers have very definite formal allegiances to either Buddhism or Socialism which they feel affect their actions. They have been interviewed for this reason. However this formal allegiance varies from an interest in the theory of the particular ideology to being totally immersed in the ideology on intellectual, cultural and emotional levels. Examples of the former case would be Boyd Irwin, who describes himself as a

'student' of Buddhism, and Reiko Domoto who although defining herself as a Socialist, feels that she is not sufficiently deeply committed as she is not really active politically. Examples of the latter are Bunkichi Ebayashi who comes from a priestly family, has studied Buddhism to doctoral level and teaches Buddhism and Sanskrit at a university, and Ray Farmer who is very active in Socialist politics (he belongs to the Socialist Workers' Party) and trade union activities. His background is Socialist, his grandfather having already been an active union member.

The interviews show clear distinctions on this theoretical level in the responses from the Socialist groups compared to those from the Buddhist groups. Both Socialist groups tend to see the concept of change in socio-political and the two Buddhist groups in more individualistic terms. Richard Denton defines change as a dialectic. He says that every facet of human existence has built in an opposite or contradiction and out of the conflict between these comes a third state of entity, that is, change. The Japanese Socialists also define change in Socialist terms. Reikichi Chatsubo defines change as the improvement of social conditions, although three people in this group mention change in non-structural terms, of people feeling more comfortable with themselves or generally contented.

The social workers in both Buddhist groups define the concept of change more in terms of spiritual and psychic change. Bronwyn Frost defines change as a loosening up of

rigidities which stem from wrong assumptions and past conditioning. She sees change as a broadening of people's awareness and the potentialities available. Benichi Abeno defines change as disillusionment with false values leading to a realisation then of Buddha nature.

Similarly when defining the concept of success, both Socialist groups of social workers define this in socio-political terms, and the two Buddhist groups in more individualistic terms. Rachel Coombes defines success as when clients have control of their environment. Rokutaro Haimatsu defines success as when clients deal with social problems collectively rather than having social workers imposed on them. However the Japanese Socialist social workers are less consistent here than the British group. For example, Raishiro Beshida discusses success as individual clients feeling fulfilled and independent. Reiko Domoto's criterion of success is when clients are happy.

Both Buddhist groups define success in individual terms. For Bill Dawkins success is if he is doing good, so he measures this by how useful he is being. Benichi Abeno defines success as how far superficial values have been discarded by clients and their Buddha nature realised.

The Socialist social workers in both groups have on the whole chosen social work as a suitable career in terms of their ideological stance. Richard Denton came into social work partly because he did not want to go into industry. Reisque Aibara also came into social work partly because he

did not want to become a businessman as at school he was already against competitiveness. However some of the Japanese Socialist group became social workers either for personal reasons or similarly to many of the British Buddhist social workers, because they just drifted into it. Reikichi Chatsubo for example became a social worker because of his social conscience and also he felt suited to this work because he is patient and understanding. Reiko Domoto became a social worker for no clear reason other than the practical one that the fees were very cheap at the school of social work she attended. Bronwyn Frost became a social worker because she felt she understood people and had been involved in groups herself. Boyd Irwin drifted into social work as a job that he could do. Most of the Japanese Buddhist group became social workers consciously for ideological reasons as Buddhists. Banpoku Chikaoka, Bunkichi Ebayashi, Bisako Ichikami and Benjiro Hamamoto all became voluntary probation officers because they are Buddhist priests and social work in the community is part of Buddhist ideology.

2. Operational Philosophy

The first level of the relationship between personal beliefs and social work influences a second level, that of how allegiance to an ideology affects assumptions about social work practice made by an individual, that is her/his operational philosophy. A comparison of the operational philosophies of the interviewees in terms of their adherence to and deviance from Buddhist and Socialist concepts shows

clearly that the operational philosophies demonstrated by the Buddhist social workers in Japan are closest to the theoretical Buddhist social work concepts discussed in Chapter 1.

(a) Operational Philosophies of the Japanese Buddhists

Benichi Abeno's criteria for taking on, continuing and terminating cases are in terms of how far clients want to get rid of their armour of false values and how deeply they are involved with conventional values (that is, the strength of the neuroses they thereby manifest). He interviews clients two or three times before discussing with them whether they can work together or not. He and his patients 'work together' which implies an equality between them. He expresses his authority and his use of authority in Buddhistic terms by helping others to attain self-realisation. He concentrates on clients' present as each moment has its life and specific meaning. He talks about himself freely to clients and reveals his feelings as appropriate. He emphasises the concept of oneness and also the equal relationship between him and his clients, saying that he has been through the same process as them but he is perhaps a little further along the path to realising his Buddha nature and so can help others along this path. He expresses compassion for his clients, accepting where they are but he does have expectations that they are willing to get in touch with their Buddha nature.

Busuke Bando expresses Buddhist concepts in his operational philosophy. His goal as a counsellor is to lessen suffering. The criterion he uses for taking on, continuing and finishing cases is whether clients want to work with him or not, as in Naikan therapy no one is refused. Here he follows the Buddhist principle of acceptance. He says that he understands his clients because of his own experiences and puts this over by his compassion. He has one client, for example, whose mother deserted the family and then the father committed suicide. At first the client was very angry with his mother, but with help and compassion could understand his mother's suffering as well as some of the positive things she did, like introducing him to calligraphy which is still one of his main interests.

Banroku Chikaoka talks about clients attaining their Buddhahood. He sees his main job as a voluntary probation officer as giving people support and understanding, demonstrating here Buddhist principles of compassion and acceptance. He deals with problems that clients present as important but he does not think are, by letting clients talk about them. He feels he understands his clients because of his own experiences of life and he puts this over by empathising with them. He concentrates mainly on the present with clients.

Bessho Dassai has no criteria for taking on cases as he leaves clients to choose whether they want to see him or not, showing how here he subscribes to the Buddhist

ideas of acceptance. He defines his role as a social worker as depending on clients' needs and expectations. He compares himself to 'Monkey' in the Chinese story in which the Monkey had a stamp to travel anywhere but in fact just went around in a small circle. Similarly, he feels that he always returns to Buddhism. He deals with problems that clients think are important but that he does not, by accepting what is important for them. He does not take much notice about clients' past history because the present crisis is the important thing to be worked on.

Bunkichi Ebayashi sees his goal as a social worker being to help people uncover their goodness, that is, their Buddha nature, and he sees clients coming to him to alleviate their suffering. He lets clients direct their own sessions. He likes having clients in his own home as it is good for his children to learn compassion by meeting people who are less fortunate than themselves. He shows his acceptance of clients as equals by respecting their views as to what is important for them to discuss in sessions. He concentrates mainly on the present because the past is finished and done with. He builds up relationships with his clients from scratch so does not need to know much about their history, here demonstrating his use of the Buddhist concept of oneness. At the end of the interview he discussed in detail some specific Buddhist concepts that inform his operational philosophy (see Chapter 5).

Buntaro Fukuda identifies human behaviour in terms of the Buddhist idea that people suffer through selfishness. His goal as a social worker is to act as a mirror for the healing process by which people acknowledge and accept the love of others, demonstrating the concepts of acceptance and compassion. He emphasises the Buddhist idea that goodness resides in us all and needs to be uncovered. He deals with problems presented by clients that he does not find important by accepting what they want to do. He understands his clients because he has been through some of the suffering that they have and he expresses this through his general attitude of compassion.

Bokkai Genda's operational philosophy appears to incorporate Buddhist concepts less obviously than those of most of the other people in this group. He identifies human behaviour in Buddhistic terms of suffering due to false desires and expectations, but his goals as a counsellor are to help clients change particular pieces of behaviour. This seems to me to tend more to behaviourist rather than Buddhist concepts. He also mentions using his authority as a professional doctor and therapist and being aware of the responsibility he has for treating people, so that he keeps a distance from his patients. Also he deals with problems presented by clients that he does not find important by telling them to concentrate on the 'real' problem.

This seems to be at variance with the Buddhist concept of acceptance. However he says that he understands his clients because of his own experiences and that he is able to show this through empathy and acceptance. When working with patients he concentrates on the present. He emphasises that through its basis on Buddhism, Morita therapy here differs to psychoanalysis which emphasises the past.

Benjiro Hamamoto says that clients should set their own criteria of success and he accepts these. He does not see himself as having any authority, here tending to the Buddhist concepts of acceptance and compassion by seeing his relationship with clients as equal. Any problems presented by clients as important he would find important as well. He lets clients talk about what they want and need to talk about, again showing how he incorporates Buddhist concepts into his operational philosophy by accepting clients' views and empathising with them.

Bisako Ichikami identifies human behaviour in spiritual terms in that she sees all antisocial behaviour and unhappiness stemming from spiritual poverty and ignorance. She defines change in terms of the impermanence of things, giving the example of a hyacinth flower changing colours seven times as it blooms. Her goal as a social worker is to "open the door on clients' spiritual darkness", showing how she tends to the Buddhist concept of compassion. She emphasises her use

of Buddhist ideas in her operational philosophy in that she does not use her authority as a voluntary probation officer, but works with clients by devoting time to them. She tries to get through facades that people set up to find their real Buddha nature. She does not judge things in terms of what she thinks important, but accepts what clients present. This shows her use of the concepts of nowness and acceptance. She understands her clients and tries to show that "the sun shines equally on us all" so that we all have chances, can choose not to be swayed by particular circumstances, and have the potential to realise our Buddhahood.

Bihoru Jimatsu follows the Buddhist idea of acceptance and nowness in that he leaves it up to clients to decide whether they want to see him, for how long and when they want to finish with the therapy. Also he concentrates on the present because this is all that there is. However his operational philosophy to some extent also incorporates Western medical concepts since he is a trained doctor. Like Bokkai Genda, he uses his professional status as part of the authority he feels he has over clients. He describes the relationship between him and his clients as that between doctor and patient and he expects clients to follow the therapy (Morita). If clients present problems that he thinks are unimportant, he tells them to work properly on 'real' issues, namely their discomforts and ineffectual likes and dislikes.

(b) Operational Philosophies of the British Socialists

This group demonstrates also that their operational philosophies are close to their stated Socialist personal beliefs, incorporating Socialist concepts such as change, collectivisation and democratisation. Roy Armstrong's goal as a social worker is to make colleagues and the agency generally more aware of the needs of clients and the community. He has a professional authority which he uses if necessary, for example to serve injunctions on violent husbands or landlords. He uses this to get things going and set things up. His relationship with clients is one of sharing, of contract and of agreement. He feels that he understands his clients to the extent that they are open and he shows this by being able to express himself. He works with the present to emphasise the future.

Ron Barker shows how he incorporates particularly the concepts of change and democratisation in his operational philosophy. He defines success in terms of clients having an increased awareness of the kind of society in which they live and the oppression that this society deals to certain of its members. Success is also clients feeling that they have power. His goals as a social worker are to increase clients' capacity for self-determination and to make them as aware as possible of the political context in which they live. He would like to make himself redundant, as in a Socialist society people would have only religious

problems. He has statutory authority for example to enact court orders, and a professional authority that clients vest in him. He tries to demystify this and to show that he is not an expert.

Rachel Coombes too defines success in terms of clients taking more control of their lives and their environment. Her goal as a social worker is to enable this process, that is to enable clients to make decisions independently of welfare agencies. She is aware of having statutory authority but in terms of professional authority she is probably not very significant in most of her clients' lives. She finds the statutory authority onerous as it can involve denying somebody's liberty. She tries to soften this by making clients aware of her powers and not abusing them. She feels she understands her clients to a certain extent but wonders how far one can understand anyone else experientially; for example, how can she know what it is like to be an unsupported mother with two children? She conveys her understanding through her personality and her body language. She expresses herself to clients quite openly, particularly to those she feels she knows better. She is most concerned with the present and the future when working with clients. She deals with the present in order to work towards a future.

Richard Denton sees success as clients not needing social work help, having attained a broader understanding of the world in which they live, so they have

more control over initiating relevant changes. The state should provide a basic wage for all and he is aware as a local authority social worker of patching up a bad welfare system. He would like to really combat poverty in a constructive way, not just as at present, shoring up the inadequacies of the welfare system. He wants to be more involved in helping clients to get involved with claimants' unions and to become actively politicised to achieve more power. He is interested in developing food coops as a positive strategy to combat poverty. There is a lack of dignity in how clients have to ask him for money, and in how he gives it; also how he obtains it from charities. One thing he can and does do is to raise these issues both with colleagues and with clients. His authority is limited as he has none to provide suitable accommodation, employment or education for people. In other areas, for example in child care and mental health, he has great statutory authority. Social workers tend to carry all the visual trappings (for example wearing suits and having brief-cases) that are linked to people in the professions. He does not use his authority very much but works on a more contractual basis. He feels that his understanding of his clients varies as information can get distorted. He is sometimes able to link up clients' situations with things in his own life, for example being unemployed. But there are things he cannot understand, for example being black. He expresses his understanding by repeating things back to his clients and seeking validation of his feelings. He tries to be open with clients but to ex-

press feelings to some purpose, for example to build rapport by sharing. He works mainly on the present for the future but realises the past also has some effect.

Robert Ewing defines change as something that happens on both individual and on structural levels. He defines success as a balance of what is good for an individual and for the community. His goal as a social worker is to offer people a reasonable service but he is aware of the limitations of resources. He does not however discuss this in Socialist terms of change and democratisation. He notes, as does nearly everyone in this group, his statutory authority as a local authority social worker. He mentions also his professional authority which he uses to help clients in their contacts with other organisations. He incorporates Socialist concepts of collectivisation and democratisation into his operational philosophy by emphasising the importance of political action to get clients to operate collectively and to help themselves. He, like Richard Denton, feels that he understands his clients to the extent that he can identify with them from his own experience. He has a disabled sister, so he understands something of what this means, but he has no experience of the depth of poverty and deprivation that some of his clients know. He puts over his understanding by acknowledging his feelings. He reveals as much as he can of his own feelings to clients. He concentrates mainly on the present and the future, working with clients in the present and looking towards the future.

Ray Farmer is a very actively committed Socialist whose operational philosophy clearly and definitely incorporates his Socialist ideas. He defines change as society tending towards the concept of 'to everyone according to her/his need, from everyone according to her/his means'. Thus change for him involves the reallocation of wealth and also no more fostering of children which denies power to them, turning them away from their own working class families by placing them usually with middle class people. Only through a political party (that is, collectivisation) can the political Right be challenged, wealth equally distributed and minorities have more freedom and power. He emphasises a real shift in the balance of power rather than just some tinkering. He is prevented from being successful as a social worker by the constraints of the social structure on his work. Success for him would mean keeping people out of institutions so that they are less oppressed and have more power. Within the confines of his job, perhaps the Community Mental Health Centre he runs could be seen as successful. His goal as a social worker is to help his clients against patriarchal capitalism, to help people, particularly women and families, to negotiate with the representatives of this society. He uses the legal authority vested in him as little as possible and warns clients when he does have to use it, for example before sectioning someone under the Mental Health Act. He tries to avoid this by arguing with doctors. He knows the details of the Mental Health Act very well in order to do this effectively. He tries to demystify

the whole professional process of social work. He understands his clients to the extent that he knows what they are going through and can conceptualise this. At the same time he is aware that he has a car, a flat and a job and that most clients do not, so he has to guard against being patronising by saying that he feels for them when he cannot. He puts over the understanding he does have, by being concrete and clear. He reveals a lot about himself and his feelings so as not to be cold and professional. He deals mainly with the present when working with clients but uses the future to try to plan things with them. He emphasises at the end of the interview that he is aware of the gap between his operational philosophy and his practice because of the constraints of the job and society. To put Socialism into practice requires massive changes, hence his activities both politically and in the union.

Rebecca Gieve defines change as a complete rethinking and restructuring of society from the present class-based social structure towards a more equal social system. Her goal as a social worker is to alleviate the effects of social pressure on people. She uses her authority openly, being clear and acknowledging what she is doing but at the same time trying to find alternatives to exercising this authority. She gives the example of not taking a child into care just because s/he is a school refuser, as to do so would be an abuse both of the Act and of her authority. Here she demonstrates how she uses the concept of democratisa-

tion in her operational philosophy. Her relationship with clients is as egalitarian as possible. She feels she understands them, although at the same time being aware of cultural differences which she cannot completely understand. Nevertheless she is always able to establish a relationship with every client. She achieves this by relating to them in terms of their whole situation rather than about a particular problem in isolation. She reveals her feelings a lot to clients as this is part of the process of building up a relationship of trust between them. She deals mainly with the present and the future as she does not have time for analysing the unconscious.

Rosalind Hanwell, although a committed Socialist, shows that her operational philosophy does not always tend clearly to incorporate Socialist concepts. For example one of her goals as a social worker is to enable people to communicate. She is therefore not defining this in structural terms. However another goal is to help people link up with networks to feel more potent in themselves. This shows where she is using Socialist concepts of collectivisation and democratisation in her operational philosophy. She sees herself as having statutory authority but mentions also the personal power she feels she has by virtue of being a successful competent woman. She has also professional power in that clients see her as having skills and knowledge for dealing with certain situations which she feels is often overestimated. She uses her authority all the

time when making professional decisions, which seems to be going against the concept of democratisation. She feels she understands her clients but is aware that there are areas that she does not understand. She reveals a lot of her feelings and talks about herself to clients in order to equalise the relationship, although there is always a gap. Here she is tending towards the concept of democratisation. She concentrates mainly on the present and the future when working with clients as the past is irrelevant.

Russell Ince says that for him success is when clients have control over their own lives and there is an equal relationship between himself and them. His goals as a social worker are to improve the quality of life for his clients and for the community as a whole. He is aware of having statutory and professional authority, but uses these as little and as liberally as possible. He aims to be democratic and feels that he often comes over as 'nice' and as 'soft'. He is the only person in this group to talk about using his authority against parts of the state apparatus, for example the police, the courts, and even against his own or other social work departments. He thinks this is important as his allegiance is to his clients. He is empathetic and can understand his clients, but there are some situations he cannot understand, for example living in bad housing or being beaten by a spouse. He expresses his understanding by taking situations at their face value

and not 'interpreting' them. He reveals his own feelings to his clients as appropriate. He deals very much with the present when working with clients but feels that the future is important, that is, the making of plans. He would like to be able to think of the future more with clients, for example girls get pregnant before he can help them to get family planning. He is aware of pushing things away because of the pressures of day to day work. He emphasises that many of his Socialist activities, for example union activities, are not relevant directly to clients. He has also been active in democratising the office as far as possible and working towards a collective team unit rather than people working individually. He tries to challenge management as far as possible. This of course all affects services to clients but perhaps indirectly.

Rita Jeffreys defines change in terms of power now vested in the bourgeoisie extending to include power for working class people, that is in terms of revolutionary change. Her goals as a social worker are to advocate successfully to other agencies for clients but in such a way that the clients are then able to take this on for themselves as they feel more powerful. She sees her authority as a social worker as statutory but is aware of other people seeing her having professional authority. She uses her legal authority as little as possible and her professional authority as a bargaining tool to get 'good deals' with other agencies for clients. She understands her

clients as together they are attempting to fight the capitalist system. She 'wheels and deals' to 'kick' the system together with her clients. She gives the example of housing, which is clearly a political problem, but if she has a black client whose housing problem is exacerbated by her or his colour, then she can point out her understanding on a humanitarian level as well as a political one. She reveals her own feelings as far as possible as appropriate. Clients have a choice about what they reveal and so does she. She concentrates mainly on the present.

Rudy King defines change in social terms but not as revolutionary. He feels that change needs planning as otherwise some people still maintain power over others instead of shifting towards more equality of power. Success for him is when clients attain more control over their own lives and situations. His goal as a social worker is to help people regain as much personal power and independence as possible. He equates authority with power and he has complete power over a large area of his work within agency requirements where he is not questioned at all. He has legal authority over clients, for example under the Mental Health and Children's Acts. He also has professional authority vis-a-vis colleagues as they approach him to share his knowledge. He uses his statutory authority carefully, informing clients of their rights and referring them to a solicitor. He puts children's interests first. He uses his professional authority by sharing knowledge

and information with colleagues. He understands his clients as he is quite intuitive and can tune into situations, but this does vary. His understanding is put over by his general approach as well as by what he actually says. He is honest with clients and reveals his feelings. However he can also be reserved. He deals mainly with the future when working with clients as this is important particularly since he works with children. However he never fails to look at the past and present as well, as, if these are not dealt with, it is impossible to move on to looking at the future. He emphasises that the welfare state should allow for development of potential both for individuals and also on a community level (to realise collective power) and Socialism in his view is more attuned to maximising this than capitalism. He gives as an example that fact that under capitalism, old people are institutionalised and given meals on wheels, whereas in a Socialist society there would be resources and scope for them to continue expanding their horizons.

Ruth Lennox's operational philosophy, although generally tending to Socialist concepts, in some areas does seem to go against these. For example, she defines change as giving greater equality of opportunity to more people which tends to the Socialist concept of democratisation, but she defines success as increasing clients' self-awareness and ability to ask for help, that is, not in structural terms. Her goals as a social worker are defined similarly, that is, to repair damage done to

children who come into care. She sees her authority as a social worker as professional. She is consulted by colleagues over specialist issues, such as fostering and adoption. She uses her authority by sharing her expertise and by getting prospective foster and adoptive parents to take decisions with her. Here she shows her operational philosophy incorporating concepts of collectivisation and democratisation. She understands her clients although this varies. She puts over her understanding by engendering an atmosphere of trust and continuing to support clients through failures as well as successes. She shows an appreciation of what they are doing, and that the relationship is a two-way learning one. She reveals her feelings to clients although appropriately. She tries to express constructive feelings. Being a Socialist and a trade unionist affects her ideas about professionalism. It is impossible to divorce ideas about good professional social work from political reality. For example, if 'establishment' numbers are cut, councils might save money but services suffer. She is also very against children's homes being closed just to save money. She concentrates mainly on the present although the past is important in her particular work as a specialist fostering/adoption officer. Her operational philosophy appears to be affected by the particular specialist field of social work in which she is involved (fostering and adoption) where she works as much with foster parents as with the children. This affects her operational philosophy because of her emphasis on the professional aspects of her position.

Rowena Murray is an interesting member of this group as the only person who took on Socialism as an adult through her social work practice, rather than becoming a social worker because of her Socialist ideology. Her operational philosophy clearly incorporates Socialist principles. She defines change as poor people not being treated like dirt and there being a more equal society. Success for her as a social worker is clients changing their situations. She emphasises that such success is not in changing clients which 'blames' them for being needy, but in changing society so that there is a more just distribution of wealth and so, power. Her goal as a social worker is to help clients do whatever they need help with. She has no authority over her clients, particularly as she works for a voluntary organisation and clients can come to see her as and when they want, with no obligation. She encourages people to do things for themselves, particularly using her phone, as often they do not have phones of their own and public ones are vandalised. She feels she understands her clients as she is on their 'side' and this comes over in their relationship. She reveals most of her feelings to her clients. She has feelings of worthlessness which she thinks enable her to give worth to all other people, as she takes them seriously as human beings. She is all feeling and no theory. She concentrates when working on clients' present but in relation to their future.

From these comments made by the social workers in interview it can be seen that the Socialist social workers in Britain on the whole have very clear Socialist operational philosophies.

(c) Operational Philosophies of the Japanese Socialists

The Japanese Socialist and the British Buddhist groups both show generally more divergence from their stated ideologies in their operational philosophies, that is, greater incongruence between these in many of the areas discussed.

In the Japanese Socialist group only Ryu Ehara and Rinpei Goto demonstrate the Socialist stance of their operational philosophies. The others generally show a mixture of Socialist, traditional psychodynamic and traditional Japanese (Buddhist and Shinto) concepts in their operational philosophies. Reisque Aibara defines change as planning for the future and his criterion of success is when clients attain their social rights. However he does not mention here clients obtaining more power in terms of the Socialist concept of democratisation. His goals as a social worker are to help alleviate the problems of poverty in Japan and to minimise what he sees as the negative repressive effects of religion on society. He sees his authority on two levels, firstly legal, in that he can make decisions about giving money to people, and secondly professional, allowing him for example to refer people to doctors. He is wary of intruding too much into people's lives. He does not discuss using his authority in a collective democratic way. This shows perhaps where he is a product of Japanese culture which emphasises leaving

space for people and not intruding on them for fear of further complicating the already onerous relations of respect and obligation that exist in Japanese society. He feels he has good understanding of his clients and puts this over by listening to them properly and responding to their needs in a humane caring way. He concentrates mainly on his clients' present but relates this to the future. Although he incorporates Socialist concepts of democratisation and cooperation to some extent into his operational philosophy, he is also influenced by agency structure and limitations. He does not mention attempting to influence management in any way.

Raishiro Beshida defines change in terms of a revolution in which poor people demand more power and the raising of their living standards. His criterion for success seems to be stated in non-structural terms, as clients feeling fulfilled and independent. His goals as a social worker are to try to change clients' awareness of their situations and to help them resolve their practical problems. He has a definite idea of how he wants the world to be, but his clients have a right to choose their own ways of life, which often go against his ideas. This is an unresolved contradiction for him but he realises that clients do have a choice. This shows his operational philosophy here tending to the Socialist concept of democratisation. He understands his clients as everybody has similar problems about living and has to find resolutions to these together.

He reveals as much as possible of his own feelings to clients. When working with clients he concentrates mainly on the future but the past is relevant to the present, which affects the future.

Reikichi Chatsubo defines change as the improvement of social conditions for everyone. His criterion of success is when clients come for help in the first place, because this is the start of awareness of change, by which he means individual change. He tends away from Socialist concepts in his goal as a social worker, which he says is to make clients comfortable, that is, he is not discussing this issue in structural terms. He describes himself as having very little authority and uses this by doing his work conscientiously. He feels that he understands his clients and puts this over by listening. He reveals some of his own feelings to clients, but as he sees them for such a short time he does not have very much opportunity for this. He concentrates on clients' past, present and future because as an intake worker he has to consider all three aspects. It seems that he is very much affected here by the agency definition of the role of an intake team social worker. He is 'going along' with the idea that clients' social work histories are important for deciding what services to provide or not for them.

Reiko Domoto shows clearly that she does not incorporate Socialist concepts in her operational philosophy and puts forward more traditional psychodynamic ideas. For

example, she defines change as people living more comfortably with themselves and her criterion for success is when people are happy after going into old people's homes (she specialises in working with the elderly). Her goals as a social worker are to help elderly people feel more contented and secure and to help families deal with their elderly relatives in as humane a way as possible. She does not discuss the issue of the role of the elderly in a capitalist society, rather she emphasises traditional social work concepts of individual stability and the family. She feels she understands her clients as far as one can, and puts this over by listening and being concerned for them as people and not just seeing them as cases. She does not reveal her feelings to clients because this would be imposing on them. Again, as for Raishiro Beshida, not impinging on people's private 'space' is part of Japanese culture. She concentrates mainly on the present and future, as the past is done with. The fact that her operational philosophy seems particularly to incorporate traditional psychodynamic concepts rather than Socialist ones is perhaps partly because she is one of the few Japanese interviewees professionally qualified, and so has studied Western psychodynamic social work principles on her training course.

Ryu Ehara defines change in Socialist terms as society becoming more balanced and equal. His criterion for success is when clients do not need social workers because they are independent. His goal as a social

worker is to alleviate poverty. He feels close to his clients in that they are all fighting the system together. He shows here how he tends to Socialist concepts of collectivisation, and particularly of democratisation. He understands his clients as he comes from a poor background and so has experiential knowledge of the problems created by poverty. He reveals his feelings to clients as far as possible, as he sees no reason not to, and it is important to his relationship with clients to be honest and open. He wants clients to be open with him so they have a right to this from him. Here again he shows how he is using the Socialist concept of democratisation in his operational philosophy. He concentrates mainly on the clients' present and the future which he sees as dependent on this. The past has been done with.

Rosodo Fujimaru shows how his operational philosophy although sometimes incorporating Socialist concepts, is also influenced by concepts dominant in Japanese culture from Buddhism and Shintoism, for example the alleviation of personal spiritual suffering and the importance of a stable family life. He defines change as the alleviation of poverty and for him this includes the alleviation of spiritual as well as material poverty. His criterion for success is when clients have their basic needs met, which includes education and emotional as well as material needs. His goals as a social worker are to help clients alleviate their problems of suffering and poverty and to expand the scope of their lives

as far as possible. He is aware of his authority in that he makes decisions as to whether or not to give clients financial help. But with this right also goes duties. He too mentions not intruding into clients' private lives. He uses his authority to help clients as far as possible to maintain stable family lives. His relationship with his clients is good. He understands them and puts this over by the help that he offers. He reveals his feelings to his clients but not if he feels that this might impede them dealing with their problems. He concentrates mainly on the future, trying to improve it and making it secure by enabling clients to provide for themselves, both materially and spiritually. He emphasises that he thinks the state should offer more help to its citizens, but the government in Japan still expects families to look after themselves. Women are especially discriminated against and he is working for equality for everyone and more power particularly for women in Japanese society.

Rinpei Goto talks about acting against traditional Buddhist conservative ideas that he feels have been imposed on him particularly at school. He defines success as when clients receive their dues and can sort out their situations by controlling these for themselves. His goal as a social worker is to help clients be independent and manage their own lives. He has the legal authority to control material benefits for clients and professional authority to refer clients to other professionals, for example doctors.

He uses his authority as little as possible, and if he does, it is to help clients. He feels close to his clients and understands them fundamentally. He puts this over by the help that he offers. He expresses his feelings to clients but he does not always feel able to do this openly. He concentrates mainly on the future when working with clients because his job is to help them improve their futures. He emphasises that he tries to change attitudes to public assistance (that it is shameful to receive it) but that this is linked to attitudes to authority in Japan which is accepted too easily. He finds it hard to encourage changes in Japan which he sees as a very conservative and traditional place.

Rokutaro Haimatsu defines change as clients moving from unstable to more stable situations. He sees success as when clients are able to deal with their situations themselves. His goal as a social worker is to change society for the better and action not talking is necessary for this. He sees himself as having both legal and professional authority as he can make various decisions about clients. He attempts to treat people equally, to be non-authoritarian and to help clients. Here he shows his operational philosophy tending to the Socialist concepts of democracy and collectivisation. He feels that his relationship with his clients is good. He understands them to the extent that everyone is in the same boat and he tries to put this over by the way he offers help. He is open with clients if he feels

this is not detrimental. He concentrates mainly on clients' futures when working with them to try to improve this.

Riikoro Ikeda also shows in his operational philosophy a mixture of Socialist and more traditional Japanese concepts. He defines change as improving people's standards of living rather than affecting their personalities. His criterion for success is if clients' lifestyles have improved or at least not got worse. His goals as a social worker are to improve clients' standards of living. He has professional authority which he uses as little as possible by getting clients as involved as possible in any decision-making. He feels that he understands his clients because everyone is in a similar situation and trying to live a reasonable life with sufficient funds. He concentrates when working mainly on clients' present and future as the past is done and it is better to look forward not backwards.

Rumiko Jouchi in her operational philosophy tends to incorporate Socialist concepts of change and democratisation. But although expressing Socialist feminist ideas, she also shows the effects on her operational philosophy of her more traditionally psychodynamically orientated training both in Japan and then particularly in the United States. She defines change as society becoming fairer to all its members, which for her involves changes in the economic system so that women can

take their rightful places. She sees success as clients becoming independent so that they have real choices and are able to establish their own identities and be more than just shadows of men. (As a feminist therapist, she works only with women.) Her goals are to help clients build their self-identities, and to see for themselves where their strengths lie so they have more power. Here she seems to be incorporating psychodynamic concepts into her operational philosophy, for example using the term 'self-identity'. She is conscious of her professional authority in that she has skills and knowledge which she uses to help clients in as egalitarian a way as possible. She acknowledges that she is a middle-class therapist helping mainly middle-class women and worries about this contradiction with her egalitarian Socialist principles. She feels that her relationship with her clients is one of equality. She understands them as she is a woman with similar problems to any other woman. She puts over this understanding by her whole attitude. She describes herself and her clients as "travelling together", that is, they are both learning and experiencing from each other and understanding each other through the emotional relationship built up. She mentions that she also uses directly analytic techniques to express her understanding, for example, correct interpretation. Thus, here she is again incorporating psychodynamic ideas into her operational philosophy. She reveals her feelings to clients and will talk about herself if asked. She concentrates mainly on the present and future with clients as these are usually the main concern for them.

(d) Operational Philosophies of the British Buddhists

The British Buddhist social workers show the least congruence, that is the most divergence, between their operational philosophies and their stated personal beliefs. Only Barry Bates, Bill Dawkins, Bernard Gates and Boyd Irwin have incorporated Buddhist concepts of nowness, acceptance and change to some extent into their operational philosophies. The others are basing their operational philosophies on traditional psychodynamic concepts.

Bob Archer defines change in terms of people becoming dissatisfied with present behaviour, and success as when clients move in the direction of particular goals. He uses concepts such as 'increased insight' and 'more meaningful relationships', showing the influence of traditional psychodynamic concepts on his operational philosophy, rather than the Buddhist concept of change. His goals as a social worker are to be an agent of social action but also to help clients with their relationships. He is aware of having both statutory and professional authority through his relationships. He uses these to help clients with their authority problems. Here again he is tending away from the Buddhistic concepts of non-intervention and acceptance, to the more psychodynamic concepts of intervention and professional expertise. He feels that his relationship with clients is friendly and that he understands them to some extent. He puts this over by interpretation

and feedback. He expresses very little of his own feelings to clients. He does not hold back when asked but does not volunteer much information. He concentrates on the present and future with clients but there is also a role for looking at the past.

Barry Bates says that he tries to see people as they are with no preconditioned ideas of how they should be. He emphasises the impermanence of things, that is, that change happens anyway. He sees success as clients being happier, nothing else. His goal as a social worker is to help others to be happy, that is, to alleviate suffering. He has professional authority as a member of staff of a children's home but he has no personal authority. He uses his authority rarely but if he does, then it is just to be 'heard'. He feels that he understands his clients, through his intense involvement with them and expresses this by comparing experiences and relating theirs to his own. He expresses his own feelings to clients as this is good to encourage real friendship and to get over the role differences between social worker and clients. He concentrates mainly on the present because then the past and the future resolve themselves.

Betty Carr defines change in terms of greater self-awareness and success as when clients cope better with life on a day to day basis. Her goal as a social worker she expresses very much in traditional psychodynamic rather than Buddhist terms, as helping people to in-

crease their levels of insight. She has statutory authority, that is the power to remove children from home, but she also has a professional authority conferred on her by clients because of her role. She uses her authority to help clients and tries to use any negative feelings in the relationship in terms of crisis therapy. She feels that her relationship with her clients is close, with openness and trust, but sometimes there is also hostility. She understands her clients fairly well, particularly as she has time and resources to spend with them. She expresses this by sharing the decision-making process with them. She expresses quite a lot of her feelings to them.

Bill Dawkins defines change as living in the past and future. His criterion for success is if he is doing good, not in terms of changing others, but of how useful he is being. He states his goals as a social worker in Buddhist terms, that is to be alert, and to give up clutching at his 'self'. He sees himself as having professional authority in that he can place clients' 'selves' in front of them. He is aware of clients sometimes 'bashing their egos' against his as a social worker. He uses his authority as a means of founding the relationship on trust so that clients can develop their own resources and look at what is really there. He does not understand clients, because how can he know the way another person feels? He reveals a lot of himself, his Buddhist community and his meditation. He talks about other ways of dealing with

emotions than to deny or be obsessed by them. He encourages clients to face up to emotions and so 'let go' of the hold emotions have over them. He concentrates when working, on clients' present. He deals with the past and future if it is there for clients.

Basil Evans defines change as growth, on which he puts great value. He sees success in psychodynamic terms of giving clients the opportunity to live free and happy lives, to be independent and to have meaningful relationships. His goals as a social worker, he states in Buddhistic terms of ameliorating people's suffering. He does not see himself as having authority, as any professional authority vested in him is mythical. He tries to share things with clients on an egalitarian basis, but he is morally and agency bound to do certain things, for example to prevent children being hurt. He uses statutory authority to help his clients and gives the example of refusing to sign for a client to be compulsorily hospitalised for psychiatric treatment, but persuading her to stay in hospital voluntarily by discussing things openly with her. He understands certain aspects of clients' lives but finds it difficult to understand for example deprivation, as he has not really experienced this. He puts over his understanding by listening genuinely and with empathy. The level of his feelings that he shares with clients varies. He controls himself to some extent. He concentrates mainly on the present and future with clients as there is no point in going on about the past. He sees social work as planning for the future.

Bronwyn Frost defines change as a loosening of rigidities with a broadening of people's awareness of potentialities available. She sees success as clients being less frightened and therefore freer to choose. Her goal as a social worker is to help people get joy and as much satisfaction as they can in their relationships and their spiritual life. She has no legal authority but has professional authority due to knowledge and experience. She uses this to educate clients and help them in psychotherapy. She feels she understands her clients fairly well and puts this over by interpretation and linking things up for them. She reveals more of her feelings to clients than previously and this is partly because she feels more positive about herself. She protectively mothers her clients less now than she used to. Thus although her operational philosophy tends sometimes to the Buddhist concept of oneness, on the whole it tends much more to the psychodynamic concepts of professional expertise and intervention.

Bernard Gates does not define change but recognises it intuitively when he sees it. His criterion for success is doing the job properly. His goal as a social worker is to be totally open to any situations that arise. He has statutory authority in certain areas of his work, for example under the Mental Health Act, and professional authority springing from clients' perceptions of him as a resource. He uses his authority to put clients in situations in which he judges they will

be better placed to resolve their difficulties. The relationship between him and his clients is based on their all being in the same boat together, which it is important not to forget. There is no difficulty clients present which he or any social worker will not experience in some form or another at some time. He understands his clients intuitively in that he is aware of them. He also has an intellectual understanding which is useful, but usually a rationalisation of his intuition. He puts his understanding over to clients by giving them his attention. He reveals all his feelings to his clients ideally, but in practice sometimes does better with some than with others. If he can give a client total attention and get his own preconceived notions and ideas out of the way, then he can reveal his feelings. He does not concentrate on the past, present or the future, but on other bits of the client, by which he means the life in each of them. This does not mean that he does not sometimes look at clients' past, present and future when relevant.

Boris Hall identifies change as happiness and coping. His criterion for success varies with each client but is to do with clients coping better with their environments and with themselves. His goal as a social worker is for himself to be happy as an individual and allow this to spread to his clients. How he feels affects his clients. If he can grow within himself, then clients can grow as well. His goal therefore is personal growth. This tends away from Buddhist concepts of

of acceptance and change to more psychodynamic concepts of intervention and permanence. He has very little authority and uses what he does have as an officer of the court only at the beginning of a probation order to make clear his responsibility to the court, so that clients are aware of the parameters in which both they and he can operate. He describes his relationship with clients as good, but feels he does not understand some of them at all. He can take them along certain avenues so they can understand themselves. He reveals a lot about himself to his clients so that they know about his life and feelings. He does this because it is the only way he knows how to operate and clients usually respond when he lets them know what is happening to him. He concentrates very much on the present, rather than on the past or the future. Here his operational philosophy does incorporate the Buddhist concept of nowness.

Boyd Irwin defines change as something that is constantly going on. His criterion of success is when someone becomes 'enlightened'. He cannot say what this is, as he is not enlightened, but he knows who is. He mentions various people such as Don Huan (described in books by Carlos Castaneda) Bhagwan Shri Rajneesh (head of an esoteric movement) and Ram Dass (an author writing about Eastern religions). What these people have in common is that they have 'power' and that they are all 'exiles'. His goals as a social worker are sometimes very specific, for example to give money or to help clients deal with court cases. But generally he is

opposed to goal-orientated social work which he wants to undermine as he sees it as inflexible and bureaucratic. He wants to minimise the distinctions between social workers and clients. He finds other social workers to be as great a problem as clients can be. He has both legal and professional authority in that what he says carries some weight. He uses his legal authority badly. He does not like having the authority to, for example, put a client into mental hospital as he is never sure that this is the right thing to do and he has no faith in the treatment given in mental hospitals anyway. He uses his professional authority by trying to move away from being seen as an expert. Clients often know more than he does about certain things. His relationship with his clients is good and on the whole he understands them well. Sometimes he does feel baffled and that he is blundering about. He expresses this by saying so. He hopes that he reveals himself to clients and that his non-professional stance allows this. Perhaps he does not reveal as much of his feelings as he thinks he does. He concentrates mainly on clients' present. He does look at the future also if this seems important, particularly if other people are involved, for example the children of a family with which he is dealing.

Where the interviewees of all four groups stand in terms of their operational philosophies in relation to the concepts to which they subscribe is shown diagrammatically in Table 1.

3. Practice

The third level on which personal beliefs affect social work is that of practice itself. When looking at the results of the interviews on this level then it becomes clear that linked to and independent of the previous two levels of this relationship between ideology and social work, the groups vary significantly in how the personal beliefs of individuals affect their day to day practice. The four groups differ in terms of the congruence between stated beliefs and actual practice. Again the Japanese Buddhists demonstrate the most congruence between their beliefs and (stated) practice. The British Socialists also show congruence here, and again the Japanese Socialists and British Buddhists show much less congruence. The discussions by the social workers about the three analogues presented (see Appendix C) demonstrate this.

(a) Stated Practice of the Japanese Buddhists

Benichi Abeno in the first analogue would help the girl to discover her worthiness and Buddha nature by using his own experience to discuss with her the fact that one should respect life. It is fine to die if life has been completed, that is fulfilled, but not just out of despair. In the second analogue he would help the couple find respect for themselves and for each other, showing how he subscribes to the Buddhist concept of acceptance. He does not discuss the third analogue as he does not deal with families in his work.

Busuke Bando, for the first analogue, would express sympathy for the girl about her loneliness and let her decide whether he should see her parents or not. Here he shows how his practice is influenced by the Buddhist principles of acceptance and nowness. He also shows his interest in psychotherapy, by saying that he would maybe refer the girl to a psychiatrist for medical help with her depression. In the second analogue he would see the couple together and observe their attitudes. He would try to maintain as neutral a position as possible. In the third analogue he would try to help the relationship between the girl and the mother. He sees this situation as a problem of family dynamics. Again here he is showing a tendency to traditional psychodynamic rather than Buddhist concepts.

Banroku Chikaoka in describing his practice, demonstrates his use of Buddhist concepts and the rather conservative attitude which seems to attend these in Japan. In the first analogue he would sympathise with the girl but he does not approve of abortion. He would try to prevent her from committing suicide and would share his own feelings with her, how he has dealt with feeling suicidal and is glad that he is alive. In the second analogue he would help the couple to work out how they could resolve the frustrations they feel about each other. He also does not discuss the third analogue as such a case would be out of his remit as a volunteer probation officer.

Bessho Dassai shows congruence between his practice and Buddhist concepts. For the first analogue he sees his role as being a good listener. He would find it troubling that the girl wants to die, but that it is wrong to tell someone not to commit suicide. He demonstrates here his use of Buddhist concepts of compassion and acceptance. In the second analogue his role would be to help the couple to clarify their feelings and future actions. In the third analogue he would try to work with the girl and then see the mother and maybe the rest of the family.

Bunkichi Ebayashi similarly shows congruence between his stated ideology and practice. For the first analogue he would try to gently help and support the girl. He would feel upset if she did commit suicide because he would think that he had not helped her properly. He would try to instil the value of life into the girl for which his Buddhist framework is very relevant. In the second analogue he would refer such a case to professionals as "not even a dog eats a family quarrel" with which he agrees. In the third analogue he would assess whether the girl's strange behaviour stems from the family situation or not. He does not talk about deciding whether she is ill or not so is using Buddhist concepts by seeing this analogue in terms of the family relationships in a very accepting 'unlabelling' way.

Buntaro Fukuda would use Naikan therapy in all three analogues. Through Naikan meditation clients come to

realise their own role in many situations and what they themselves can do about any difficulties.

Bokkai Genda in the first analogue talks about the girl wanting 'to have' and 'to not have' at the same time, and that such false desires lead to problems. He is one of the few people who in this analogue does not emphasise that he would try to stop the girl committing suicide. For the second analogue he would point out to the couple that happiness consists of loving or appreciating the 'other' without expecting 'repayment'. Here he shows how his practice incorporates the Buddhist concept of acceptance. In the third analogue he would try to help the girl in her rebellion against the family and also see how he could help her parents accept her gaining independence.

Benjiro Hamamoto says that in the first analogue he would support the girl to come to some decisions and feel more positive. In the second analogue he would see the couple together to see how much affection there is and whether they want to rebuild the relationship or get divorced. He would help them face either reality. This demonstrates how his practice is affected by the Buddhist concept of oneness. In the third analogue he talks about having 'an open heart' for such a girl and that he would try to support both her and her mother. Here he shows his use of the Buddhist concept of compassion in his practice.

Bisako Ichikami in all three analogues seems to be subscribing to a traditional Japanese view of the family. In the first analogue she sees the situation in family terms, in the second analogue she does not mention the possibility of the couple separating, and in the third she particularly emphasises the role of the mother. For the first analogue she would try to discourage the girl from committing suicide and would encourage the family to support and help the girl and the baby (if the girl decides to keep it). In the second analogue she would see the couple together and emphasise that marriage is a contract. Her role would be to help the couple become aware of each other and to communicate. In the third analogue she would help the girl deal with what she sees as feelings of depression. She would try to encourage the mother to make some definite positive gestures towards the girl.

Bihoru Jimatsu does not discuss the analogues individually as the cases are not suitable for Morita therapy. He works mainly with young single people who have neurotic rather than psychotic symptoms. He will not accept for Morita therapy treatment anyone who is clearly suicidal.

(b) Stated Practice of the British Socialists

The British Socialist social workers also on the whole tend to show congruence between their stated practice and their Socialist ideologies.

Roy Armstrong says that for the first analogue he would refer the girl to a pregnancy counselling service. As a man he has limited knowledge of what being in this situation actually means. He would talk through the girl's suicidal feelings with her, and look at her total situation as a woman, and a single person being pregnant. In the second analogue he would suggest to the wife that she go to a self-assertion group to increase her self-confidence and so lower her dependence on her husband. In the third analogue he would look at the impact of the environment on both the girl and the family, and see how they could help themselves in practical terms. Thus he demonstrates his use of Socialist concepts of collectivisation and democratisation in his stated practice.

Ron Barker says that in the first analogue he would put the girl in touch with other people who have gone through a similar situation and emphasise the social context of this. Concerning her suicidal feelings, he would try to build up a relationship of trust with her, so that she can build on what is positive. For the second analogue he would set very simple behavioural goals, but enable the couple to see their total situations, that the husband is in a meaningless, uncreative job and that the woman is feeling unfulfilled. In the third analogue he would try to involve friends and the family of the girl to support the girl so that she is not scapegoated. He would discuss with her the nature of families and how they operate in our capitalist

society and look at the effects of the fact that her parents are unemployed and poor.

Rachel Coombes in all three analogues also demonstrates how her practice incorporates Socialist concepts. For the first analogue she would encourage the girl as a potential single mother to get support from other agencies. She would consciously not see her in psychiatric terms as this would just 'label' her. She would discuss with her a range of possibilities of help for the future whatever decisions are made. In the second dialogue she would talk to the woman to see what her situation is in relation to the marriage, and as a woman in our society generally. In the third analogue she would set up a 'network meeting' involving all interested professionals plus the family to discuss how they feel and what can be done. She would try to avoid the girl being labelled as a 'problem' but emphasise that both she and the family situation are symptoms of bad economic and social systems.

Richard Denton says that for the first analogue he would take the girl's suicidal feelings very seriously and would use this as a point of contact with her, as a starting point for her to look at her total situation. He would define the problem in her terms and later advise her on the possibilities open to her once she has decided what to do. In the second analogue he would try to help the couple see their situation in a total social context, for example to look at the roles

into which they have fallen and why this is. In the third analogue he would involve other relevant agencies that already know the family and then try to work with the family on all levels to stop the scapegoating of the girl. He would look at everybody's behaviour within the context of the family situation.

Robert Ewing says that for the first analogue he would discuss with the girl her situation as a single mother in our society and look at her isolation. He would see her suicidal feelings in terms of her indecision and help her with this. If she is definitely suicidal he would respect this as a right. However as a Socialist he has a belief that things will change for the better and would say this to her. In the second analogue, he would put the woman in touch with other women and encourage her not to centre her life quite so much on the marriage. He would look with her at her day to day situation, so that she could get more out of life than just being a wife. In the third analogue he would try to work with the girl in terms of her social network, that would be the family and other friends. Here he is showing his incorporation of the Socialist concept of collectivisation in his practice.

Ray Farmer says that in the first analogue he would decide whether to encourage the girl to link up with other women, or whether to work with the family, or do both. He would emphasise the sexual politics aspect of the case, discussing with the girl her situation as

an unmarried pregnant woman both in her family and in society in general. In the second analogue he would deal with this again in terms of the sexual politics coming into the relationship of the couple. In the third analogue he would refer the girl to groups of other young people in similar situations. He would help the family sort out their practical problems as far as possible.

Rebecca Gieve also emphasises that for the first analogue she would help the girl have as much social support as possible so that she can come to a decision about whether to keep the baby or not. She would discuss the problems of being a single mother in our society. In the second analogue she would see what the couple expect from the marriage, and look at their total situation to see why they are so unfulfilled. She would help them look at the roles into which they have settled. She did not discuss the third analogue due to lack of time.

Rosalind Hanwell says that in the first analogue she would focus with the girl on the pregnancy and the necessary decisions to be made about that. She would offer to talk to the girl's parents if she wants. Her immediate priority would be to support the girl and to create hope that she can hold on. In the second analogue she would try to disabuse the husband of some of his anti-women expectations by trying to put the woman's side to him. In the third analogue she would

help the girl to see her situation in the family and also as an adolescent in our society generally. She would think about helping the girl move away from the family, but be aware also that alternative resources are not very good for such people.

Russell Ince, similarly to most others in this group, says that for the first analogue he would discuss with the girl the situation of being a one-parent family in our society and the consequences of this. For the second analogue he would try to look at the woman's role in the relationship with the couple and how they can make moves to improve her situation. In the third analogue he would take the focus off the girl and look at the family's practical situation to see how this can be improved. This will help the family as a whole and go towards stopping the girl being scapegoated.

Rita Jeffreys says that for the first analogue she would put the girl in touch with a support group and give her continuing individual support to raise her self-esteem as a person, woman and potential mother. In analogue two she would try to ascertain the feelings of the couple about each other and their general situation. She would probably refer them to the Marriage Guidance Council as she does not feel properly trained for such work. She could only begin to help them be aware of the roles that society has led them to accept. In analogue three she would definitely keep the girl away from doctors and psychiatrists to stop her from being

labelled. She would help the girl get in touch with other teenagers and try to help resolve some of the pressures that the family are experiencing.

Rudy King says that for the first analogue he would support the girl and then work with her within the family context if this is what she wants. He would respect her decisions and support these. In the second analogue he would not go into the couple's past but work out a contract to help them deal with their situation constructively in a total social context. He would listen to them to get a clear picture of what they want. For the third analogue he would clarify that he sees the family situation as the problem that needs help and support, and not the girl. He would point out that many families have similar problems and try to help them on this level.

Ruth Lennox also says that for the first analogue she would discuss with the girl the realities of being a single mother in our society. She would take care though not to take over any decision-making from the girl. She would offer practical advice and support. In the second analogue she would try to look at what the marriage is offering both partners and discuss any problems about housing and/or work. In the third analogue she would concentrate on the family and its practical situation rather than emphasising the illness of the girl. She would try to get the girl in touch with a day centre or a unit to get some support as an adolescent.

Rowena Murray shows her use of Socialist concepts in practice, but also her lack of confidence in dealing with some situations because of her lack of professional training. She says that for the first analogue she would refer the girl to a particular abortion counselling centre that she knows and thinks well of, to help to decide what to do about the baby. She would help the girl come to terms and then deal with the practical aspects of any decisions made. In the second analogue she would see her role as letting the couple express themselves as far as they want to. She would refer them to marriage guidance, as she would not feel competent to intervene further than to just listen. In the third analogue she would encourage the girl to get support from friends by going to a unit for adolescents or a club, depending on what is available locally. She would help the family with their practical problems to see what they can do about being victims of society, and how they are in turn victimising the girl.

(c) Stated Practice of the Japanese Socialists

The Japanese Socialist social workers are less consistent in their incorporation of Socialist concepts in their stated practice. When discussing the analogues, there seems often some divergence between their personal ideologies and stated practice. Many of this group describe their practice in terms of emphasising work with the individual and the use of professional expertise rather than using the Socialist concepts of

change, democratisation and collectivisation in a structural approach to the situations presented.

Reisuke Aibara says that in the first analogue he would discuss the practical aspects of the situation with the girl. He would try to support her so that she does not commit suicide. In the second analogue he would look at how negative patterns in the marriage could be broken. He would let the couple express their feelings about each other. He would also look at any economic problems as these are often the basis of marital problems. In the third analogue he would help the family with practical and economic problems, as he sees these as maybe having a bad effect on the girl and her relationship with the family generally.

Raishiro Beshida says that in the first analogue he would discuss with the girl why she wants to commit suicide and about her relationship with her family. He emphasises that he thinks these are the important issues with which to deal. He does not see this analogue in terms of the girl as a single parent in the social structure in which she is living, as could be expected of a Socialist social worker. In the second analogue he would look at the relationship between the couple and get them to communicate. In the third analogue he identifies the situation as a family problem where he would refer the girl to a psychiatrist.

Reikichi Chatsubo says that in the first analogue he needs to find out what the girl is feeling and what she wants in order to get an understanding of the situation to then help her. In the second analogue he would help the couple express harmony together again. In the third analogue he would see the mother to try to support her and the daughter and to look at the family relationships generally.

Reiko Domoto says that in the first analogue she would be aware of the sense of shame that the family must be feeling and try to support the girl against family pressures. In the second analogue she would try to help the couple to communicate and find again the warm feelings they must have for each other. In the third analogue she would see the girl with the mother so that she can understand them. She would also help the family with their practical problems.

Ryu Ehara, in his discussion of the analogues, shows some congruence between his Socialist beliefs and his stated practice. In the first analogue he would let the girl talk about her suicidal feelings, but he would also help her to discuss things on a concrete level about her future and the situation in which she would find herself if she has the baby as a single parent. In the second analogue he would look at practical concrete factors of the couple's situation, particularly if they decide to get a divorce. In the third analogue he emphasises that he sees this as a

social problem rather than the girl being a 'psychiatric' case, so that he would try to help the family sort out their practical situation.

Rosodo Fujimaru says that in the first analogue he would try to prevent the girl from committing suicide; he would look at her background and discuss with her the decision about the baby's future. He would support whatever decision she takes. In the second analogue he would help the couple to express their feelings, first each partner alone, and then together. He might suggest divorce if the relationship seems to have reached this point. In the third analogue he feels that the girl needs help or she would deteriorate and the cycle of deprivation would continue. He emphasises trying to help the family help themselves in practical terms, for example the father to find work, which would be good both for his self-esteem and also help the family finances.

Rinpei Goto, in his discussion of the analogues, says that in the first one he feels sorry for the girl and would try to listen to her to be a 'life help' and not a bureaucrat. In the second analogue he would try to discover what the couple are feeling and point out some of the contradictions of which they are not aware. In the third analogue he would try to help the girl but in the context of her family. He would also deal with the family's practical situation.

Rokutaro Haimatsu says that in the first analogue he would try to find out about the lack of communication between the girl and her parents and help her find some meaning in her life so that she does not commit suicide. In the second analogue he would see the couple together and discuss whether they want to stay together or whether they would be happier apart. In the third analogue he would try to find out what is happening in the family to help them improve their situation, which would maybe then help the girl's particular problems.

Riikoro Ikeda says that in the first analogue he would try to find out why the girl wants to commit suicide by helping her communicate her feelings. He would put her in touch with a psychiatrist to help her with her depression. He would see the parents to get them to support the girl. In the second analogue he would advise the couple to divorce as there is no point in staying together without love. He would try to get them to understand each other's point of view. He does mention the problem of the husband working and being tired in the evening and the wife being bored at home all day, but does not follow this up by relating the situation to wider structural issues as could be expected of someone using Socialist concepts. In the third analogue he would try to help the family on a practical level and then would probably involve other professionals such as a psychiatrist to help the girl.

Rumiko Jouchi says that in the first analogue she would help the client to make a decision about the pregnancy which would make her feel less depressed and suicidal. She would also talk to the girl about her family situation as her depression might be linked to this. She would help the girl with her emotional problems. In the second analogue she shows some use of Socialist concepts in that she would try to help the woman clarify her problems about her own life and build up some independence as a person rather than just seeing herself as a wife. She is therefore analysing this situation in feminist Socialist terms. In the third analogue she would ensure that the family are receiving proper financial assistance. She would see this as a family situation needing practical help as well as support for the girl herself.

(d) Stated Practice of the British Buddhists

The final group, the British Buddhists, also show mainly incongruence between the Buddhist concepts to which they subscribe in theory, and their stated practice. Their practice appears on the whole to incorporate Western psychodynamic concepts such as professional expertise rather than Buddhistic concepts of nowness and non-intervention.

Bob Archer says that in the first analogue he would discuss the suicide threat to see if this is linked more to the girl being pregnant or to the home situation.

He would try to establish what her feelings are about being pregnant and what she wants to do about it. He would see her alone and then with the parents. He would not tell her that suicide is a terrible thing. In the second analogue he would at first take a factual history to isolate reasons for the couple's situation. He would ask about the good things they get out of their marriage and would encourage them to talk about their parents, to explore them as models. In the third analogue he would get information about the family and the girl. For example he would contact the school. He would then look at the girl's role in the family and focus on the family as a whole. He would also deal with the practical problems to get them out of the way.

Barry Bates says that in the first analogue he would talk to the girl gently and tell her that he thinks life is a valuable thing. He would encourage her to think of the baby and her responsibility to both her family and the child. He might refer her to the Samaritans. In the second analogue he would suggest separation at least temporarily or he would refer the couple for therapy to find out the causes of their problems, to see if they can stay together. In the third analogue he would help the family with their practical problems. He would assess the girl to see if she or the family need help by seeing her on her own. If he decides from her behaviour with him that she is ill, he would refer her to a psychiatrist. If she behaves and speaks so that she appears in touch

with reality, then he would deal with the family as a whole. He would discuss the situation with the family doctor.

Betty Carr says that in the first analogue she would try to understand what feelings the girl has and ask her how she has arrived at the decision to commit suicide. She would try to discuss those areas troubling her. She would not lay much emphasis on the suicide itself, but concentrate on the process the girl has taken to reach this decision. She would also discuss the fact that the girl is living at home and whether she wants to carry on doing this. In the second analogue she would see each partner separately to see what they feel the other can do better. She would then see them together to look at those areas causing breakdown in communication, so they can work on things themselves after that. In the third analogue she would see the family as a whole, but also see the girl alone to assess whether she needs referring to a psychiatrist. If the girl cannot understand the effects of her behaviour on others, then she would refer her. Otherwise she might encourage her to gain independence from the family, not just to withdraw from it. She would look at the family's practical situation and assess their motivation to change. She would clarify with them what she is doing and why.

Bill Dawkins shows some use of Buddhist concepts in his stated practice. He says that in the first analogue he would find it important to assess the girl's relationships with men and the future of the baby as well as her relationship with her parents. He would be disinclined to refer her to a psychiatrist, but he might refer her to other agencies suitable if she decides to keep the baby, or for abortion counselling if she decides not to have it. For the second analogue he would tell the couple to leave their anxieties, their past history and their fears for the future alone. Here he shows his use in practice of the Buddhist concepts of nowness and change. In the third analogue he shows this also, in that he would just sit with the whole family and say nothing. He would wait to see what came up, what way they themselves find through the confusion, the lack of responsibility and the people at odds with themselves and others. Just sitting there may start them reflecting. He would accept responsibility to help them if they are willing to bear the consequences of their own behaviour.

Basil Evans in his discussion of the analogues, says that in the first one he would explore the girl's strengths and supports, then whether she wants to keep the child or not. He would support any decision that she makes. She has obviously reached a point where she has to decide whether life is worth carrying on or not, and he would try to emphasise the positives. He would point out the alternatives to suicide. He would

not stop her, but still try to dissuade her from committing suicide, unless he feels she is making a genuinely existential decision because the future holds only misery and suffering. This he could share and appreciate. For the second analogue he would try to see why the couple stay together and if there is no reason, he would help them to separate. He would sit and listen to see if there is a way for them to change so they can live happily together. Here his practice is incorporating Buddhist concepts of acceptance and oneness. He would see the situation of the third analogue in terms of family dynamics and set up some family sessions. He sees the girl as being scapegoated and would hospitalise her only as a very last resort if her behaviour finally warrants this.

Bronwyn Frost says that for the first analogue she would help the girl make a decision about the pregnancy. She would try to offer emotional support, filling in where the parents are letting the girl down. She would try to encourage family involvement with the girl's situation. In the second analogue she would help the couple to see how they might meet each other's needs better and to look at their fears and expectations of each other. In the third analogue, she would see the family as a whole and help clarify some of the practical issues. She would look at the family dynamics and if necessary refer the girl to a psychiatrist or therapist. She would use family therapy to help the family look at what they are doing to each other and why.

Bernard Gates has not discussed the analogues as it was not possible to interview him for the second time.

Boris Hall says that in the first analogue he would see the family together as he sees this as a family-based problem. He would use family therapy to help them identify and recognise family dynamics. He would also see the girl on her own to help with her suicidal feelings and if necessary hospitalise her. He would see the suicide threat as just that; it would not be of low priority, but he would weigh up the risks of her actually carrying out the threat. He would involve the parents in any discussion about the future of the pregnancy. In the second analogue he would see each person separately, then see them together and look at the history of marriage and relate the feelings of earlier times when they liked each other, to their negative feelings now. He would look with them at what has changed. In the third analogue he would see the family as a whole and use a low level of family therapy, that is, to help them get some insight into the dynamics of the situation. He would help them in practical terms involving the Housing Department and the Electricity and Gas Boards. He would try to help the girl by involving a female colleague as the girl maybe could relate better to a woman than to him.

Boyd Irwin shows his use sometimes of Buddhist concepts in practice. In the first analogue he would not plead

with the girl not to commit suicide as he feels that if someone genuinely and authentically wants to do this, s/he should not be stopped. He would also try to find out what she wants to do about the pregnancy. He would support her decision. He would discuss with her whether he should see the parents and whether she should be present. He would want to see them so as to compare their account of the situation with her's, to see how far she is projecting emotions onto them. He would also want to see how they communicate as a group. In the second analogue, he would try to see whether either partner is prepared to change. He would look at why they married and tell them to stop whining. He would make a contract with them to see whether he could help them communicate better. He might suggest that they meet every fortnight for three months to see how they get on. In the third analogue he would see the girl by herself, to assess her behaviour. If he decides she is ill he would send her for psychiatric assessment. If not, he would see the family as a whole and point out the communication blocks. He would contact other relevant people, such as the family doctor, to discuss the situation. He would get help with the practical problems, for example getting onto the Housing Department about repairs.

It is clear from these replies that the stated practice of this group of social workers involves the use mainly of traditional psychodynamic concepts rather than Buddhistic ones. In only a few cases does their practice incorporate Buddhist concepts.

In this chapter the results of interviews looking at the effects of two different ideologies on the operational philosophies and practice of a small number of social workers in two different cultures have been presented. It is apparent from these that the application of beliefs and values to practice is more dependent on the immediate and cultural setting in which the social workers operate, than on their professed ideologies.

The findings confirm Hardiker's (1977/147) point that ideologies may not be good predictors of behaviour. Various factors lead subscribers to the same ideologies, having operational philosophies which may be better predictors of behaviour than the abstract ideologies themselves.

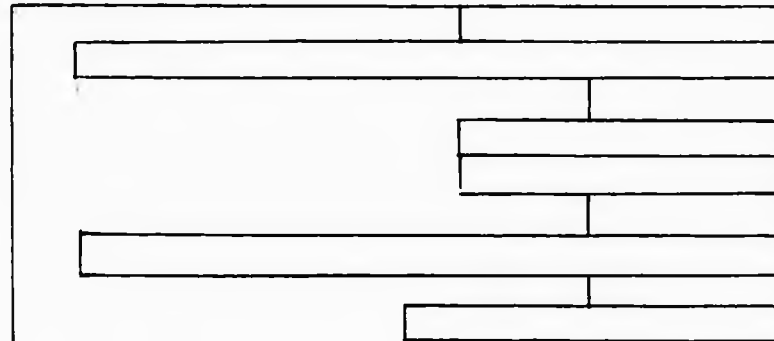
The next chapter will analyse and discuss these results.

TABLE 1

DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN OPERATIONAL PHILOSOPHY & STATED IDEOLOGY

BUDDHISTS

British



Archer

Bates

Carr

Dawkins

Evans

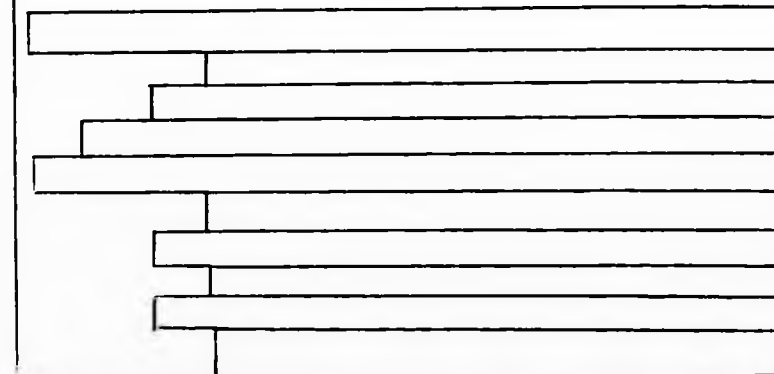
Frost

Gates

Hall

Irwin

Japanese



Abeno

Bando

Chikaoka

Dassai

Ebayashi

Fukuda

Genda

Hamamoto

Ichikami

Jimatsu

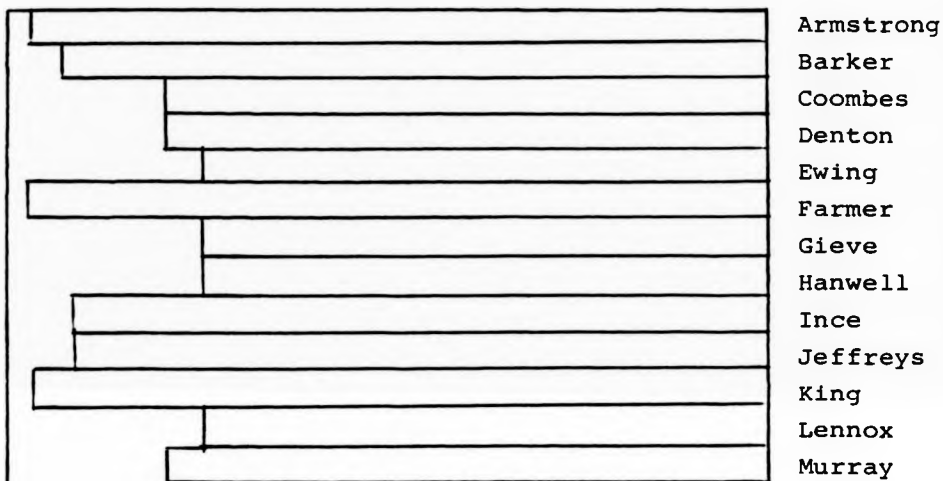
←
Incorporation of Buddhist
Concepts: Nowness, Non-
Intervention (Acceptance),
Change

→
Western Psychodynamic
Concepts: Past/Future
Orientated Intervention,
Professional Expertise,
Permanence

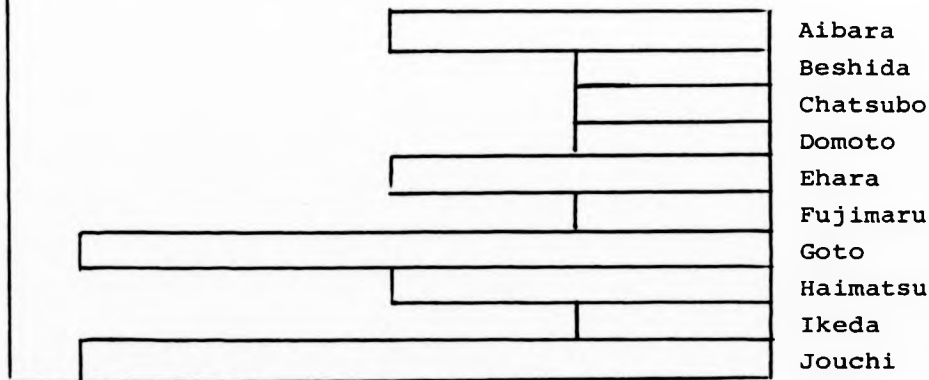
TABLE 1
DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN OPERATIONAL PHILOSOPHY & STATED IDEOLOGY

SOCIALISTS

British



Japanese



←
 Incorporation of
 Socialist Concepts:
 Change, Collectivisation,
 Democratisation

→
 Consensus, Acceptance
 of Present Status Quo,
 Individual Competition,
 Organisational & Pro-
 fessional Power/Authority

CHAPTER 7SUMMARY DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

This chapter will analyse the results obtained from the four groups of social workers interviewed. Then issues raised about ideology in social work practice will be discussed in more general terms. Three general issues arise from the results. The first is the similarities and differences between Buddhism and Socialism as ideological systems, and how they affect social work practice differently in Britain and Japan. The second issue is that of the choice of ideological stance by individuals. The third one is the effect of professionalisation and social work education on the manifestation of personal beliefs on operational philosophies and social work practice.

1. Ideological Factors Affecting the Relationship Between Personal Beliefs & Practice

Various factors can be identified as affecting the relationship between personal beliefs and practice. These include firstly the dominant culture in which the practice takes place. Secondly, the degree of social support provided for the social workers in their professed ideology, that is the congruence of personal ideology with that dominant in the culture. Linked to this are the roles and status of the social workers in the culture in which they are operating. Thirdly, the power of the professional/occupational (social work and welfare) ideologies to counteract or limit the social workers putting their personal beliefs into practice.

That is, the congruence of social workers' personal ideologies with those of employing agencies. Included here would be the influence of professional training on the manifestation of personal ideology on social work practice. Fourthly, the location and type of social work practice engaged in by individual social workers and its congruence with the ideology to which they subscribe.

The Japanese Buddhist social workers subscribe to an ideology dominant in Japan, they have high status in that culture, they have nearly all been born into and grown up in actively Buddhist families and surroundings, most are Buddhist priests and most are untrained volunteer social workers. Their work entails supporting a system that represents the ideology to which they subscribe.

The Socialist social workers in Britain present a similar picture in that this group (except for Rowena Murray) have been born into left-wing politically orientated families where Socialism is dominant as an ideology. They became social workers as this is ideologically acceptable employment for Socialists living and working in a capitalist society. However they are aware of the contradictions between working for and supporting a capitalist-based welfare state (which evolved initially to provide a healthy contented workforce for industry) and their stated ideology. Robert Ewing, Ray Farmer and Rebecca Gieve particularly discuss this issue. They seem to deal with this by supporting oppressed groups of clients, encouraging collectivism and challenging management by practice as far as possible in line with their

stated ideology and not with the culturally dominant one. They are nearly all professionally trained, but because Socialism has been dominant in their home environments, this does not seem to lead to a separation between their stated ideology, their operational philosophies and their practice.

The Japanese Socialist social workers however present a different picture. They have grown up mostly in traditional Buddhist households (although none mentioned coming from priestly families) and their Socialist ideology as a personal belief system has been taken on at school or later. It is clearly less part of their operational philosophy than for the British Socialists or Buddhism for the Japanese Buddhists. They are in opposition to the ideology in which they have grown up and are clearly of lower status than the Japanese Buddhists. This is apparent in the places in which the interviews take place: most of the interviews with the Buddhists in Japan take place in luxurious rooms, usually part of temples, whereas most of those with the Socialists take place in dreary offices. The Japanese Socialists nearly all have some professional training. This means they have been far more exposed to Western social work ideology than have the Japanese Buddhists. Social work training in Japan is based almost exclusively on the Western Christian psychodynamic model. Thus many 'trained' social workers there would be using Western ideas in their practice, even though the dominant ideology and so their own backgrounds, are Buddhist. Professional training appears to have the effect of increasing the discrepancies between their stated ideologies and operational philosophies. Their operational

philosophies are in opposition to the dominant ideology of the country and at the same time affected by the dominant ideology of their professional training. Reiko Domoto with a degree in social work is a good example of this process.

The British Buddhist social workers have all taken on Buddhism as adults and the discrepancies between their stated ideology, their operational philosophy and their practice are clear. Their operational philosophy and practice are still based mainly on the Western psychodynamic approach to social work. They are however attempting to be radical (not in a political sense, but rather as being innovative). Their attitude to for example psychiatric disease (in analogue three) can be seen as 'radical', that is going against the social status quo. Bob Archer, Betty Carr and Bill Dawkins show this in their discussions. For this group Buddhist ideology is a philosophy emphasising intellectual ideas which are used as the foundation of a radical (new) approach to practice. They are in fact using it as a means of reacting against the moral and social control aspects of social work practice in Britain. Professional training again in this group seems to increase the discrepancies between stated ideology and operational philosophy. The least qualified member of this group (Barry Bates) shows himself to be one of the least influenced by Western social work ideology. However Bernard Gates, one of the most highly professionally qualified people of this group, shows also how he has incorporated Buddhist ideas into his social work. This is presumably because of the British Buddhist group, he is also the most deeply involved with Buddhism intellect-

ually, emotionally and in his daily life (living even if not working in an almost exclusively Buddhist environment). Buddhism therefore has more effect on his daily life and work than it does on the others in this group in spite of his conventional social work training.

This research shows that the dominant culture in which the social workers are operating seems to have a fundamental effect on the relationship between their ideologies, operational philosophies and practice.

One way of looking at how individuals take on particular welfare ideologies is in terms of the interest and strain theories of social determinants of ideology (Geertz 1964/52). In the interest theory ideology is seen as a mask and a weapon, and in the strain theory as a symptom and a remedy. In the interest theory, ideological pronouncement is seen against the background of a universal struggle for an advantage; in the strain theory, against the background of a chronic effort to correct socio-psychological disequilibrium. The two ideas are not necessarily contradictory.

Smith (1977/851) says that the interest theory rests on an essentially voluntaristic image of people who are viewed as formulating their own social world as they will. The model that they have of the world is idealistic in that the construction of subjective reality determines the natures of objective reality, as the subjective gains operational implementation. With the strain theory of ideology, the objective world dominates people. Ideology here has the

function of allowing people to rationalise, to 'make sense' of situations which are otherwise unintelligible.

Looking at the four groups of social workers in these terms, the Buddhists in Japan can be seen as trying to maintain the status quo, whereas the other three groups are wanting to formulate their own social world. These three groups each put forward an ideal image of some perfect state (psychological for the Buddhist group and social for the two Socialist groups) which is pursued. They then rationally and consistently attempt to give this image effect. In terms of strain theory, it is possible to identify sources of 'strain' in the replies given by the social workers interviewed, that is, matters not fitting into the idealistic scheme of things. For example, the British Buddhists show 'strain' in their replies to the question about their attitude to authority vested in them in their professional position. This is expressed in terms of feeling that they have a professional authority and yet want to relate in Buddhist terms on an equal level with clients. This group shows clearly the 'strain' between their stated ideology and their practice because their operational philosophy is close to the traditional psychodynamic social work ideology that they are trying to reject for a more Buddhist approach. The Japanese Socialist social workers also show some significant areas of strain in their replies, for example in wanting to be democratic (unbureaucratic) in their dealings with clients, yet at the same time continuing to 'hand out' welfare benefits. The British Socialist social workers show very little strain in their replies. The Japanese Buddhist social

workers show almost no 'strain' in their replies, that is, hardly any discrepancies between their practice, their operational philosophies and their personal ideologies. It would appear that the more strain shown between the ideological stance and social work practice (and so the more strain-resolving techniques used) the more subordinate the ideology is in the culture in which the social workers are operating.

Another comparison of the results can be made in terms of what Plamenatz (1979/17) calls "spread versus comprehensiveness". He says that just as we can ask about the sort or the size of a group or community who are said to share an ideology, so we can ask how many of their ideas and attitudes are included in the ideology. The 'spread' of an ideology is what sort of people or the proportion of people who share it, and the 'comprehensiveness' of an ideology is the proportion of total ideas and attitudes that it covers.

Using these concepts, the Japanese Buddhist social workers subscribe to an ideology which shows the most 'spread' and 'comprehensiveness'. Their ideology affects both their personal lives and their social work practice; also it is shared by most people in that society. However this is changing as Japan becomes more capitalistic, secular and influenced by the West and Christianity, as is shown by the new sects which are a mixture of both Buddhism and Christianity. The British Socialist social workers subscribe to a very comprehensive ideology which has considerable and obvious effects on their personal and professional

lives. For example they all attend union meetings and are very politically active, both at work and away from it. But their ideology shows little spread in that it is subordinate in Britain. The Socialist social workers in Japan and the British Buddhist social workers subscribe to ideologies which show little spread or comprehensiveness. Both groups show that their stated ideologies have some effect on their personal lives (the British Buddhists for example saying that their lives have improved through meditation) but this does not 'spread' to incorporate their operational philosophies or social work practice. Also Socialism in Japan and Buddhism in Britain are subscribed to by a minority of people.

Using Whittington's typology (1977/66) all four groups show a 'service type' orientation with client satisfaction being the objective, client demands and requests the focal point and clients defined as being able to determine their own needs. The Japanese Buddhist social workers' practice fits also into the 'control' category. Here clients' behaviour is the focal point and clients defined as actual or potential transgressors of social or moral rules. Both Socialist groups fall also into the 'interventionist/expert' category type with social justice or change as the objective, the structure of client rights, opportunities and constraints as the focal point and clients defined as victims of disfunctional structures or rights deprivation, who lack social workers' knowledge and access to identify or rectify the situation. The British Buddhist social workers on the other hand fit also into the 'orthodox/expert' group with the clients'

needs as its focal point and clients seen as the possessors of problems who lack the social workers' knowledge to identify and effect help or treatment needed.

Pritchard & Taylor (1978/1 and 72) discuss a related four categories of social work ideology. The Japanese Buddhists' view of social work falls clearly into Pritchard & Taylor's moral-ethical category "based essentially on a humanitarian and compassionate view of 'man in trouble'". Implicit in this approach is the assumption that origins of problems are individually based. Social work is seen as essentially concerned with individuals and ethics, a task consisting fundamentally of "tidying up societal loose ends and casualties". They see their practice as being actively spiritually supportive and they use their personal authority to a great extent. Their social work has a definite ethical (religious) basis.

The British Socialist group hold clearly what Pritchard & Taylor call a "radical-political" perspective of social work. The essential feature of society for people in this group is its capitalist nature, with social work seen as an institution of the state existing to perpetuate an unworkable and undesirable system. They tend to see the majority of social problems as a structural necessity within capitalist society. Their aim is basically to use conflict to achieve change. They view society as evolutionary and oppressive. They tend to focus on the future of their clients more than do social workers in the other groups and they see their role in terms of cooperating with clients against the state,

identifying social and economic oppression and encouraging clients by collectivisation to help themselves.

The Japanese Socialists can be identified less obviously with this category since they are still so influenced by both Buddhist ideas from their culture and also psychodynamic ideas from their training. This group fits also into Pritchard & Taylor's psycho-social or socio-psychological approach to social work. They are aware of both psychological and social factors operating within people's lives and focus on the interaction between the two. They nearly all stress the extent to which clients' situations result from social and environmental influences. Social work is seen as a "re-forming agent within society helping both individuals and society to evolve along more socially concerned and humane lines". Their ideological position can be described as more social democratic, rather than genuinely Socialist.

The British Buddhists subscribe also to the moral-ethical view of social work. However because they are still so influenced by the psychodynamic approach, their ideology comes also into Pritchard & Taylor's psycho-pathological category. Here social work is seen as a therapy exercise, with clients needing 'treatment'. Their aim is basically to comfort or control and to change individuals. They can be seen as evolutionary but also paternalistic.

Wallis' (1979/3) idea of relative deprivation is pertinent to the situations of the Japanese Socialist and both British groups. The members of these groups, if compared to their

clients, are in personal and social positions of dominance, being mainly male middle class (and in Britain, white) social workers and counsellors. But because they represent subordinate ideologies they can be seen also as 'relatively' deprived and marginalised compared to the Japanese Buddhist social workers who are overtly in positions of some dominance and power. Wallis says that this concept of relative deprivation can provide an explanation for features of social and religious movements. "The term pointing to some disparity between the actual and desirable, indicates a state of affairs which all men must experience at some time or another. Hence it readily enables us to identify with the condition of those of whom it is alleged this frustrating experience provided the motivation for joining or founding a social movement."

The social workers in these three groups subscribe to their subordinate ideologies through feelings of frustration and anger with the dominant ideology, particularly as manifested in social work practice, which does not appear to be having much effect in changing the status quo.

This phenomenon can be put in other terms. Musgrove (1977/7) discussing the concept of marginality, defines this as a position "... which is ambiguous, not fully institutionalised and removed from what most people would see as society's central institutions and values ... The marginal situation can be defined subjectively (in the phenomenological perspective of Schutz) as people experience it from inside: it is change from a former position which was accepted as self-

evident and normal, which was taken for granted and presented itself as not in need of further analysis". He (page 112) analyses the effect of marginality on individuals. Discussing blind people, he says that although they wanted integration they seemed to have little sense of solidarity among themselves. "They divide the world into 'sighted' (normal) and the 'blind' and this distinction has important practical consequences and implications but the category 'blind' does not correspond to a social group with a community of interests and purposes. They showed very little 'we feeling'." This is true for the Japanese Socialists and the British Buddhists, presumably because the ideologies to which they are subscribing are subordinate ones. The Japanese Buddhists and the British Socialists show considerable 'we feeling' which has clear consequences in terms of the congruence between their beliefs, operational philosophies and practice.

Musgrove (page 221) weighs up the importance of significant others in personal change compared to that of the historical self. He questions the importance of significant others in personal change, and quotes case studies which make clear the importance of the historical self. The results obtained here confirm his conclusion that contemporaries (even when they are part of the 'reality-processing machinery') do not have their claimed power and importance.

The Buddhist social workers in Britain and the Socialist social workers in Japan often mention significant others either who they have met or whose books they have read as part of their taking on their stated ideology. Yet the way

they subscribe to their ideologies is very limited compared to that of the Buddhist social workers in Japan and the Socialist social workers in Britain, who have nearly all grown up with the ideology to which they subscribe.

J Marx (1969/77) points out that the significance of ideologies in professional arenas is inversely related to the extent to which the phenomena or situations with which practitioners must deal, have been completely and definitely understood. Social work practice uses many different methods based on different psychological and sociological theories, for example, practice theories concerned with case work, child care or institutionalisation,¹ and social science theories such as personality development theories, behaviour modification theories, psychoanalytic theories and various economic and sociological theories of poverty, groups and deviancy.² Social work as a profession then can be seen as fitting J Marx's categories for producing ideologies. It is relatively new as a profession; the application of empirically validated knowledge to concrete social problems depends on the subjective attributes of the practitioner, and moral and ethical considerations surround both the subject matter and the ends of the professional action. However, also within

¹See the work of writers including Hollis (1964) Perlman (1961) Bowlby (1965) and Goffman (1968).

²See the work of Cattell (1965) Jehu et al (1972) Trasler (1967) Townsend (1983) Bion (1961) and Cohen (1971).

older established professions than social work, practice is very much affected by the subjective intuitive particularistic attributes of practitioners. For example, in both medicine and the law, attitudes to public and private health practice, to gender, class and race issues clearly affect the services received by clients.

It is this area of subjective 'intuitive' 'particularistic' attributes of some social work practitioners in two different cultures and its affect on practice, to which this research is addressed. Buddhism as an ideology subscribed to by the social workers interviewed in Britain seems to have little effect generally on their actual practice. The Socialist social workers interviewed in Britain put their ideology into practice far more clearly than do the Buddhist group. Although the social workers of both groups are similarly professionally trained (with one exception in each group) the Socialist social workers are able to move on ideologically from this training. Some of them in fact have had social work training which is clearly ideologically Socialist, so this either confirms their Socialist stance or positively influences it. No social work training in Britain professes to teach a Buddhist approach to practice. The Buddhist group in Britain are radical in the sense of at least attempting to move on from the traditional psychodynamic approach to social work practice, although they do not always succeed. In Japan the Buddhist social workers are all upholding the traditional dominant ideology. They all come from traditional Buddhist backgrounds. Thus their practice most clearly demonstrates and is a product of their ideological base.

The Japanese Socialist social workers are reacting against this (similarly to the Buddhist social workers in Britain reacting against the traditional psychodynamic model) and see Socialist ideas as a means of doing so. Similarly to the Buddhist social workers in Britain, they do not clearly put their stated ideology into practice. Most of their responses to the analogues show how they are still influenced by traditional Buddhist ideas, but also by Western social work practice ideology.

Neither the Buddhist social workers in Japan nor the Socialist social workers in Britain have in fact moved from the ideology in which they grew up, whereas the other two groups of social workers have. The gap between professed values and action shown by these latter two groups could be explained also by reference to competing or conflicting values, or even a notion of a hierarchy of values.

CCETSW Paper 13 (1980/18) says that "Since social work is part of society and cannot help but be deeply influenced by it, it will mirror the complexities and confusions of thought and action in society. Its values may be multitiered and ambiguous; there may be contradictions and conflicts within it, as well as areas of consensus; what social workers say may be different from what they believe which may in turn differ from what they do". This has been shown in this research, particularly by the Buddhist social workers in Britain and the Socialist social workers in Japan.

Hunt (1978/14) distinguishes between ideologies held 'ideologically' and those 'philosophically'. By 'ideologically' he means the person holding a particular cluster of beliefs and values understands the holding of them to be incapable of support or justification through reason and regards this as acceptable and appropriate because these beliefs and values are held to be ones upon which rational discussion can have no decisive bearing. Such an ideological stance depends rather on commitment and faith. Ideologies held 'philosophically' for Hunt means that the person holding such clusters of beliefs and values regards the exercise of reason and reflection as having a bearing on the truth and validity of them and assumes that if true or valid, the body of beliefs and values will stand up to rational examination. This factor seems to have significance for how the social workers 'use' their personal ideologies in practice.

Buddhism as a personal ideology by its very nature must be held in Hunt's terms 'ideologically' rather than 'philosophically'. The Japanese Buddhists cannot be said to have 'chosen' to subscribe to Buddhism as a personal ideology in that they have not taken a conscious decision about this, since Buddhism is dominant in the culture in which they have grown up and live. Thus it is held 'ideologically' by them through commitment and faith. Those interviewed all came from Buddhist families (except for one whose father had been a Shinto priest) and so have absorbed Buddhist ideas and culture from birth. It is apparent from how they talk about it that their knowledge of Buddhism is clearly a fundamental aspect of their lives and held not just intellectually.

The Socialist social workers in Britain are interesting in that they hold their Socialist ideology in a 'philosophical' sense, that is through reason and choice. However on another level they are not 'deviant' by 'choosing' Socialism as an ideology, because they all (except for one) come from Socialist backgrounds. Thus they also hold their ideology in an 'ideological' sense, having 'absorbed' their Socialist ideas from family and background influences, rather than by intellectual choice as adults.

The Japanese Socialist social workers hold their ideology in a 'philosophical' sense. They have taken on their Socialist ideology through reason and choice as adults. Although they state their commitment to change, most of them demonstrate that their practice subscribes (to varying extents) to the cultural values with which they are supposedly in conflict. For example, their attitude to conflict and to the family is shown to subscribe to the Buddhist ideological norms dominant in Japan.

The British Buddhists, in taking on Buddhism as an ideology on which to base their social work practice, hold this ideology only 'philosophically', that is through reason and reflection since they have specifically chosen it. The majority of these social workers have become involved with Buddhism often after rejecting Christianity but still being involved in a spiritual quest. Most have been involved with 'humanist' or 'alternative' movements of the 1960s and have read books or met someone involved with Buddhism who has impressed them.

They have made the choice to move in theory to welfare values based on Buddhism, even if this does not extend significantly to their operational philosophies or practice. Their social work practice ideology is basically that of the society in which they are operating, whose institutions reflect the social work practice and welfare ideologies of a Western European capitalist Christian culture.

Thus for the two groups which hold their ideologies 'philosophically' (the Japanese Socialists and the British Buddhists) the ideology does not seem to have such an effect on practice. Both these groups in their practice are very much affected by the dominant ideology they are attempting to reject. For the Japanese Buddhist group, who the most clearly hold their ideology 'ideologically', this permeates through to their practice. The British Socialist group, although on one level holding their ideology 'philosophically' also hold it 'ideologically', so their practice is also clearly affected by it.

An explanation of this difference is that ideologies held 'ideologically' permeate all areas of an individual's life and so have an effect on practice. Mannheim (1936/40) calls this "an inclusive system of comprehensive reality" (quoted by Hunt, page 13). There is no contradiction between the subscribed ideology and the dominant ideology in which the Japanese Buddhists, and in a different way the British Socialists, grew up (for the latter, the Socialist ideology is dominant in their environment, even if not in the culture

as a whole). Stated ideology and social work practice stem from the same fundamental source.

Ideologies held 'philosophically' are understood in more intellectual terms and so would be more split off from everyday and social work practice. Mannheim (1954/50) says that this particular conception of ideology makes its analysis of ideas on a purely cognitive level. This is true for both the British Buddhist and the Japanese Socialist social workers.

It is possible that the Japanese Buddhists and the British Socialists are simply superior in their respective rhetoric to the other two groups. This seems very unlikely since it is clear from the interviews that the 'ideologically' held ideologies do permeate all aspects of their adherents' lives, including their operational philosophies and so practice also, whereas the 'philosophically' held ideologies being held cognitively are more split off from practice as they have less effect on operational philosophies. All the British Buddhist group except perhaps Bernard Gates who could be said of this group to subscribe the closest to Buddhism, 'ideologically' demonstrate this as do the Japanese Socialist group and Rowena Murray of the British Socialist group. The commitment of these people to their stated ideology comes over as of a different quality to that of the Japanese Buddhist group and the rest of the British Socialist group. It does not permeate their lives in the way that the ideologies held 'ideologically' do. The Japanese Buddhists and the British Socialists (except Rowena Murray) do not

have just better rhetoric; they do not seem to have to work out how to respond in practice in accordance with their personal beliefs. The British Buddhists and the Japanese Socialists (both groups with some exceptions) have not incorporated their stated ideology into their emotional 'worlds' as comfortably as have the social workers of the other two groups.

2. Cultural Factors Affecting Social Work Practice

It is apparent in this research that many differences in operational philosophies and practice amongst the social workers depends on cultural rather than ideological differences. That is, the two Japanese groups show factors in common opposed to the two British groups which cut across the differences demonstrated by the two Buddhist and the two Socialist groups.

Both the Japanese groups deal with contradictions between themselves and clients mainly by consensus. They tend for example to see the solution to the marital case of analogue two, as the couple reaching consensus rather than in terms of analysing the situation as both British groups do. The Japanese groups are less willing to acknowledge contradictions than are the British groups.

Both Japanese groups in general mention negative things less than do the British groups. The British groups for example are more openly critical about me and the questionnaire. At the end of each interview the social workers are asked if

they have anything to add. The Japanese social workers if they do, usually say something more about their ideological stance and its effect on their social work. The British social workers do this too, but are also critical of some of the questions asked. Bronwyn Frost and Betty Carr both think the questions are too wide ranging and vague and should be more specific. Bob Archer says that more should be asked about the effects of agency philosophy and function on social work practice. Barry Bates wonders about my motives in trying to study Buddhism. Ron Barker wants more discussion about Socialist theory such as the function of local government, the effect of Socialist social work practice on community work, work with ethnic minorities and on union involvement. He mentions also the effect of agency role, philosophy and function on individual practice. Ray Farmer criticises the analogues for presenting very psychologically oriented problems, and that there is little in them concerning people's material conditions. He points out that even in the third analogue, the material situation is of secondary importance. This he feels limits the potential to demonstrate Socialist social work practice.

In their attitude towards authority, both Japanese groups are less willing to acknowledge any statutory or professional authority than are the British social workers. Both British groups are more aware of their authority and seem more willing to acknowledge it. The Japanese Buddhists acknowledge their personal authority which is linked to the fact that they are operating in a culture where the ideology

to which they subscribe is dominant. This seems to have an effect on their status and so on their sense of personal authority and power.

Both British groups tend to reveal their feelings more openly to clients than do the Japanese groups. In Japan in general, people reveal themselves less than in the West.

Both Japanese groups in the first analogue talk in terms of referring the girl to a psychiatrist whereas both British groups mention other relevant agencies that are available in Britain. Also in the third analogue both Japanese groups tend to say they would refer the girl to a psychiatrist whereas the British groups not only have other resources available, but are also more aware of the limitations of psychiatric intervention. In Japan the respect for professional, particularly medical, people is still more obvious than in Britain.

One major cultural difference shown in the discussions of analogues is that the two British groups tend to see these in terms of family dynamics, that is as family situations rather than as individual ones only. In the second analogue both British groups are more inclined than either Japanese group to talk in terms of the couple separating. In Japan this would be less socially acceptable still than in the West. The British groups are more inclined to analyse the history and dynamics of the marriage than are either of the Japanese groups. This may be linked to the fact that in Japan social workers are more inclined to help people reach

consensus rather than explore and analyse situations as would Western social workers. In Japan this would be seen almost as intruding on clients' privacy.

In the third analogue both Japanese groups tend to see their role as being supportive, rather than as the British workers in analysing and exploring the situation in some depth.

In summary, Buddhism and Socialism are found in this research to have different effects on the operational philosophies and social work practice of the social workers interviewed. Buddhism emphasises individual change as the means of working with clients, whereas Socialism emphasises structural change to shift power from the bourgeois hegemony to presently disadvantaged people, as the basis of social work practice. However this research shows also that the two ideologies affect practice differently in Britain and Japan.

In Britain, Buddhism is a very subordinate and radical (innovatory) ideology subscribed to by relatively few people in general, and even fewer social workers in their practice. The British Buddhist group see Buddhism as a radical way forward from the limitations of the conventional Western psychodynamic social work approach.

In Japan, Buddhism is part of the traditional culture, and represents the conservative element of society. The Socialist social workers there are reacting against this. Although

Japan is a capitalist secular country, Buddhism is still very much dominant in the culture, together with Shintoism. Buddhism is held 'ideologically' in Japan and 'philosophically' in Britain, and Socialism is held 'philosophically' in Japan and generally more 'ideologically' in Britain. These differences result in Buddhism being the foundation of social work practice in Japan while not having much effect on individual practice in Britain. Socialism has less effect on social work practice in Japan compared to that in Britain.

3. Buddhism & Socialism Compared as Ideological Bases for Social Work Practice

Buddhism and Socialism in this research are of necessity being used rather generally. It is not possible to specify the various different meanings, interpretations and developments that can be ascribed to both of them. They obviously differ as ideological systems and so have potentially different effects on social work practice. However, they do have certain aspects (facets) in common which also influence their effect on social work practice.

(a) Factors in Common

Buddhism and Socialism are concerned with what it means to be human and what kind of 'being' a person is. Both are concerned with practical actions leading to well being, that is with what 'ought' to be. Both can be

seen as psycho-social philosophies designed to assist people to understand themselves and their relation to the world. Both reject the idea of the person as the same as lower animals but with a faculty for reason. Both see humanness as including but also more than this rationality. Buddhism founds its image of humanness on an idea of reality which transcends a subject/object dichotomy. Marx thought that neither reason nor political activity is the essence of humanness. For him, what makes a person human is her/his general relationship toward the world and her/himself which Marx designates as praxis. Humans are the being of praxis, which is conscious human activity. Both Buddhism and Socialism are therefore apparently deterministic but both are at the same time not deterministic, because they both have pathways out of determinism. Neither is as fatalistic as it first seems, since social action is important for both. Both emphasise the concepts of change and of choice and see change as a necessary part of reality, so both have clear positions on welfare and clear effects on social work practice.

(b) Differences Between the Two Ideologies

Buddhism and Socialism differ in such areas as their concepts of the individual in society, of social change and of ideology itself.

(i) The Individual in Society

Buddhism clearly emphasises the consciousness of the individual, each with its potential to attain Buddhahood. Buddhism sees the individual as a psychological unit and social factors do not impinge greatly on this concept as such. Normalcy in Buddhism is seen as Huxley (1955/Foreword, page vii) says, as "... a normalcy of perfect functioning, a normalcy of actualised potentialities, a normalcy of nature in fullest flower".

Freedom is the release of the individual from her/his suffering. Suzuki (1956/3) says "Zen in its essence is the art of seeing into the nature of one's being and it points the way from bondage to freedom - freedom to give play to all the creative and benevolent impulses inherently lying in our hearts ... it is the object of Zen therefore to save us from going crazy or being crippled". Although Suzuki is writing specifically about Zen Buddhism here, the statement is true of Buddhism in general.

Thus Buddhism tries to transform individual desire which leads to suffering. The experience of suffering is the starting point of Buddhist teaching and from suffering arises desire to end the suffering. Buddhism could therefore be said to be fatalistic and indifferent to humanistic social action because it is concerned ultimately with the transformation of individual desire. Although behaviour and thought are all too often

governed by habits and powerful impulses, that is, in spite of the Buddhist conception of 'karma' which implies a quietism and fatalism, there is always the potentiality of freedom, the freedom of individual choice. In Japan there seems to be a contradiction between the Buddhist emphasis on individual Buddhahood, equally attainable by everyone, and the traditional singular lack of emphasis on the individual. The individual has always been seen as a part (of a family or group) never as a whole entity. This contradiction is apparent and significant in the comments made by the Japanese interviewees. They show that in Japan an individualistic philosophy can be interpreted as 'radical' in the sense of going against traditional conservative 'anti-individual' ideas, whereas in Britain, collectivism is a radical Socialist stance against traditional conservative individualistic competitive ideas. However, the Japanese Socialists are then faced with the contradiction of supporting an individualistic ideology, but at the same time rejecting the individualism of traditional Buddhism.

Ling (1981/21, Introduction and page 29, text) points out that Buddhism entails a philosophy of social relations and a public as well as a private ethic, but that the political implementation of this philosophy is not held to be a matter for Buddhists qua Buddhists. There is no explicit political philosophy or political programme which the Buddhist movement itself is com-

mitted to putting into practice. The extent of Buddhist concern seems to stop short of civil and political affairs.

Buddhism could be considered to be unconcerned with politics, to be aloof from the problems of the material world. The idea of the saffron-robed monk becoming involved in social welfare programmes, revolution or political propagandising, is far from the image of the aesthetic practising meditation to reach her/his perfect nirvana. However, Japanese history for one, demonstrates that Buddhism has in fact been closely aligned to the political hierarchies and social movements of the countries in which it is practised. The development of early welfare programmes in Japan is an example of this.³ Even so, Buddhism does tend to see society as made up of individuals, each struggling with her/his own karma.

Socialism sees the individual firmly in terms of her/his social situation created and formed by the economic conditions of society, which affect relations in the family in which the individual grows up. Gender, class and race all mould the individual who has no real existence except in terms of the socio-economic

³Davidson (1985/12) gives examples in Thailand and Laos today of Buddhist monks who in this role are very involved with the political events of their country, actively supporting capitalism (in Thailand) and communism (in Laos).

situations in which she/he finds her/himself. Here the individual is seen as a social unit and normalcy is seen in social terms. Any change starts with society and not with the individual. According to most Marxist Socialists, the individual in capitalist society 'adjusts' to this society through the process of false consciousness. Humans are seen as being 'rational' and freedom is seen in social terms, that is, as attainable through cooperation. In this way, groups of people can attain social freedom from suffering and illusion. Through the seizing of power by oppressed groups, there would be no more false consciousness, that is, there would be the 'end of ideology'. Marx himself was concerned with the dialectic of such class struggle. For him the individual is an active being whose activity is not directed towards attainment of self-knowledge of the absolute (as in Buddhism) but rather towards the transformation and creation of the human kind generally.

Later theorists, such as Gramsci and Althusser, show a tension here between economic and idealist explanations of this struggle. Individuals are seen as not just rational conscious animals, but through praxis (a human self-creative way of being and activity) are more than this. This interpretation of praxis contains its determination as a free conscious activity from which individuals are conceived in terms of their social history.

Thus welfare and social work in a Buddhist context has more to do with the individual attaining Buddhahood and does not address itself directly to problems of class hegemony. Particularly the Japanese Buddhist social workers (more than the British) demonstrate this when discussing their practice. They mention helping clients to recognise their inherent Buddhahood as an aim of social work practice.

In a Socialist context, welfare is related to class struggle and the social context in which individuals operate. Socialism thus clearly has a political programme to change the balance of power. The social workers in both Socialist groups see an emphasis on social, economic and political factors and the changing of the negative effects of these and the State in a capitalist society, on individual situations, as an intrinsic part of their practice.

(ii) Change as a Concept

Buddhism and Socialism, whilst both emphasising the concept of change, do so from different standpoints. Buddhism very much emphasises change in the individual as she/he attains enlightenment. Change is seen as constant.

In Socialist theory, change is seen again in social terms, with change in economic conditions accompanied

by ideological struggle, leading to revolution and to a new society. Change is conceived structurally, society existing in terms of a system with change being caused by readjustments to internal and external 'strains'.

Thus in social work practice, a Buddhistic approach would emphasise change in the individual to alleviate suffering. Such change involves loosening oneself from cravings which are false and lead only to suffering. Several of the Buddhist social workers interviewed think that through meditation and 'right living', changes occur in individuals they are helping which lead ultimately to the enlightenment of these clients, with no more suffering and the possibility of leaving the cycle of rebirth.

It is important to emphasise here that such a concept of change while being individualistic, is not selfish. Reich (1971/190) calls this concept of change "a radical subjectivity designed to find genuine values". In fact the Buddhist social workers (again particularly the Japanese group) speak clearly against clients becoming selfish through too much emphasis on themselves, that is, on the false 'I' or 'ego' rather than on their genuine 'Buddhahood'.

Socialist social work practice on the other hand, emphasises changing the structure of society to alter the lack of resources and power inflicted on individuals and certain groups of people by capitalism. This gives

rise to the problem of the relation between the personal and the political in terms of the concept of change in Socialist social work practice.

What happens to individuals while welfare intervention is focused at the structural level, that is, at political and socio-economic change? Is working with individuals purely diversionary and reformist, detracting from the real issue of class struggle? The Socialist social workers interviewed vary in their position here. Most Japanese interviewees take a 'reformist' line that change should reform the system and so alleviate social problems, but they do not suggest abolishing crucial features of capitalism such as the production of surplus value and wage labour. The British Socialist group takes a more clearly Marxist line, seeing change in terms of revolution, since anything else is welfare acting in the interests of capital. To abolish the problems of capitalism, then capitalism itself must be abolished. Feminist Socialists in this group see such change leading also to a different gender as well as class structure of society.

The issue of the personal and the political is linked to the contradiction in the position of any Socialist social worker working for the state, yet at the same time identifying with clients, when there is a conflict of interests. It is interesting to see how the Socialist social workers interviewed deal with this contradiction; how they envisage changing society (the state apparatus)

when they are not only part of it but often have to represent its interests against those of clients (for example, forcing a child to attend the educational system). How do they as Socialist social workers represent the state while attempting to change it and support disadvantaged people? The Japanese Socialist group here very much emphasise supporting clients against the system they represent by being 'unbureaucratic'. The British Socialist group seem more conscious of not really resolving this dilemma but having to live with it. They feel one way of changing the system is to join it so as to 'operate' from the inside through, for example, union activity. This is the rationale for many of the British Socialist social workers staying in local authority departments rather than working for voluntary radical organisations.

(iii) Ideology as a Concept

Whilst both Buddhism and Socialism are both ideologies, each sees the concept of ideology as a collection of values and beliefs very differently. They do both see ideology as not real, that is, as false representation of the real. Buddhism sees all beliefs as part of worldly trappings and suffering, to be discarded for the real 'self' or Buddhahood. Ideology is just part of worldly illusion, to be transcended.

Marx also saw ideology as not real, in that it forms the superstructure of the material ground of reality.

He saw ideology as essentially negative, as the 'false consciousness' or distorted solution to social contradictions which leads to the acceptance of oppression. In his later work he linked this more closely to economic factors, as did Althusser (see Chapter 1).

However the difference in ideology as a concept in Buddhism and Socialism lies in how each sees the solution to the fact of ideology as nonreal. Buddhism sees the transcendence of ideology in terms of personal struggle (that is, meditation and following the Buddhist precepts of the eightfold path). Marxist Socialism sees the 'end of ideology' (that is, when there is an end to the contradictions of capitalism) through a Socialist revolution, that is through social struggle and change. Marx, Gramsci and Althusser therefore all see ideology as an integral part of capitalist society which needs political and economic changes and struggle to move it on to a Socialist structure.

In Marxist terms, Buddhism in Japan as an all-embracing ideology, can be defined in negative terms, as a form of false consciousness distorting people's understanding of social reality. As it ignores socio-economic factors and concentrates on individual spiritual development, it represents or at least underpins false consciousness, that is, as a significant part of the total ideological superstructure of the culture. Equally though, it can be defined in Buddhistic terms as attempting to rid

individuals of the delusions (false consciousness) of material cravings. Socialism in Britain can be defined in positive terms as an expression of a world view of a class.

4. Choice of Ideological Stance by Individuals

One problem that has been of concern in this research is that of choice of ideology. How do (what is the process by which) people come to choose particular ideologies over others? How far is choice of ideology a matter of real choice or how far is it based on environmental and behavioural conditioning?

Parkin (1981/82) points out that "Clearly, values are generally not imposed on men in any crudely mechanistic way. Men also impose their will by selecting, as it were, from the range of values which any complex society generates. At the same time individuals do not construct their social world in terms of a wholly personal vision and without drawing heavily upon the organising concepts which are part of a public meaning-system". In the context of this research, a significant question is why in Britain the Buddhists (mainly in theory anyway) and the Socialists (in practice also) are working against the traditional Christian psychodynamic social work ideology dominant here, and the Japanese Socialists similarly are working against the dominant Buddhist capitalist ideology of Japan? Why have they chosen to subscribe to ideologies incongruent with those dominant in their cultures?

The Buddhist social workers in Britain are using Buddhism in a 'radical' sense, that is, attempting to use Buddhism as a tool to operate differently to the standard norm in their work situations. Similarly, the Japanese Socialists are using their ideology in a 'radical' way against what they see as the traditional conservatism of Buddhism in Japan. They are at the same time politicised to some extent but their political aims are limited compared to those of the British Socialists who are far more involved in praxis in a Marxist sense. The aim of the British Socialists is to change the fundamental basis of society from a capitalistic to a socialistic one. The consequences of this on their social work practice, whilst more clearly apparent and effective than that of the Socialists in Japan, are almost secondary to their more basic Socialist aim of changing society generally.

The Japanese Buddhists differ here to the other three groups in that they have 'chosen' to remain with or support the ideology dominant in their culture. They are the only group whose ideology is congruent with that of the culture in which they are operating. They are as a group conservative, relatively elderly and of high status as representatives of the dominant culture. But have they 'chosen' to go along with the dominant ideology? If so, why have they 'chosen' to subscribe to this? Similarly here the Socialists in Britain, all except Rowena Murray, are going along with the ideology dominant in their families. Their stated ideology, although incongruent with that of the culturally dominant ideology, is congruent with that of their family environ-

ments. Have they consciously chosen to remain supporting this ideology? If so, why have they done so?

Parkin (1968/145) in his work on family socialisation into politics, discusses two approaches to this question of choice of ideology. One postulates that political attitudes and loyalties are formed at a relatively early age through childhood exposure to parental influences, direct and indirect. These influences, it is argued, have a decisive effect on the individual's political outlook throughout her/his adult life. The other approach which Parkin calls the 'generation thesis' locates the source of political behaviour as emanating from the wider society. He says that the former approach implies potential political dissensus between the generations, arising from their exposure to different experiences and atmospheres, whilst the latter implies strong political consensus between generations as a result of the success of the old in socialising the young.

Both these theories can be used as explanations of why the groups of social workers interviewed have taken on their ideologies. Family socialisation could explain the position of the Japanese Buddhists and the British Socialists. The social workers in these groups are influenced by their parents. The generation thesis could explain the choice of ideology of the Japanese Socialist and the British Buddhist groups. These social workers are more influenced by peers and wider social influences than just their families. However, this does not really explain why two groups have stayed congruent with the dominant ideology in which they

have grown up, and why two have chosen incongruent ideologies. In an attempt to answer this question, it is necessary first to look at the problem of choice in general. This will then be related more specifically to these research findings.

Various writers have looked at the problem of choice. Hunt (page 16) quotes Gellner as stressing two characteristics in the choice of ideologies, firstly "great plausibility, a powerful click at some one or more points which give it compulsiveness of a kind" and second, "some great absurdity, a violent intellectual resistance generating offensiveness at some one or more points". The first of these characteristics acts, Gellner claims, as a kind of bait, an "appealing outlook which must somehow account for some striking features of our experience which otherwise would remain unaccounted for and which would otherwise be less well explained". The second, "the swelling of an absurdity within the framework of acceptance of an ideology, represents a powerful 'rite de passage' as in joining a tribal group. The act of commitment, the investment of emotional capital, ensures that one does not leave it too easily". It is not difficult to see the Japanese Socialist and particularly the British Buddhist social workers choosing their ideology in this way. It does not explain however the acceptance by the Japanese Buddhists and the British Socialists of the ideologies in which they have grown up.

Plant (1974/82) also sees the problem of choice in terms of competing ideological outlooks. He says that the very existence of these and the conceptual conflicts which they engender, entails that one has to choose that to which one

wishes to be morally bound. There is no impersonal standard to which appeal can be made. Particular ranges of values chosen by individuals have authority only insofar as they are thus committed to them.

Again, this theory is useful only to explain the choice made by the British Buddhist and the Japanese Socialist social workers but not the situation of the Japanese Buddhists and the British Socialists. A phenomenological approach is more useful for this. Wagner (1975/29) says that Schutz distinguishes between choosing among objects and choosing among projects. "Objects are externally given and ... belong to the sphere of imposed relevances; projects, however are of the potential actor's own making; thus, they are controlled by volitional relevances." He continues that Schutz realised that the orientations and conducts of individuals in the life world are greatly influenced by pre-existing linguistic forms and cultural orientations etc. Living in the world of everyday life in general means living in an interactional involvement with many persons, being entangled in complex networks of social relationships.

In this research, the concern is with choice among projects (that is, the stated ideologies). For the social workers interviewed who are going against the dominant ideology in which they have grown up, choice is clearly a significant factor in the taking on of their stated ideology. The Japanese Socialist and the British Buddhist social workers as adults have made conscious choices towards a particular ideology. They have moved ideologically from one position

to another as young adults. Also in this category would come Rowena Murray, the one British Socialist social worker who as an adult chose to become a Socialist, demonstrated by her changing from reading the 'Daily Telegraph' to the 'Guardian' newspaper!

The Japanese Buddhists' and the other British Socialists' choices seem to be a factor only in the negative sense in that they have stayed with the ideology dominant in their environments, that is, they have chosen not to take on a new ideology or rather, have not chosen to leave the ideology in which they grew up.

Schutz' (1962/77 and 93) concepts of 'doubt' and 'weight' go some way to giving explanations for these differences. Individuals have 'stocks of knowledge at hand' which are made up of 'typifications' of the common sense world. Each of us accepts this world as existing as it is. Typifications make predictions possible (as the unusual arises against a background of the 'ordinary') and the stockpiling of typifications is endemic to common sense life and is generated out of the social structure in which the individual exists. The Japanese Buddhists and in a different way the British Socialists interviewed could be said to have stockpiled typifications based on the dominant ideology in which they grew up. Schutz' (page 93) concept of 'weight' is useful to explain the process by which 'projects' are evaluated according to pre-existent frames of reference. The notion of interests for an 'actor' explains (together with other parts of the system) the 'weight' given to a

project. "... actions, motives, ends and means, and therefore projects and purposes are only elements among other elements forming a system. Any end is merely a means for another end; any project is projected within a system of highest order. For this very reason, any choosing between projects refers to a previously chosen system of connected projects of a higher order."

Using Schutz' terminology, the Japanese Buddhists and British Socialists have met with no obstacle in the 'choice' of the ideology in which they have grown up. They can be said to have accepted the 'social world around them' or rather to 'take it for granted' as it is. For the other two groups and the one British Socialist from a conservative background, some 'doubt' about the dominant ideology arose, causing them to consciously 'choose' another ideology. Such doubt occurs where some "... formerly open possibilities become questionable, problematic. Some part of the world, formerly taken for granted beyond question and therefore unquestioned, has now been put into question" (page 77).

The British Buddhists nearly all say they became interested in Buddhism through reading a book on the subject or meeting someone who had a significant effect on them. Several of the Japanese Socialists say they chose to become social workers through becoming aware of problems people have through poverty which they interpret in political terms. They single out the elements present in a situation which serve to define it for them in the light of their 'purposes at hand'.

Schutz explains that 'doubt' may come from various sources. "There is always the possibility of overlapping and even conflicting interests and consequently of 'doubt' whether the elements selected from our surrounding world taken for granted beyond question are really relevant to our purpose at hand."

The 'weighting' an individual may assign to each item in a set of multiple possibilities depends on given interests, both momentary and long range. But is this, in fact, putting the problem of choice back one stage? Why do doubts occur only in certain cases? Schutz is too vague where he talks about the 'interrelation of interests' possibly giving rise to 'doubts' leading to breaks in the process of typification of systems. He concludes that "Our analysis ... has had to remain very sketchy. The notions of 'interests', 'systems of interest', 'relevance', and, first of all the concept of the 'world taken for granted' and of the 'biographically determined situation' are rather headings for groups of problems to be investigated".

A development of this phenomenological explanation of choice is given by Berger & Luckmann (1979/149) who say that society can be understood in terms of an ongoing dialectical process composed of three moments of externalisation, objectivation and internalisation. "As far as the societal phenomenon is concerned, these moments are not to be thought of as occurring in a temporal sequence. Rather, society and each part of it are simultaneously characterised by these three moments, so that any analysis in terms of only one or two of them

falls short. The same is true of the individual member of society who simultaneously externalises his own being into the social world and internalises it as an objective reality. In other words, to be in society is to participate in its dialectic."

Berger & Luckmann's concepts of primary and secondary socialisation are useful to explain the situation found from the results of this research. Primary socialisation is "the immediate apprehension or interpretation of an objective event as expressing meaning, that is as a manifestation of another's subjective processes which therefore becomes subjectively meaningful to one's self". The Japanese Buddhist and British Socialist socialworkers (except for Rowena Murray) have stayed with the ideology they have internalised from their families through primary socialisation.

Secondary socialisation "inducts an already socialised individual into new sectors of the objective world of his society". The British Buddhists and the Japanese Socialists mostly took on their stated ideologies as adults, having been consciously influenced by others propounding particular ideologies.

Berger & Luckmann explain that "It is at once evident that primary socialisation is usually the most important one for an individual and the basic structure of all secondary socialisation has to resemble that of primary socialisation. Every individual is born into an objective social structure within which he encounters the significant others who are in charge of his socialisation. These significant others are

imposed upon him. Their definitions of his situation are positive for him as objective reality. His is thus born into not only an objective social structure but also an objective social world". They emphasise that primary socialisation involves more than purely cognitive learning. It takes place under circumstances that are highly charged emotionally, and that without such emotional attachment to the significant others, the learning process would be difficult, if not impossible. The character of secondary socialisation depends on the status of the body of knowledge concerned within the symbolic universe as a whole. There is a great deal of socio-historical variability in the representations involved in secondary socialisation. It could be said that the Japanese Buddhists and most of the British Socialists have identified with the dominant ideology in which they grew up because they have remained with their primary socialised ideology. The other two groups for different psychological and social reasons have been secondarily socialised to new ideologies. This can be explained in phenomenological terms of the emotional attachment to significant others at different stages in the socialisation processes, for example at times of 'doubt' when an individual would give significant 'weighting' (with some emotional investment) to new ideas.

A more overtly political explanation for particular choices of ideologies is given by Parkin, and other writers, discussing the dominant ideology thesis. Parkin (1981/82) says that "The concept of a dominant value system derives from Marx's celebrated statement that 'the ideas of the ruling

class are, in every age, the ruling ideas'". Thus the Japanese Buddhists could be said to represent the dominant ideology of that culture with all the status and power this involves. However, this does not explain why the Japanese Socialist social workers and both groups in Britain have chosen ideologies away from the dominant one. According to this theory, the subordinate classes supposedly endorse and internalise the dominant ideology. Parkin's explanation is very vague here (page 84): "... there is of course a good deal of variation in the extent to which lower strata come to accept the version of social reality held by the upper strata". Berger & Luckmann's idea of secondary socialisation is more precise and so useful here. There are contradictions in the dominant ideology thesis since, as Abercrombie & Turner (1978/151) point out, there is good evidence that the subordinate classes are not incorporated into the dominant ideology, so much as the dominant classes are themselves deeply penetrated by and incorporated within the dominant belief system. This would seem to be true for the Japanese Buddhists in this research. They are the only group subscribing to an ideology dominant in the culture in which they are operating, and they demonstrate the most congruence between stated ideology, operational philosophy and practice.

Comparing Japan and Britain, it is difficult to decide whether both countries are in what Abercrombie & Turner call "the later stages of capitalism", or whether because Japan has moved from feudalism to capitalism relatively recently (that is, after the Meiji Restoration of 1868) it could be

described as still in early stages. The results here point to the fact that in Japan the dominant ideology (Buddhism) clearly is crucial for the coherence of the dominant group. The Buddhist priest social worker volunteers are representative of this group and they nearly all see one of their functions as being to transmit dominant social values (for example to lead a 'moral' life within a family setting) to clients.

The Japanese Socialist social workers representing a subordinate ideology are still influenced by the dominant ideology which they are rejecting. For example, the way in which most of them deal with the analogues, stressing the importance of the family and the role of the mother within it, demonstrates this.

The British Socialist social workers show a more complex picture. Although they represent a subordinate ideology, they are all (except for Rowena Murray) subscribing to an ideology dominant in the environment in which they have grown up. This means they are not in conflict with this culture even though it is subordinate in British society as a whole.

The British Buddhists are subscribing to an ideology very subordinate here and so are obviously still affected and influenced by the dominant social work practice ideology in Britain.

Gramsci (1982/245) gives some explanation of why there is conformity in some cases to the dominant ideology and in

some cases not. Unconscious conformity (consensus) can be seen in terms of the superstructure, through which subtle control over 'civil society' (the mass media, schools, trade unions, and so on) is maintained by the economically dominant bourgeois class which has succeeded in persuading the masses to accept the legitimacy of their own subordination.

The concept of alienation (where subordinate groups give up the struggle to take on the dominant ideology) can explain why some groups take on non-dominant ideologies. The question then arises in this research, as to why the Japanese Socialist group are alienated from the dominant Buddhist culture in Japan, and the Buddhist group in Britain alienated from the dominant Protestant capitalist culture of Britain.

Again Schutz' concept of doubt could explain that the Japanese Socialists and the British Buddhists at emotionally significant times, gave particular 'weighting' to significant others who represented subordinate ideologies. Several people in both these groups mention that at a particular time, a representative of a subordinate ideology made them aware of their feelings of dissatisfaction, and their disagreements with dominant cultural ideology.

One final concept that can also be used to explain why the British Buddhist social workers and the Japanese Socialist group 'chose' to subscribe to subordinate ideologies is that of 'marginality'. This term is being used here not so much in the anthropological sense of Douglas & Turner (Musgrove 1977/7) but in the more phenomenological sense used by

Berger (1971/96). He locates it in a familiar everyday world but emphasises the significance of ecstasy, that is, a standing outside the taken-for-grantedness of everyday life. Marginality here is what surrounds the 'middle ground' of ordinary existence. Berger talks about "over-arching symbols" which "bracket or embrace both marginal and central realms" (quoted in Musgrove, page 9).

The Japanese Socialist social workers are in their practice still very influenced by Buddhist ideology (for example in their attitude to the family). The British Buddhists show very clearly where the traditional Christian psychodynamic approach to social work practice 'over-arches' to their stated ideology. Musgrove (page 220) concludes "... the historical self has a rock-like endurance and yet adults are capable of fundamental change". The importance of 'significant others' in the maintenance or transformation of the self has been exaggerated by many people; and the importance of 'liminality' as a prelude to change insufficiently recognised.

From this research it appears that in terms of social work practice, the British Buddhists and Japanese Socialists have changed their practice only to limited extents, mainly because the ideologies to which they subscribe are 'marginal'.

5. The Effect of Professionalisation and Social Work Education on the Manifestation of Personal Beliefs on Operational Philosophies and Social Work Practice

From a social work education point of view it becomes clear

that although values and ideologies can and do change if new ones are taken on in adulthood, these have limited effects on practice. The two groups (the Japanese Buddhists and the British Socialists) whose ideologies have not changed as adults, clearly put these more into practice than do the other two groups. This is in spite of the British Socialist group being all professionally qualified (mostly on courses where Socialism is not the dominant ideology).

In Japan the situation is more complicated. The Japanese Buddhist social workers are mainly unqualified. Some of those with professional training have trained in the practice of specifically Buddhist therapies (Naikan and Morita). The social work training of the Japanese Socialist social workers who are qualified, is based mainly on Western psychodynamic ideology. Their practice is affected to some extent by this (some of them discussed their practice in terms of radical therapy ideas, based on the works of people such as R Laing (1965) and T Szasz (1969) rather than Socialist political ideas). However they are still influenced by Buddhist ideas, on for example the role of the family and authority. Generally in Japan there is much less social work training than in Britain. The Japanese National Committee of the International Council on Social Welfare Material Leaflet No. 6 (September 1977/1) gives figures showing that only about ten percent of the total social welfare manpower is qualified.

Both British groups interviewed have similar training experiences. Most people in both groups are reacting against their training by subscribing to their stated ideology, although in actual practice the Buddhist social workers do

not move away much from the social work ideology in which they have been trained. The Socialists seem better able to do this, mainly for reasons to do with the dominance of their stated ideology compared with Buddhism, in terms of support (union and other group meetings, literature, etc). Some of them have even trained on a specifically Marxist course which consolidated and confirmed their stated ideology. It is easier for them than for the Buddhist social workers to go against traditional social work training in Britain and put their ideology into practice. The Buddhist social workers in Britain are on the whole isolated in terms of relating their Buddhist ideas to their social work practice.

It is noteworthy that neither CCETSW Paper 13 (1976) nor the Barclay Report (1982) really addresses itself to the issue of the link between students' ideologies and social work education and training. Wright (1985/9) argues that training seems to reinforce ideologies to which students already subscribe when coming on training courses. The results obtained here confirm this, both for those groups where the ideology of the training course is congruent with that of the social worker's (those Japanese Buddhists who are trained at all and the British Socialists who have done the Socialist-based social work course) and also for the two groups (the Japanese Socialists and the British Buddhists) whose ideologies are at variance with those of the training courses.

Epstein (1970/160) looks at the issue of the effect of social work training on personal beliefs in terms of radical ideas versus professionalism. He notes that "... the historical traditions, values, norms and technologies which

serve to differentiate segments of the 'social work' profession may also serve as the basis of intrasegment movements for professionalisation. Thus the professionalisation of practice specialities may reinforce and institutionalise basic differences among them. Linking this proposition to social work radicalism, we would predict that for case-workers there would be inverse relation between professionalisation and radicalism, i.e. a negative correlation".

This is borne out in this research where the Japanese Socialists have more professional training than the Buddhists, but put their stated ideology less into practice. However though their training is less 'professionally' orientated than that of the British Socialist group, their practice has not presented as very politically radical, which goes against Epstein's hypothesis. The fact that even if the British Socialists are nearly all professionally qualified, they put their ideology on the whole into practice, can be explained by the relative dominance of the ideology in their environments. Epstein fails to take this factor into account, which the research here has shown to have a more significant effect than professional training on practice.

6. Summary

It is apparent that various factors are significant in how personal ideology affects operational philosophy and so social work practice. These include the nature and dominance of that ideology in the culture, the environment (organisations) in which the individual social worker is practising, and the training undergone by the social worker. The Japanese

Buddhists and British Socialists show mainly congruence between their personal beliefs, operational philosophies and practice, and the Japanese Socialists and British Buddhists show mostly incongruence between these factors.

Using Burrell & Morgan's framework (1985/22) of radical humanist, radical structuralist, interpretive (individualist) and functionalist paradigms for the purpose of analysing welfare ideologies and their effect on practice, the most significant factor differentiating the various ideological positions is whether the individual or social structure are seen as the primary source of social reality. Both Buddhist groups emphasise the individual as the source of social reality so their social work practice tends to concentrate on trying to ameliorate individual situations. The Japanese Socialist social workers tend in their practice to attempt to reach some consensus with the systems with which they feel in opposition (for example the government). They see themselves in the role of mediators between individuals and the various social systems. The British Socialist social workers tend to use methods of conflict and confrontation (for example with their own management or with the DHSS) in their social work practice. They are aware of the contradictions in their position as professional social workers perpetuating dominant-dependent patterns of capitalist society while at the same time as Socialists trying to alter the bureaucratised centralised impersonal structures within which they are operating. The difference here between the two Socialist groups stems from the different cultures in which they are practising, as in Japan direct confrontation is much less socially acceptable than in Britain.

In terms of the issues raised by doing the research in two cultures, Britain and Japan whilst obviously so very different, show also some similarities in their welfare ideologies. Britain is Western (influenced by Greece and Rome) a Christian country and the first one to have been industrialised. Japan is an Eastern country with historical influences from India, China and Korea. It is Buddhist and until relatively recently it still had a peasant feudal economy.

Scalapino (1964/94) says "Japanese Confucianism, substantially affected by Shinto, Buddhism, feudal-military society, spelled out the nature of man, society and the state in comprehensive fashion". He sets out the major themes of this ideology in seven points:

1. Human nature is potentially good and the function of the state is to develop the good man.
2. To be legitimate, political authority must rest upon a moral ethical base.
3. Familial relations should serve as a model for political relations. And relations between ruler and subject are drawn from relations between parent and child.
4. The best government is a government of wise men who by their exemplary conduct establish the permanent values of the society.
5. The state is properly concerned with every aspect of society which are therefore all subject to regulation and control.

6. Social distinctions must be maintained if propriety and order are to be preserved.
7. To covert material gain is productive of evil. To separate the individual from society is the essence of selfishness.

In spite of these significant cultural differences, the welfare systems of the two countries have much in common. Both countries are basically secularised, industrialised capitalist democracies, both influenced by America. They have similar social problems, for example an increasing elderly population, alienation, the breakdown of the traditional family and community bonds, with insufficient resources to replace these, also changing class and gender roles and structures. These have given rise to some extent at least to similar solutions to deal with them, based on a liberal pluralistic welfare ideology.

However this picture of similar social welfare systems and social work practice presented by the two countries is more complicated than it appears. Historical and cultural differences between the two countries have also influenced differences in the provision of welfare services.

Sugimoto (1968/2) points out the significance that religious, cultural, social, political and economic factors of a country have on its social welfare and social work provision. "Human needs are universal but must be expressed and met in different ways. Social work itself is a manifestation of culture."

This research has highlighted differences and common factors in the welfare systems of the two countries. It supports findings by Goldthorpe and others, discussed by Higgins (1981/37). These writers analyse the convergence theory of welfare systems which proposes that ideological/cultural differences are subsumed by similarities in the welfare systems of all industrialised cultures. But this research confirms also Higgins' thesis that this is too deterministic and that industrialised societies have also developed along different lines, showing differences in their welfare programmes. Japan and Britain for example have developed differently through various factors. These include the fact that Japan industrialised much after Britain and very much through the influence of the United States (which has for an industrialised country very limited state welfare provision to this day). Also Japan was closed to the world for two hundred years. Britain was on the other hand the first country in the world both to industrialise and also to provide public welfare comprehensively. Another factor giving rise to differences in the welfare systems and social work practices of the two countries and looked at in some detail in this research, is the different religious foundations in the two countries. Japan through Shintoism and Buddhism emphasises the use of volunteers and has developed specifically Buddhist therapies and methods of social work intervention, whereas Britain through (Protestant) Christianity has emphasised the work ethic and the distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor.

In fact, the main similarities in the welfare systems of the two countries have arisen really only recently as the present government in Britain diminishes the welfare state, so that now both countries provide what is really minimal social welfare provision. However Japan is extending this whereas Britain is meeting Japan from the opposite direction as it were, by cutting public welfare provision.

One important difference between Japan and Britain which has been discussed is the different roles culturally that the two ideologies under research have in the two countries. This has an important impact on the different ways in which these ideologies as individual value systems affect operational philosophies and social work practice of their adherents in the two countries. Buddhism in Britain is a radical ideology for its adherents, whilst in Japan it represents conservatism. Socialism is seen clearly as radical in both countries but in Britain is seen in more political terms. The fundamental view of society put forward by this group is that of conflict arising from the capitalistic economic base. In Japan, Socialism for the social workers is radical in that it is a means of moving on from or overcoming Buddhistic conservatism, and is used in practice not only in a politically radical sense, but blending with this also a humanistic approach.

7. Conclusions

This research has aimed to explore the significance of articulating personal beliefs in order to clarify their

effect on operational philosophies and social work practice. Social workers tend not to be explicit about the ideological base from which they are operating. Many of those interviewed here stated that they have not really thought as such about the issues they were being asked to discuss. However, every social worker does operate from a definite ideological position, ideologies and theories being built on from practical experience, also from courses and reading etc, and then being used in further practice. Social workers must think about and make explicit their ideological and theoretical positions and on what evidence (both experiential and theoretical) these are based. Only in this way can assumptions about the political and social structures of society in which social work operates, be examined and challenged and so not masked by 'postures' of professional objectivity. The question that has been asked throughout this research is not only what sort of activity is entailed in social work, but rather what sort of activity ought this to involve.

It is important to distinguish here between ideologies held by social workers and theories to which they are subscribing. Theories explain what 'is' whilst ideologies are oriented to what 'ought to be'. Theories look at relationships while ideologies are based on values. This research has been concerned with the ideologies (and the values on which these are based) to which the social workers interviewed subscribe, and their resultant relationship with practice, rather than with social work theoretical issues. In fact, as Loewenberg (1984/320) points out, in social work practice

the two elements of theory and ideology interpenetrate. "To the extent that theories of practice are derived from an examination of practice (a strategy increasingly used by British social work researchers) this interpenetration of ideology and theory is neither random nor accidental. However, even though there is increasing recognition that ideology constitutes an important element in all aspects of social work, knowledge about social work ideology is still rather limited."

The present research has attempted to extend this knowledge at least some way. It concurs with Loewenberg's findings that there is agreement that professional ideology is affected by a number of factors including agency purposes and objectives, professional values and societal beliefs. He says that there is less agreement on whether or not there is one common professional ideology for all social workers. This research demonstrates that there is. However it shows also within this common professional ideology, there are great and significant differences. All the social workers interviewed in either country and subscribing to either ideology have common similar ideas about the basic element of social work being to help others in ways which transcend individual therapy, by offering also help with practical and social issues. This is a common professional ideology based on a common social work value of respect for every person and the other principles incorporated in the BASW code of ethics (BASW 1975). There is in fact a contradiction in Japan between the social work value of respect for individuals and the traditional culture, where the individual is subsumed in importance by the group.

However the social workers also show different values operating in the different ways they identify 'needs' as arising and in the ways such needs should and could be met. Varying social work values are here apparent, based mainly on the significant difference already mentioned between individualistic and more structural approaches to these issues. The differences in these values are based on both ideological and cultural differences of the social workers interviewed.

Comparisons with other work done in this field is in fact difficult since writers in this area of social work cover different aspects of personal beliefs and practice than those with which this project is concerned. Some writers discuss ideological aspects of social work practice⁴ but from a particular ideological stance (Brandon and Keefe from a Buddhist and the others from a Socialist stance). Some writers have done cross-cultural studies⁵ but these compare welfare ideologies rather than social work practice cross-culturally. Some writers⁶ analyse the effect of values in social work training on potential practitioners. There seems so far to be very little work done on both aspects of social work together, that is, ideology and social work practice cross-culturally.

⁴Brandon (1976) Keefe (1975) Corrigan & Leonard (1979) Bolger et al (1981) Mishra (1975) and Clark & Asquith (1985).

⁵Deacon (1983) George & Manning (1980) Higgins (1981) and Mishra (1981).

⁶Pearson (1977/13) and Wright (1985/9).

This research demonstrates the invalidity of the assumption that personal and professional values related to social work will be shared by all social workers, since not all an individual's personal views are reflected in her/his professional social work values. The differences that arise are one part of the subject of this research. The other part is the issue of the effect of individual values on actual practice. The problem that here arises for social workers is the fact that they build expertise on interpersonal relationships, which involves both personal and professional interaction. The research has attempted to disentangle (it is not possible to separate) personal and professional value systems and their effect on practice. If social work practice is to be based on more than an amalgam of personal and professional assertions of what 'ought' to be done, then these values and their relation to practice must be examined further than this research has been able to do. There are three main areas of further research indicated by this project.

The first is the issue of the 'choice' of individual value systems and ideologies. If ideologies are accepted or chosen at particular times of their lives by individuals on the basis of the emotional 'weighting' given to certain significant other people and to particular issues, then the actual process and the basis on which this happens for individuals in their different environments needs to be further researched. How is it that only some people are in revolt against the ideology with which they have grown up? For this project, the process by which the Japanese Buddhists

and the British Socialists have 'stayed with' the ideology with which they grew up, and that by which the Japanese Socialists and British Buddhists have rejected the ideologies with which they grew up, needs further investigation.

The second issue is that of the process by which different operational philosophies arise from the same general value systems and how these then have differing effects on practice. The social workers interviewed here highlight such differences but the research does not address itself to the process by which this happens.

The third issue is that of the relationship between values and practice. This research shows that in some cases, perhaps inevitable gaps exist between what actually happens and stated values which can damage the credibility and effectiveness of social work. The research does not address itself to the process by which such 'drift' occurs. It would be useful to see how actual rather than stated practice relates to personal ideologies. To do this, clients could be asked for feedback on the practice of their social workers in relation to the workers' personal ideologies.

Thus this project is concerned with the issue of the differences that arise in the personal beliefs, operational philosophies and social work practice among different social workers. Significant related areas, mainly concerned with the processes by which these differences arise, have been shown to warrant further research.

APPENDIX AMORITA & NAIKAN THERAPIESMorita Therapy

This therapy was developed by its founder, Dr Shoma Morita, and contains principles stemming from Zen Buddhism. The treatment process has four stages undertaken in an in-patient setting.

The first stage consists of virtual bed rest and social isolation lasting four days to a week or more. The patient is encouraged to achieve a peaceful condition of both mental and physical restfulness. The second stage consists of light occupational therapy. Aside from this, the patient continues to rest, contemplate and make observations about daily events in a diary which is read by the therapist, annotated and returned. This period lasts from three days to a week, during which time the patient continues to be restricted in her/his social relationships. During the third stage, the patient is instructed to engage in heavier physical work, often in conjunction with others. S/he is given permission to read selected books and to have more contact with other people. The work consists of manual rather than intellectual labour, as this is calculated to produce a state of natural physical tiredness together with a sense of simple concrete accomplishment. The fourth stage is described as the 'life training period' and lasts from one to four weeks. The patient begins to resume some of the work carried on in her/his usual occupation and life generally.

In Morita therapy and also in Naikan therapy (see below) the patient submits to the benign authority of the therapist. (Such submission to an authority figure in Japanese culture does not have the negative or coercive implication that might be thought in some Western settings.) In negative terms, the goals of Morita therapy are met when the patient is no longer obsessed with doubts and destructive self-consciousness. More positively, the end of intensive treatment is indicated by the attainment of aragamama, which essentially means a philosophical acceptance of things as they are.

Naikan Therapy

Naikan therapy attempts to realise two basic goals. Firstly, the personal discovery of guilt for ingratitude towards individuals in the past, and secondly the discovery of a positive gratitude towards individuals who have extended themselves on behalf of the client in the past. Naikan therapy takes place over a concentrated seven-day period and starts each day at 5.30 a.m. and ends at 9.00 p.m. It consists of a series of meditation periods taken consecutively through the day. Meditation is conducted behind a semi-closed screen area in a room. Except for the purposes of sleeping and personal hygiene, the patient spends all her/his time in these confines. The patient is visited by the Naikan counsellor at ninety-minute intervals and given a sequence of prearranged topics and themes on which to meditate. This meditation emphasises the two abovementioned themes regardless of which relationships are under review. It is explicitly

concerned with achieving a positive readaptation to persons both in the past and present life of the client. The Naikan counsellor attempts to personify a positive empathetic benignity towards the client. S/he merely directs the meditation procedure, rather than participating in all its manifold details. S/he serves to review and summarise the content with the client. The basic relationship of counsellor to client is sporadic although intensive and directive.

Both these therapies appear very Buddhistic in their fundamental outlook in maintaining a conscious contempt for intellectual analytic and rationalistic procedures. Achieving spiritual peace, wisdom and integration is rather seen as a total experience emotionally and spiritually. The emphasis in Morita therapy is on accepting things as they are and the concern in Naikan therapy is to promulgate a positive rather than ambivalent reconstruction of the past; these seem to me very Buddhistic ways of dealing with particular situations. More detailed descriptions and analyses of these therapies may be found in the following works:

A KONDO: Morita Therapy - Its Sociohistorical Contexts, from S Arieti (Ed): New Dimensions in Psychiatry - A World View, Wylie & Sons 1975.

T KORA: Morita Therapy (private publication - no reference details).

T MURASE & F JOHNSON: Naikan, Morita & Western Psychotherapy: A Comparison, Arch Gen Psychiat, Vol 31 July 1974, pages 121-128.

T MURASE & D REYNOLDS: Naikan Therapy (no publication details).

D REYNOLDS: Naikan Psychotherapy, University of Chicago Press 1983.

D REYNOLDS: The Quiet Therapies, University of Hawaii 1980.

K TEKEUCHI: On Naikan (Self Observation) Method, Psychologica, Vol 8 (1-2) 1965.

APPENDIX BRELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE PENAL SYSTEM IN JAPAN

In Japan the family court has two completely separate administrative sections, one dealing with juvenile delinquents and one with family cases. Family court social workers in both sections have the same training, and are supervised by the Supreme Court. Administratively they are separate from the city probation officers who are employed by the Ministry of Justice. There is rarely any transfer of personnel between the two (as there is between different courts, and also between different probation offices).

There follows relevant excerpts from the Ministry of Health and Welfare (Japan) regarding social welfare services in Japan, and excerpts from Hideo Tanaka (Ed): The Japanese Legal System.

**SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES
IN JAPAN**

1979

**PREPARED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND WELFARE
JAPAN**

15. Probation and Parole

Juvenile Delinquency

The objectives of the Juvenile Law, enacted in 1922 and thoroughly amended in 1948, are to carry out probation service for delinquent juveniles, and to take special consideration for juveniles' criminal cases (under 20 years of age) as well as of adults (20 years of age and over) who might endanger the welfare of juveniles. The law deals specifically with the following:

- (1) Juveniles of 14 years of age and over who have committed an offense;
- (2) Juveniles of under 14 years of age who have violated a criminal law or ordinance;
- (3) Juveniles who have the possibility of committing an offense, or of violating a criminal law or ordinance, in the light of their character and the surrounding circumstances.

The Family Court has jurisdiction over these juveniles. The Family Court exercises legal power over the juveniles who come under (2) or (3) mentioned just above, only when the prefectural governor or the director of the Child Guidance Center refers them to the Court. After a Family Court probation officer has made an investigation of the juvenile, a closed court session takes place and one of the following probationary measures may be taken if necessary:

- (1) To place the juvenile under the supervision of a probation officer;
- (2) To place the juvenile in a Childrens' Home or a Home for Juvenile Training and Education.
- (3) To place the juvenile in a Reform and Training School.

In some cases, he may be referred to a competent prefectural governor, to a director of the Child Guidance Center, to a public prosecutor, or to another Family Court.

In 1977 the number of juveniles from 14 to 19 years of age who had committed penal offences was 119,199. The number of juveniles under 14 years of age who violated criminal laws or ordinances was 35,337.

Probation and Parole Methods

Certain juvenile delinquents are sent to the Juvenile Detention Homes by the Family Court. While the juveniles are in the Detention Homes, case

studies are made through the reports of the medical doctor, psychologist, educator, and sociologist. In 1978, about 3,000 juveniles were admitted to the Reform and Training Schools. 2,752 juveniles were admitted to the Home for Juvenile Training and Education on October 1, 1977.

Probationary supervision of juvenile delinquents is conducted by the Probation and Parole Office as well as by the Probation and Parole Society. Volunteer workers are assigned to assist the Probation and Parole Office.

The supervision, guidance, and assistance are also provided for convicted adult offenders placed under probationary supervision, persons released on parole, or persons released on expiration of their prison term. For such services, there are the Probation and Parole Bureau in the Ministry of Justice, and eight District Probation and Parole Commissions.

They are mainly engaged in administrative action relating to the approval or revocation of release from prison, or training schools for juvenile delinquents. There are also 50 Probation and Parole Offices in charge of probationary supervision and the prevention of offenses. Besides, there are special agencies as follows:

(1) Probation Officers working in the Probation and Parole Office through-out the country. They engage not only in probationary supervision, but also in rehabilitative services, and prevention of offenses. They number 791 in 1978.

(2) Volunteer Workers in Probation and Parole — A volunteer is appointed in each community under the jurisdiction of the Probation and Parole Office. He aids individuals who have committed criminal offenses in order for them to rehabilitate themselves and make a successful adjustment to the community. At the same time, he leads public opinion in the prevention of offenses in the community. The total number of volunteer is about 46,500 in 1978, and they form District Associations of Volunteer Workers in Probation and Parole.

Another type of Volunteers are Big Brothers and Sisters that are playing an important role in the probation and parole of youth delinquents.

(3) Probation and Parole Society assists in rehabilitative, probationary, and parole services for those offenders without relatives. The person is parole to the Society by the prefecture under the Emergency Probation and Parole Law. In 1978 there are 107 institutions accommodating about 1,500 persons, established by the public and operated by voluntary agencies.

Correctional treatment can be divided into following types:

a) Probationary or parole supervision, in which supervision and guidance are compulsory for the following categories of offenders:

- (1) Those placed under the probationary supervision of the Probation and Parole Office by the Family Court;
- (2) Those who have been released on parole from prisons for juvenile delinquents;
- (3) Those who have been released on parole from prisons;
- (4) Those placed under probationary supervision during the period of suspension of sentence;
- (5) Those released on parole from the Women's Reformatories.

The Probation and Parole Office has jurisdiction over and supervises the work which is carried on by the probation officer or volunteer worker in probation and parole.

b) Probation in a narrower sense in which guidance and assistance are given upon the request of the offender himself. Correctional treatment is provided for persons who ask for assistance, when being discharged from confinement, and who are without relatives, shelter, or without means of living including transportation expenses to return home, and are in the following categories:

- (1) Those released on the expiration of sentence for imprisonment, penal servitude, or penal detention;
- (2) Those exempted from the sentence of imprisonment or penal servitude, or penal detention;
- (3) Those granted a conditional suspension of execution of sentence for imprisonment or penal servitude in which the final decision is not yet fully binding;
- (4) Those not placed under probationary supervision during the period of suspension of execution of sentence for imprisonment or penal servitude;
- (5) Those dismissed from prosecution;
- (6) Those released from the Women's Reformatories.

Assistance services, rendered for a period of six months, may include giving or lending travelling expenses, providing shelter, medical treatment, meals, clothing, and employment services. Though it is prescribed by law that the director of the Probation and Parole Office is to provide these services, most of the services are actually carried out by the Probation and Parole Society.

THE JAPANESE LEGAL SYSTEM

Introductory Cases and Materials

Edited by
HIDEO TANAKA

Assisted by
MALCOLM D. H. SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO PRESS
1979

Section 2 Organization of Courts

(1) The present Japanese judicial system is as shown in the chart at page 49.

(a) Supreme Court (*Saikō Saibansho*): There are fifteen justices of the Supreme Court. They divide themselves into three petty benches (*shō hōtai*) each consisting of five justices (three being the quorum),¹⁾ except in (i) cases on appeal involving a constitutional issue where there is no existing precedent of the Supreme Court, (ii) cases on appeal concerned with a constitutional point of law on which a petty bench has found it appropriate to overrule a precedent of the Supreme Court, (iii) other cases which petty benches have referred to the grand bench because they considered them of great importance, or (iv) cases where the opinions of the petty bench justices have ended in a tie. In these exceptional cases, all the justices of the Supreme Court sit together as the grand bench (*dai hōtai*).²⁾

There are also twenty "research clerks" (*chūsakan*),³⁾ almost all of whom have been judges for years,⁴⁾ who carry out research for the purpose of furnishing the justices with data necessary for deciding cases. Unlike the practice in the United States, they do not serve as a clerk to an individual justice but as a clerk to the entire court.

1) Courts Act (*Saibansho Hō*) (1947 c. 59) art 9. The Chief Justice seldom sits in a petty bench, though he has a right to do so.

2) *Id.* art. 10. The Chief Justice presides at the grand bench sittings.

3) The number was once over 30.

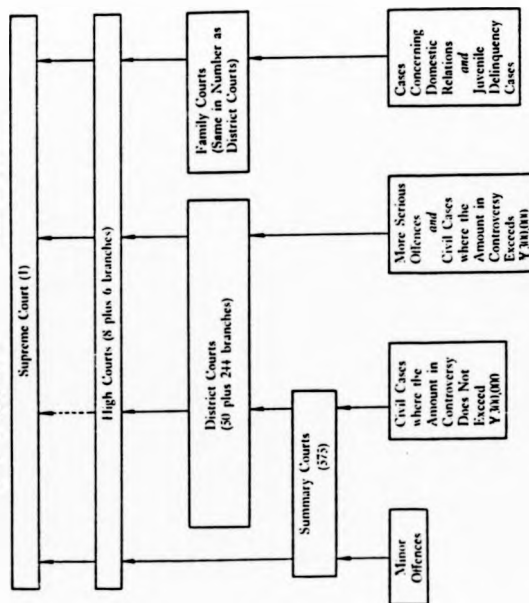
There are research clerks at high courts and district courts as well. Research clerks at district courts can serve only in relation to cases concerned with industrial property or tax (Courts Act art. 57(2)).

At family courts, there are "family court research clerks" (*kaitei saibansho chūsakan*), who, with their knowledge in medicine, psychology, sociology or economics, carry out research in relation to cases concerning domestic relations or juvenile delinquency. They may also serve as probation officers for juvenile delinquents. *See, id.* art. 61.2; Domestic Proceedings Rules (*Kaji Shimpun Kinoku*) (Supreme Court Rules 1947 no. 15) arts. 7.2-7.5, 137.3, 143.4; Juveniles Act (*Shōnen Hō*) (1948 c. 168) arts. 7, 8(2), 13, 17(1), 25.

4) Fewer research clerks at high courts or district courts are chosen from among judges. Almost no "family court research clerks" are so chosen.

Research clerks who have been chosen from among judges retain their status as judges while serving as research clerks.

Chart 1 Japanese Court System at Present



(b) High Court (*kōtō Saibansho*): High courts usually act as intermediate appellate courts, except that (i) they act as court of last resort in minor civil cases⁵⁾ and (ii) they have original jurisdiction on insurrection cases as well as on certain types of administrative cases.⁶⁾ They hear cases in a collegiate court of three judges.⁷⁾

(c) District Court (*chihō Saibansho*): District courts are the courts of general original jurisdiction. They also have appellate jurisdiction over the decisions of the summary courts in civil matters.⁸⁾ Cases are heard by a single judge or by a collegiate court of three judges, depending on the nature of the case.⁹⁾

5) The losing party, however, can bring the case up to the Supreme Court, if but only if, a constitutional question is involved therein.

6) Courts Act art. 16.

7) *Id.* art. 18. The number of judges shall be five when hearing insurrection cases (*id.* art. 18(2)) or reviewing decisions of the Fair Trade Commission [An Act for the Prohibition of Private Monopoly and the Maintenance of Fair Trade (*Shūhō Dōkum no Fintōi opōi Kōsei Torihiki ni kansuru Hōritsu*) (1947 c. 54) art. 87]. (The latter can only be heard by the Tokyo High Court.)

8) Courts Act art. 24.

9) Appellate cases have to be heard by a three-judge court (*id.* art. 26(2)).

(d) Family Court (*kātei Saibansho*): Civil cases involving matters concerning domestic relations and juvenile delinquency cases are handled by family courts.¹⁰⁾ The more formal procedure in family courts, *shimban*,¹¹⁾ is handled by a single judge.¹²⁾ Most domestic proceedings such as divorce cases must first be heard by a conciliation committee (*chōtai iinkai*) of three, one judge and two conciliation commissioners (*chōtai in*) who need not be, and in most cases are not, lawyers.¹³⁾ Only when no agreement can be reached between the parties through such conciliation (*chōtai*) can an action for divorce be brought in the district court.¹⁴⁾ Conciliation procedures may be used in other types of civil cases filed in the district courts or the summary courts, upon the initiative of the court or upon motion of a party. In both cases, the dispute cannot be settled through conciliation unless both parties agree to a proposed solution.¹⁵⁾

(e) Summary Court (*kān'i Saibansho*): Minor cases are heard by the summary courts.¹⁶⁾ The cases are handled by a single judge.¹⁷⁾ About half of the judges in the summary courts are not qualified lawyers, being appointed to their positions after having served for many years in a law-related position such as that of administrative secretary or a clerk in a court.¹⁸⁾

(2) Japanese law provides for two opportunities to appeal against a decision of a lower court,¹⁹⁾ the first appeal being called *kōso* and the second *jōkoku*. Most appeals on procedural points are undertaken in a less formal procedure called *kōkoku*.

In civil cases, the party who lost in the final judgment by the court of first instance may file a *kōso* appeal for an alleged error

10) *Id.* art. 31.3(1) (i), (ii); Domestic Proceedings Act (*Kaji Shimpan Hō*) (1947 c. 152) arts. 9-16; Juveniles Act (*Shōnan Hō*) (1948 c. 168) arts. 3-31.

11) *Shimban* is different from *sobō* (the regular formal procedure in the ordinary courts) in that (i) it is conducted *in camera* and (ii) it allows wider discretion in the judges' hands in reaching a decision.

12) Domestic Proceedings Act art. 3(1).

13) *Id.* arts. 3(2), 22-22.3.

14) *Id.* art. 18.

15) Civil Conciliation Act (*Minji Chōtai Hō*) (1951 c. 222).

16) Courts Act art. 33.

17) *Id.* art. 35.

18) *Id.* art. 44.

19) Because of Article 81 of the Constitution, an opportunity is always provided for bringing a case involving a constitutional issue to the Supreme Court. Thus, in cases where courts other than the Supreme Court are to be courts of last resort under the regular procedure, an additional opportunity of appeal is provided for with the name of *tokubetsu-jōkoku* (special *jōkoku* appeal) or *tokubetsu-kōkoku* (special *kōkoku* appeal).

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in fact-finding as well as for an alleged error in law.²⁰ In criminal cases, however, grounds for *kiso* appeal are limited to (i) an error in law which clearly affects the outcome of the case, (ii) an error in fact-finding which clearly affects the outcome, and (iii) an impropriety in fixing the penalty to be imposed.²¹ In the last case, the appellant must cite the facts as found by the court of first instance which *prima facie* show the alleged impropriety.²²

The grounds for *jokoku* appeal in civil cases also differ from those in criminal cases. In civil cases, the grounds are (i) "an error in the interpretation of or other violation of the Constitution" and (ii) an error in law which clearly affects the outcome of the litigation.²³ In criminal cases, a *jokoku* appeal can be filed (i) for "an [alleged] violation of the Constitution or an [alleged] error in its interpretation", or (ii) for an alleged conflict with a precedent of the Supreme Court, the Great Court of Judicature or a high court.²⁴ The Supreme Court may also hear on a *jokoku* appeal any case which it considers to involve an important point of statutory interpretation.²⁵ In this latter category, the Supreme Court has discretion similar to that exercised by the Supreme

Court of the United States in relation to a petition for the writ of *certiorari*.²⁶ The grounds for reversal in criminal *jokoku* appeals are somewhat wider than the grounds for appeal. Not only can the Supreme Court reverse the judgment below on constitutional grounds or on the ground of disregard of a precedent, it can do so if the Court finds it manifestly unjust not to do so, where there is (i) an error of law which may affect the outcome of the case, (ii) an extreme impropriety in fixing the penalty to be imposed, (iii) a significant error in fact-finding which may affect the outcome of the case, (iv) a ground which will justify a "reopening of the proceedings" (*saishin*), or (v) a change or abolition of the penal statute [which was the ground for conviction] or amnesty after the judgment was rendered.²⁷

(3) Japan has a tradition of centralization in regard to the "administration of the judiciary" (*shihō-gyōsei*).

Aside from some of those functions which are performed by the Department of Justice in the United States, the Supreme Court also manages all personnel business in relation to judges because of the structure of the "career judiciary"²⁸ system.

Up to 1947, the "administration of the judiciary" (which then included the administration of the public procurators' office) had been handled by the Ministry of Justice (*Shihō Shō*), where those who had served as public procurators had a very strong voice. In order to strengthen and secure the independence of the judiciary, this structure was changed in 1947. A huge General Secretariat (*Jimu Sōfuyoku*) is now attached to the Supreme Court to manage affairs concerning the administration of courts. Its activities include all personnel business relating to the judges, court clerks and other staff of the court, as well as the duty to undertake or organize research on law and the administration of justice, to prepare statistics, and to furnish the inferior courts with necessary information.

The General Secretariat of the Supreme Court now has a staff of about 950, many of whom are qualified lawyers. It now has seven bureaux—General Affairs, Personnel Affairs, Finance, Civil Matters, Criminal Matters, Administrative [Litigation] Matters and Family Matters—and 28 sections.

26) In 1973, the Supreme Court refused all six motions by parties requesting it to receive cases on *jokoku* appeal based upon Article 406. 27) *Hōō Junō* 168 (1975).

27) Code of Criminal Procedure art. 411. During the five years from 1968 to 1972, the Supreme Court reversed judgments below as to 32 appellants (6.4 per year) on constitutional grounds, 25 appellants (5.0 per year) for conflicts with a precedent, 73 appellants (14.6 per year) for errors of law, 22 appellants (4.4 per year) for significant errors in fact-finding, 8 appellants (1.6 per year) on grounds which will justify a "reopening of the proceedings" and 4 appellants (0.8 per year) on other grounds. (The Japanese judicial statistics of criminal cases give the number of the accused instead of the number of cases.)

28) See pages 549-52, 555, *infra*.

20) Code of Civil Procedure (*Minji Sōhō Hō*) (1390 c. 20) art. 360. A *kiso* appeal cannot be filed against a judgment in a "bills and notes proceeding" (*ugata sōhō*) nor in a "checks proceeding" (*ogitei sōhō*) except where a judgment has dismissed an action on the ground that the subject matter was inappropriate for such proceeding (*id.* art. 450). Neither can a *kiso* appeal be filed only for the purpose of attacking a decision on costs (*id.* art. 361).

Parties may make a binding agreement in advance not to file a *kiso* appeal, while reserving a right to file a *jokoku* appeal.

21) Code of Criminal Procedure (*Krōji Sōhō Hō*) (1948 c. 131) arts. 377-384.

A *jokoku* appeal may be directly filed to the Supreme Court against a judicial act of the court of first instance, which has held (i) "a law, order, regulation or official act" unconstitutional, (ii) an ordinance or a rule of a local public entity to be repugnant to a statute, or (iii) an ordinance or a rule of a local public entity to be in conformity with the Constitution or a statute, if the appellant attacks the propriety of the holding of the court of first instance on that point. Both parties may file a direct appeal, known as a *chōyaku jokoku* (leapfrog appeal), to challenge a decision in either of the first two categories, but only the public procurator can file an appeal under the third category. Criminal Procedure Rules (*Krōji Sōhō Kiseki*) (Supreme Court Rules 1948 no. 32) art. 254.

The leapfrog appeal is abandoned if a *kiso* appeal to a high court (or a district court) is duly filed prior to the hearing the appeal in the Supreme Court (*id.* art. 253).

22) Code of Criminal Procedure art. 381.

23) Code of Civil Procedure art. 391. Article 395 enumerates grounds where an error in procedure shall *ipso facto* be treated as so grave as to be a ground for reversal.

24) Code of Criminal Procedure art. 405.

25) *Id.* art. 406.

APPENDIX CGUIDELINES FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH SOCIAL WORKERSAims

1. To categories necessary background details (social work and ideological background).
2. To explore theoretical stance vis a vis social work practice.
3. To analyse the applications of this theoretical stance to social work practice.

1. Personal Details(a) Social Work

What is your social work training?

What is your social work experience?

length of time
 agencies worked for
 practical details of present job (agency, office hierarchy, caseload, choice in selecting clients wo work with, for example allocation process etc)

Why did you become a social worker?

How would you describe how you feel about your present job?

agency
 clients
 colleagues - how do their different theoretical stances affect your ideas?
 career prospects
 salary
 any other factors

How would you describe yourself as a social worker?

(b) Buddhist/Socialist Background

How long have you been involved with Buddhism/Socialism?

What exactly does this involve? How would you measure the depth of your involvement with Buddhism/Socialism?

How did you become involved with Buddhism/Socialism? Why? What theoretical stance did you hold before?

What effects do you see Buddhism/Socialism having on your personality?

Were you involved with Buddhism/Socialism or social work first?

What effect does being a social worker have on your Buddhist/Socialist stance?

2. Theoretical Dimensions

(Kelly Grid used here)

How would you define change?

What are your criteria of success as a social worker?

What are your goals as a social worker?

What sort of authority do you see yourself having as a social worker?

How do you use this in your practice?

3. Practice

(a) Questions

How would you describe the relationship between you and your clients?

How do you deal with problems presented by the client that you do not find very important?

How far do you feel you understand your clients and how do you put this over?

How much do you reveal of your own feelings to your clients?

Do you think you concentrate more on clients' present, past or future? Why?

Are there any questions in any area that you feel I have not asked that would be relevant for my research?

(b) Analogues

First Analogue (Suicide). A single girl, pregnant, isolated, working, living at home, but interpersonal difficulties there. She has a relatively stable middle class background with enough money but most

emotional issues avoided. The family including the girl tend to behave as though everything is fine. The girl is threatening suicide.

How does the social worker see this?

What feelings are raised in the social worker?

Is exploration, reassurance or interpretation the main response of the social worker?

Second Analogue (Marital Situation). A married couple unhappy in the relationship. The man is working and the couple live in stable accommodation. The husband says his wife is always nagging and does not leave him in peace. The wife complains that her husband is inattentive to her.

How does the social worker feel about this situation?

What steps does the social worker feel should be taken in this case?

Third Analogue (Multiple Problem Family Compounded by Disturbed Adolescent). The family have multiple problems which include finances, unemployment and living conditions. The presenting problem now is that one daughter of the family is showing disturbed behaviour (aggression and withdrawal).

How does the social worker approach this family?

How are the practical dimensions assessed?

How is the problem daughter's situation seen?

4. Kelly Grid

Hinck's laddering technique,¹ a very simple form of Kelly's Personal Construct Grid technique, is used to ascertain some basic constructs used by the social workers in their practice. This involves asking the social workers to think of six social workers they know and put them into three groups (two in each), write them down and add their own name at the bottom of each subgroup. Next, they think of any one way in which two people in each group differ from the third and write down this difference as a short statement (for example, 'extrovert') together with its opposite (for example, 'introvert'). They then decide which of the two statements for each subgroup they feel is better and why they think this. This is written down as a short statement (for example, 'prefers extrovert because more sociable'). Then the opposite is written down (for example, 'makes relationships with difficulty') and the process is repeated, that is, why one statement is preferred to the other in each group and then the opposite is written down. By this process three significant constructs about how the social workers see their practice should be obtained.

¹See Bannister & Fransella: *Inquiring Man*, Penguin 1971, page 73.

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