
Career Education in High Schools: Focusing on “Guidance in Ways of Being and Ways of Living”

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The enhancement of career education in high schools, especially in those with general education curriculums, which account for more than 70% of the total, is becoming a pressing issue. With regard to “career guidance,” which has undergone a great many changes in response to social demands and which in recent years has been expected to play a core role in career education, after discussing the functions peculiar to Japan, this paper looks back over developments up to the 1980s, dividing them into “pre-war” and “post-war” periods, as well as discussing the various theories that influenced career guidance at the time. Furthermore, with regard to the reality of “guidance in ways of being and ways of living,” which emerged in the 1990s as a new concept in career guidance and is linked to career education, this paper discusses such guidance from the perspectives of the background to its promotion, its fundamental nature, its pros and cons, and related issues, and presents recommendations for career guidance—and, by extension, career education—in high schools in the future.

I. Introduction

In recent years, against the background of issues concerning the links between high schools and society, issues concerning the links between high schools and tertiary education, and the problem of the tendency of recent graduates to leave their jobs comparatively soon after taking them up, the enhancement of career education in high schools, especially in those with general education curriculums, which account for more than 70% of the total, is becoming a pressing issue.

What is expected to play a core role in this is career guidance. Career guidance has, up to the present day, undergone a great many changes, in response to social demands. After providing a brief explanation of the functions of career guidance, this paper summarizes the developments in high school career guidance up to the 1980s, and then discusses the impact and reality of “*Arikata-Ikikata Sido* (Guidance in Ways of Being and Ways of Living),” which subsequently emerged as a new concept in career guidance and is linked to career education.

II. The Functions of Career Guidance

Japanese schools and teachers are heavily involved in the process of students selecting their career options, through instruction called career guidance. The approach to this career guidance is a unique mechanism that differs from that employed in other countries.

Moreover, because schools are the main organ of social choice in Japanese society,

career guidance in schools does not only have an educational significance, but also contributes to decisions about future socioeconomic status, so it plays an extremely important role.

According to Senzaki (1991), the functions of career guidance include “educational functions (cultivating independence and increasing the ability to make decisions, fostering views of work and increasing the ability to achieve self-fulfillment, and nurturing social skills and increasing social adaptability)” and “social functions (distributive functions, adaptive functions, and developmental functions).”

The field that mainly focuses on the “educational functions” of career guidance is the realm of psychology. As pointed out in comments such as “Career guidance is an intervention activity in relation to the process of choosing a career path, and thus is a form of support (Tsukuda 1988),” in the realm of psychology, career guidance is seen as “an intentional educational activity conducted in relation to the formation of students’ career paths,” and since the introduction of career guidance, a close relationship has been built, by such means as providing basic knowledge.

In contrast, the field that mainly focuses on the “social functions,” above all the “distributive functions” of career guidance is the realm of educational sociology. In the realm of educational sociology, career guidance is taken in its broad sense as “potential encouragement in relation to the formation of students’ career paths,” and is understood in an extremely broad scope as differentiation functions both within school and outside, including the socialization, selection and distributive functions fulfilled by school education. Of these, a considerable amount of research has been accumulated in relation to the functions that career guidance can fulfill with regard to students’ career path selections, focusing primarily on high schools, which have been the final career path differentiation institutions for most people (Mimizuka 1993).

III. Pre-War Career Guidance

This chapter firstly discusses the development of career guidance before the war (when it was known as vocational guidance).

What had a significant impact on career guidance before the war was the trait and factor theory propounded by Parsons (1909), who was one of the originators of vocational guidance. The trait and factor theory was linked to the congruence theory, and, as the theory of “putting the right person in the right place,” became an influential theory in career guidance in schools and related institutions, due to the development of psychological testing to grasp people’s abilities and aptitudes, the gathering of job information, and the development of theories concerning directive counseling.

1. Sociopolitical Guidance Led by Employment Placement Organizations

In the USA, from the early 20th century, in response to rapid industrialization and the

development of urbanization, intensive activities aimed at the effective utilization of human resources and the protection of youth labor—in other words, the vocational guidance movement—took place.

In Japan as well, thanks to Irisawa (1915), US-style vocational guidance was introduced as “vocational education,” and for the next 40 years or so, the term vocational guidance (*shokugyo shido*) was used. However, the initial awareness was that “employment placement organizations took the initiative and amidst a situation in which guidance in schools was still in its infancy, it was sociopolitical vocational guidance centered on work placement and career selection guidance for young people (Shibayama 2003),” and it was also a form of public and social support for the many employment problems faced by young workers amidst the developing economic slump.

2. Guidance Based on the Spirit of Respect for Human Dignity

In school education, a proactive interest in vocational guidance developed after the establishment in 1926 of the Tokyo Society for Vocational Guidance. Working in partnership with job placement agencies, the Ministry of Education, which was aware of the importance of vocational guidance, issued Ministry of Education Directive No.20 (1927), entitled *Matters Concerning Vocational Guidance and Respect for the Individuality of Schoolchildren*, which formally positioned vocational guidance in school education. This directive stipulated that consideration would be given in schools to the individuality, environment and resources of each person, and that appropriate guidance would be provided with regard to career choices after graduation or the selection of an institution of higher education. As an independent government order based on the requirements of educational administration, the directive was a landmark development in the history of vocational guidance in schools, and is generally seen as the starting point for the development of a curriculum for vocational guidance. It provided an opportunity to disseminate vocational guidance in school education, and marked the formal introduction of vocational guidance to schools.

As a result, awareness that vocational guidance was an important educational activity in schools increased; vocational guidance focused on selecting the appropriate career path based on a spirit of respecting human dignity took the lead, overshadowing the sociopolitical vocational guidance led by employment placement organizations that had been the main form of such guidance hitherto.

3. Guidance Based on Nationalistic Attitudes to Work

In 1937, war broke out between Japan and China and the National Mobilization Act was enacted the following year; in response to this, the Ministry of Health and Welfare and the Ministry of Education issued *Matters Concerning Vocational Guidance for National Elementary School Graduates* (1938), leading to the further strengthening of vocational guidance. This document requested compliance with national requirements concerning jobs for children after graduating from elementary school and, as pointed out by Nobuchi (1990),

vocational guidance in schools underwent a major turnaround, becoming nationalistic and militaristic vocational guidance.

Subsequently, memoranda entitled *Guidelines on Vocational Guidance Lessons in National Elementary Schools* and *Matters Concerning Vocational Guidance in National Elementary Schools* (1941) were issued by the Vice-Minister of Education, and a new textbook entitled the *National Elementary School Vocational Guidance Textbook* was published, to replace the *Vocational Guidance Reader*, which had been used up to that point as the educational material for group instruction in vocational guidance. Moreover, vocational guidance was established as an additional subject, with a compulsory one-hour lesson taking place each week for students in the first and second years of the advanced course in national elementary schools.

Thus, based on the demands of society and the state, vocational guidance became a means of selecting and allocating manpower in a time of war, amidst stringent labor controls, becoming guidance aimed at allocating elementary school graduates to various workplaces. With “devotion to one’s job” and “selfless devotion” being emphasized, it was completely incorporated into the state regime in a form that suited the requirements of the government, and the concept of respect for individuality completely disappeared from view.

IV. Post-War Career Guidance

This chapter continues the discussion of the development of career guidance, looking at how it evolved from the post-war period to the 1980s.

As discussed in the previous chapter, although vocational guidance in pre-war Japan was buffeted by the winds of change transforming Japanese society, it more or less maintained its basis in the trait and factor theory. However, this theory perceived the relationship between individuals and jobs in a fixed way, and it was criticized as lacking the perspective of interaction between them, so a paradigm shift took place in post-war career guidance, in favor of career development theory.

Career development theory was developed by Ginzberg (1951) and Super (1957); rather than focusing solely on phenomena at the time of selection, it emphasizes the process of forming self-concepts, as a long-term, ongoing process, and seeks to explain vocational behavior by humans over the course of their lives.

According to Super (1957), vocational guidance provides support for “developing and accepting an integrated and adequate picture of oneself and of one’s role in the world of work,” “testing this concept against reality” and “converting this concept into a reality, with satisfaction to oneself and benefits to society.” Senzaki (1991) reinterpreted his points as “forming and testing a concept of oneself and a way of being, and transforming this into reality, while taking an overview of the working life of a human, which ultimately results in supporting ‘lifelong career development’ with the aim of achieving individual satisfaction and social development.”

1. Basic Educational Guidance Concerning Future Employment Activities

The prerequisites for a society that requires career guidance are that freedom to choose one's job is guaranteed, and that the diverse abilities and aptitudes of individuals are adequately valued (Sakamoto 1994). Accordingly, one would have to say that the consideration and organization of the principles, content and methods of career guidance took place after Japan became a modern society, in the post-war years.

Post-war career guidance swept aside the nationalistic and militaristic vocational guidance seen under the wartime regime, and made a fresh start as "new vocational guidance" based on the principles of democracy (Nobuchi 1990).

After the freedom to choose one's occupation was prescribed in the Japanese Constitution, "vocational guidance" was implemented as a curriculum subject through the legal positioning of career guidance in schools via the School Education Act (1947), and a textbook entitled *Vocational Guidance* was published.

In 1947, the *Curriculum Guidelines on Vocational Guidance* was issued by the Ministry of Education, in which vocational guidance was defined as "the process of supporting an individual in selecting an occupation, preparing for it, entering it and progressing in it." This definition was based on the definition published in 1937 by the U.S. National Vocational Guidance Association ("Vocational guidance is the process of assisting the individual to choose an occupation, prepare for it, enter upon and progress in it. It is concerned primarily with helping individuals make decisions and choices involved in planning a future and building a career – decisions and choices necessary in effecting satisfactory vocational adjustment.")

Furthermore, as a result of the Teachers' License Act (1949), "vocational guidance" also became a subject for which a teachers' license was required in junior high and high schools. Thus, career guidance in school education came to be undertaken as a full-scale activity firmly positioned in law.

In the publication *Career Counseling Conducted by Schools*, which was issued by the Ministry of Education in 1951, vocational guidance is defined as follows: "Vocational guidance is the process in which, as part of the educational process, teachers help students to plan their future career path, go on to higher education or find a job, and adapt better to and progress in their subsequent lives, through such functions as the personal resources of each individual student, information about progressing to higher education or finding jobs, educational experiences, consultations, mediation and additional guidance." It also contained concrete stipulations about the content of career guidance in school education.

Moreover, as a result of the *Ministerial Ordinance for Partial Revision of the Ordinance for Enforcement of the School Education Act* (1953), the vocational guidance supervisor system was established – the first of the supervisory positions established in schools.

However, in general, perhaps because of the term "vocational guidance," guidance during this period has come to be seen as an activity aimed at placement service activities,

or vocational or technological education (Tsukuda 1988).

As pointed out in Fujita (1995), “The necessity of vocational knowledge and skills education in the sense of responding to social demands was acknowledged and the focus was placed on the cultivation of career path selection skills on the ground that a larger number of people would find jobs rather than go on to higher education, there was no concept of positioning self-actualization as a guiding concept in career guidance,” thus, the demands of post-war society at the time were strong.

2. Systematic, Organized Guidance throughout School Education

In the Central Council for Education report entitled *Concerning Measures to Promote Science and Technology Education* (1957), the term “career guidance” was used for the first time in an official document, instead of “vocational guidance,” and vocational guidance in schools was thereafter called “career guidance.” In response to this report, it was stipulated in the Curriculum Guidelines (guidelines for junior high schools published in 1958, and guidelines for high schools published in 1960) that guidance in schools was “career guidance” and not “vocational guidance.” According to Tamura (1986), the reforms during this period marked a shift away from “guidance concerning advancement to higher education or obtaining a job at the time of graduating from school,” toward an emphasis on the goal of “cultivating the ability to choose one’s future career path.”

Moreover, with the abolition of “vocational studies and domestic science,” career guidance moved away from being part of the taught curriculum, and was positioned instead as part of the newly established category of special educational activities, focusing primarily on class activities and homeroom activities. It was not a learning activity organized with a focus on taught subjects, but among special educational activities, which were important school activities aimed at achieving the general objectives of education, career guidance became a systematic task for school education as a whole and came to be positioned clearly in the curriculum. The sentence below, which is set forth in the 1961 *Career Guidance Manual*, is the concept in which school career guidance is rooted, even today:

“Career guidance is the process through which teachers provide ongoing, systematic guidance and support through the personal resources of each individual student, information about progressing to higher education or finding jobs, educational experiences, and consultations, in order to enable each student to select and plan their future career path themselves, go on to higher education or find a job, and develop the ability to adapt better to and make progress in their subsequent lives.”

Takeuchi (1988) analyses this definition and argues that it is necessary for the practice of career guidance to take place through activities in six fields, namely “student understanding,” “the provision of career information,” “educational experiences,” “consultations about career options,” “support in selecting and deciding upon a career path,” and “additional guidance.” Moreover, Sakamoto (1997) sets forth the flows of these six activities as

organically integrated activities, and states that “individual understanding,” “educational experiences” and “career information” are integrated in “consultations about career options,” which is in turn linked to “support in selecting and deciding upon a career path.”

Thereafter, in the Ministry of Education *Guidelines on Junior High School and High School Career Guidance: Manual for Career Guidance Supervisors* (1977), which was heavily influenced by the theory of vocational development, school career guidance is described as “activities focused on providing guidance and support in relation to the series of processes involving arousing students’ interest in their career paths, broadening their knowledge of the world of careers, planning their career path and striving to realize this plan.” In this definition, as can be seen in the references to “future ways of living” and “future prospects,” the concept of career development rather than career selection is clearly set forth (Kikuchi 1993).

Furthermore, in the Curriculum Guidelines (guidelines for junior high schools published in 1977, and guidelines for high schools published in 1978), as well as highlighting the importance of special activities, conducting planned, systematic career guidance across all educational activities was emphasized, and the positioning of career guidance in school education became clearer, while the content of such guidance was also set forth in a more specific form.

3. Guidance Focused on the Exit Point

Education in post-war Japan has been particularly successful in terms of quantitative expansion, but the trade-off for industrial and economic development has been that schools have become focused on efficiency, with the effect that flexibility has been lost.

According to Amano (1995), in 1979, when the Japan Vocational Guidance Association changed its name to the Japanese Society for Study of Career Guidance, progressing to higher education was already beginning to become the main future career choice for students at both junior high and high schools. Guidance specializing in and concentrating on the “exit point” (so-called “examination guidance”), i.e. finding a job or progressing to higher education, came to be conspicuous in career guidance in high schools as well, against the background of the emergence of a society with an emphasis on academic background as a result of high economic growth and a rise in the rate of students going on to high school.

Examination guidance had a positive effect in the form of promoting learning by students, as well as a social allocation effect, as a means of selection (Tamura 1986). However, due to the impact of the slowdown in economic growth and criticism of a society focused on education, examination guidance came to be criticized as cross-sectional instruction that laid too great an emphasis on test results, which was the cause of excessive frustration in students, leading to many cases of them dropping out or failing to adapt after going on to higher education; in addition, there was strong criticism that it implanted a mentality of contentment with one’s lot among students, leading to the cooling of their aspirations and preventing the internalization of the principle of making an effort.

For example, the Ministry of Education's *Commentary on High School Curriculum Guidelines: General Provisions* (1978), based on the actual state of career guidance, which was, at that time, called "guidance focused on the exit point," set forth the following request for improvements.

"It has been pointed out that career guidance in high schools concentrates on issues relating to the selection of a workplace by students at the time of graduation or progress to university, etc., and there is a tendency to place disproportionate emphasis on this in a single academic year, so it is necessary to strive to carry out career guidance in a planned, systematic fashion from the time when students enter school."

Moreover, in the First Report of the Ad Hoc Council on Education, entitled *Concerning Basic Measures for Implementing Necessary Reforms Relating to Educational Measures* (1985), in describing the state of education at that time, it was pointed out that parents, teachers and children were all caught up in education that placed too great an emphasis on test results and knowledge, amidst a social trend toward excessive emphasis on academic credentials (Tamura 1986).

V. The Reality of "Guidance in Ways of Being and Ways of Living"

1. Background to the Promotion of This Concept

In the 1990s, attention came to be focused on the educational significance of the development and cultivation of an internal awareness, which will be the basis for "career selection," with a view to the student's future (Ito 1990), and a switch was undertaken toward "guidance in ways of being and ways of living (in junior high schools, this is called 'guidance in ways of living')" as conventional career guidance, while being complemented by the strongly criticized "examination guidance."

With regard to the background to this shift, the impact of the social background at the time cannot be ignored. Until that point, Japanese school education had cultivated "cooperation over individuality" and "adaptability to the group over the independence of the individual." However, uniform management education and education that aims exclusively at conveying expertise have been noted as factors contributing to the problems that have surfaced amidst industrial and economic development.

From the 1990s to the early 2000s, against a background of neoliberalism in the West, Japanese education policy took as its keywords "education with latitude," "individualization" and "diversification," as well as "zest for living" and "ways of being and ways of living." The goals of exercising one's individuality and personal fulfillment were introduced into school education as a whole, not solely into the field of career guidance.

Against the background of the promotion of the diversification and increased flexibility of the education system itself, debate around career guidance has sought to achieve a switch away from guidance that emphasizes feasibility within one's limits, revamping it to

focus on guidance that places the emphasis on cultivating the abilities and attitudes required for “self-selection, self-determination, and self-fulfillment,” based on the individuality and humanity of the individual students. Amidst this situation, “guidance in ways of being and ways of living” became an important theme in school education.

The shift toward “guidance in ways of being and ways of living” was not only a paradigm shift at the policy level, but can also be described as a radical transformation in career guidance values in the classroom that was forced on the Japanese education system. With regard to the background to this, career development theory had a major impact, as it changed the concept of career guidance in Japan, spreading it to “guidance in ways of being and ways of living” throughout all educational activities, instead of confining it to career path selection in a narrow sense.

2. The Term “Guidance in Ways of Living”

According to Ogawa (1992), the term “ways of being and ways of living” emerged in response to the developmental stage of high school students. Rather than being perceived separately, “ways of being” and “ways of living” are concepts deeply rooted in ways of being as a human; in other words, they go back to the basic nature of humanity, and education that induces students to think about better ways of living as humans is education about “ways of being and ways of living (as humans).”

The following describes the developments that led to the term “guidance in ways of living” coming to be used, with reference to the policy-related arguments raised by Yoshida (2005). From the following policy-related arguments, we can see the developments that led to “guidance in ways of being and ways of living” being emphasized in the basic policy on education reforms formulated in response to numerous reports published by the Ad Hoc Council on Education.

(1) Central Council for Education Report: *Concerning Lifelong Learning* (1981)

This report states that “In recent years, competition in school entrance examinations has become more intense and in teaching there has been a tendency to emphasize instruction focused on progressing to the next level of education,” and acknowledges the situation at the time in which career guidance was carried out as part of education to prepare students to take examinations. Moreover, the report states that “It is important to identify a better way of living, in order to enable students to choose their career path for themselves,” and stipulates the necessity of enriching career guidance in order to enable students to choose their own career path, as well as giving adequate consideration to the growth of the students’ individuality and abilities.

(2) Central Council for Education Report: *Report on the Progress of Deliberations by the Subcommittee on Educational Content* (1983)

This report points out a wide range of problems, including problems relating to social

changes and school education, and family and community expectations concerning the functions of education; it then describes the composition of subjects in primary and secondary education, as well as the ideal content of education. In the content directly relating to career guidance, it stipulates content relating to “approaches to guidance concerning ways of living for young people” and states that “consideration for guidance concerning ways of living during adolescence, including enhancing moral education, can be said to be extremely important in school education as well.”

(3) Ad Hoc Council on Education: *Second Report on Education Reforms* (1986)

This report sets forth the basic policy for high school education, as well as the significance and necessity of career guidance. It points out that in secondary education, an emphasis on the pursuit of one’s self and education in “ways of living” as a human is proposed, suggesting that “guidance in ways of living” does not simply mean the ethics of how to live as a human and the meaning of human existence, but also that it is necessary to develop practical learning in school education, aimed at establishing one’s self and one’s career path.

(4) Curriculum Council Report: *Concerning the Improvement of Curriculum Standards in Kindergartens, Elementary Schools, Junior High Schools and High Schools* (1987)

This report broadly uses the term “ways of being and ways of living (in junior high schools, the term used is “ways of living”)” as a human, in relation to the content of such subjects as Japanese language, civics, moral education and special activities. Ogawa (1992) points out that, based on this content, “It is expected that ‘education relating to ways of being and ways of living as a human’ will be undertaken as part of education in civics and special activities; to put it in narrower terms, ‘ethics’ and ‘homeroom activities’ are expected to be at the core of this.”

(5) *High School Curriculum Guidelines* (1989)

With regard to the positioning of career guidance in the curriculum, the general provisions of these guidelines prescribe that “planned, systematic career guidance shall be undertaken throughout all educational activities in schools, in order to ensure that students think for themselves about ways of being and ways of living, and can independently choose their career path.” The Curriculum Guidelines state that “matters relating to future ways of living and deciding on appropriate career choices” should be taken up as part of the content of high school homeroom activities, setting forth specific targets that emphasize “education in ways of being and ways of living as a human,” and seeking to achieve progress in the classroom. According to Amano (1995), these provisions evoked a sense of a major era change in approaches to career guidance.

3. Basic Nature

Senzaki (1988) has summarized the basic nature of career guidance into the following five points, based on the definition of career guidance in *Manual on Career Guidance in Junior High and High Schools* (1974). The following points can be understood as the basic nature of “guidance in ways of being and ways of living.”

- i. It is an educational activity that provides instruction and support concerning the ways of living of the students themselves
- ii. It is an educational activity that promotes the vocational development of individual students
- iii. It is an educational activity that values each and every student, and develops their potential
- iv. It is an educational activity that is conducted in each academic year from when students first enter school, on an organized, planned and systematic basis
- v. It is an educational activity in which cooperation and partnership with households, the local community and various relevant institutions are particularly needed.

While describing career guidance as support for selecting and deciding upon a career path, from the perspective of “how to live one’s life,” that is to say, making “how to live” a constant basic stance, Naito (1991) states that initiatives that seek to make students face up to their choices regarding progress to higher education or seeking a job are “school career guidance as education in ways of living.” In undertaking career guidance as guidance in ways of living, Kashima (2000) emphasizes three types of guidance: “guidance in awareness and development of the individuality of students”; “guidance in understanding the diversity of future ways of living and career paths”; and “guidance in forming the values that should become the standards based on which ways of living are selected.”

In addition, various definitions of “guidance in ways of being and ways of living” have been formulated, but they all have in common the general definition that “based on career development theory, this guidance promotes a deeper interest in future ways of living and appropriate choices and decisions about career paths.”

4. The Pros and Cons of “Guidance in Ways of Being and Ways of Living” and Relevant Issues

Based on Mochizuki (2007), this chapter summarizes the pros and cons of “guidance in ways of being and ways of living,” through its impact on the career choices and awareness of career paths of those wishing to progress to university, and adds some considerations concerning relevant issues.

(1) The Achievements of “Guidance in Ways of Being and Ways of Living”

Mochizuki (2007) notes the following three points as the achievements of “guidance in ways of being and ways of living.”

The first achievement is that it has had the effect of extending the career prospects of

students, ensuring that they make considered decisions about progressing to university and giving them a deeper understanding of their university choices. In other words, guidance that emphasizes experiences of their possible destination clearly has the effect of promoting more considered decisions about whether or not to go on to university.

The second achievement is the fact that it has had the effect of overcoming students' sense of "their limits," and igniting aspirations to enter higher-ranking universities that are hard to get into.

The third achievement is the effect of ensuring that the selection of their university of choice is made independently and that students are satisfied with their choices.

These achievements are clear, irrespective of gender or academic performance, but among those with higher grades, it has been noted that such guidance has had the effect of deepening understanding of university options and increasing aspirations to enter higher-ranking universities that are hard to get into.

In other words, irrespective of gender or academic performance, "guidance in ways of being and ways of living" can be said to have the merit of increasing the awareness of career and university options among those wishing to progress to university, overcoming a sense of "one's limits" and enabling them to select their university of choice independently and be satisfied with their choice. The education reforms currently underway seek to have students understand the self in positive terms. The advantages seen in "guidance in ways of being and ways of living" are in line with the intention of policy discussions which, through the transformation of career guidance, aim to increase the occurrence of a state in which students understand the self in positive terms and achieve development that will make it possible to select their career paths independently. To put it another way, "guidance in ways of being and ways of living" is guidance that is effective in "promoting the development of the hyper-meritocracy that is advancing in Japanese society, which is entering the 'postmodern society' stage" (Honda 2005).

(2) The Problems of "Guidance in Ways of Being and Ways of Living"

There are also questions about the effects of "guidance in ways of being and ways of living."

Honda (2000) states that "In education policy and guidance in high school classrooms, the importance is stressed of a student's 'aptitude' and 'individuality,' and, for individual students, 'what they want to do' as a standard or pointer when selecting a career path, but there are many cases in which these are vague and cannot actually adequately function as selection standards," and points out that "guidance in ways of being and ways of living" is not functioning adequately in the field of selecting a career path. Kariya et al. (2001) state that "Although guidance policy is shifting toward an emphasis on understanding of the self, it has been pointed out that there are problems in that the formation of an awareness of career paths in the actual guidance situation is inadequate. Irrespective of the fact that guidance aimed at promoting understanding of the self is being implemented earlier or in a more

planned manner, there are quite a few cases in which this does not yield results” and the authors are ambivalent about the approach to “guidance promoting understanding of the self” within “guidance in ways of being and ways of living.”

Mochizuki (2007) also points out the following two problems with “guidance in ways of being and ways of living.”

The first problem is that it has the effect of igniting students’ aspirations to enter higher-ranking universities that are hard to get into. In the sense that this overcomes students’ sense of “their limits,” it can also be said to be a positive achievement. However, because “guidance in ways of being and ways of living” emphasizes overcoming students’ sense of their limits in life and developing individual values, one cannot deny the possibility that students’ aspirations are merely abstract. Moreover, “guidance in ways of being and ways of living” might fan the flames of the competitive spirit in students, in relation to a small number of highly selective universities that are hard to get into.

The second problem is the fact that it could be difficult to ensure that students are satisfied with their university selection. Looking at the issue from the perspective of policy discussions that have criticized “examination guidance” as one of the factors in students’ failure to adapt after entering university, this is an unintended consequence. “Guidance in ways of being and ways of living” can increase students’ awareness of career paths, above all their awareness of going on to university, and can ignite their aspirations to enter a higher-ranking university that is hard to get into. This result is a positive one in the sense that it overcomes students’ sense of their limits. However, it also increases awareness of career paths before the selection of university entrants takes place, and the more that it succeeds in igniting students’ aspirations to enter a specific university of their choice, the harder it becomes to cool those aspirations after selection takes place, and as a result, it can be difficult to ensure that students are satisfied with the university that they have actually selected. This result is a negative effect of “guidance in ways of being and ways of living,” and this can be described as an unintended consequence from the perspective of policy discussions that rely on developmental theory.

(3) Issues Relating to “Guidance in Ways of Being and Ways of Living”

If, theoretically, “guidance in ways of being and ways of living” is going to continue to promote moves to ignite aspirations to enter “the university I want to enter” rather than “the university I can enter,” it is believed that it will become more difficult to ensure that the university of choice based on the ignited aspirations corresponds to the actual university entered on the basis of the results of meritocratic selection based on academic ability, and it is feared that there will be a further increase in reluctant university entrants.

Amano (2005) points out that in an industrialized society, a social structure is required for motivating people in relation to their status and roles, and then selecting and allocating them, and states that this kind of structure must fulfill the following contradictory roles.

Firstly, there is the role of motivating more people to competition aimed at securing a higher status or role, so that the appropriate allocation can be achieved in accordance with people's abilities and qualities.

Secondly, there is the role of disabusing people of their aspirations, which had been raised with the aim of achieving a higher status. While "igniting" aspirations in order to ensure more people participate in competition, it is also necessary to reduce (or "cool") these aspirations in accordance with the number of statuses and roles that are available.

After the war, "examination guidance," which formed the core of school career guidance, fulfilled these contradictory roles. However, "guidance in ways of being and ways of living" was promoted in response to criticism of these roles, and is an activity that emphasizes the individuality and values of students, as well as supporting them in making independent choices concerning their career path.

Omura (1972) points out that, even if the aspirations of students are abstract, there is a possibility that the various forms of selection in the school curriculum at that time might bring about a change in their aspirations, turning them into more realistic aspirations. However, as "guidance in ways of being and ways of living" can actually have the opposite effect, there is, in fact, the risk that students' aspirations will remain abstract and indeed, become even more abstract. If the aim is to form aspirations with the aim of actual educational and vocational achievement, it is perhaps necessary to give realistic consideration to the institutional and structural context in the form of academic selection and the structure of the labor market. If students' aspirations are abstract, it is difficult for them to enter their university of choice and there are fears that the number of students dropping out of or failing to adapt to the university that they actually enter, which was not their first choice, will increase. As Kariya (1991) points out, there are similar fears about the increase in workers leaving their jobs or failing to adapt to them after finding a job.

According to Mimizuka (1988), teachers played a role in establishing a link between students' academic performance relative to the group average and their university of choice, and were "gatekeepers" who strictly checked the students with ambitions that deviated from this correlation, and guided them onto the career path appropriate to their abilities. However, there has been a transformation in the role of teachers in "guidance in ways of being and ways of living." If, rather than fulfilling a role as "gatekeepers," teachers fulfill a role as "advisors," students who have been subject to "guidance in ways of being and ways of living" may well end up in the same situation as the US high school graduates referred to by Kariya (1991), whether they wish to go on to higher education or wish to find a job.

Kariya (2003) points out that "the things that can be achieved by career guidance that renounces the role of cooling out, in order to value the independence of the student and avoid crushing their dreams, are limited," and seeks a more realistic response. One wonders to what degree career guidance undertaken on the basis of idealistic concepts can meet realistic requests.

VI. Conclusion

The high school years are a transition period when individuals develop from children into adults, worrying and engaging in internal debate, while seeking a way of being in society and making plans for one's future. Conducting realistic and effective career guidance for high school students who are at this stage in their lives is extremely important.

Finally, based on the arguments outlined above, this paper presents some proposals for career guidance that can play a core role in career education in the future.

Firstly, there is the establishment of career guidance based on the social background that is unique to Japan. It cannot be denied that there has been a sense that discussions of career guidance in recent years have been preoccupied with increasing high school students' awareness of career paths, based on developmental theory. However, higher education is becoming more popular, and meritocratic selection based on academic ability is still involved in progressing to university, which has become the choice for the majority of high school students. Consequently, in progressing to university, even if students have a high awareness of career paths and stronger aspirations for their university of choice, it is not necessarily the case that they will be able to progress to their university of choice.

The background to this is Japan's unique university entrance examination system. Career guidance in Japan has been greatly influenced by psychological theoretical development in the USA. However, in order to ensure that it is a realistic and effective method, what is required is perhaps career guidance based on Japan's unique social background, rather than relying solely on developmental theory. To put it in terms of this discussion, the idiosyncrasies of the Japanese university entrance examination system in relation to the selection of career paths by high school students are not taken into account in the theories developed in the USA.

Secondly, there are revisions of the "examination guidance" function. Hitherto, both at the policy level and the academic research level, school career guidance has been perceived in terms of the dichotomy between "guidance in ways of being and ways of living" and "examination guidance," due to career guidance policy and practical activities, and these have been presented as though they are antithetical concepts. However, in terms of making career guidance more effective in the future, it might perhaps be necessary to incorporate the functions of "examination guidance," which has been seen as an opposing concept.

Thirdly, there is a switch in "the view of high school students" in Japanese society. In discussions concerning career guidance, an approach and directionality focused on supporting independent choices of career path by students, rather than school- or teacher-led guidance, have been clearly presented. In education policy in recent years, rather than being limited to career guidance, a tendency has been seen toward cultivating the abilities and attitudes required for self-selection, self-determination and self-fulfillment, based on the individuality and humanity of each individual student.

However, after stating that “if one hopes that students will make their own judgments and choices, and do something independently with a sense of responsibility, one must give them training as ‘little adults’,” Amano (1995) points out that in fact, basically nobody seeks to view children of this age (high school students) as “little adults.” As Katase (2004) points out, there are grave doubts about whether modern high school students can engage in “self-determination” concerning their own career paths and demonstrate strength of will to the extent that they can take responsibility for themselves. Accordingly, it is possible that the neoliberal education policy that compels them to “self-determination and self-responsibility” will only lead to confusion in the career choices of modern high school students.

Even if the systems and organizations are altered, it will be difficult to reach a solution to these problems, unless there is a change in the “view of high school students” that has been rooted in Japanese society and culture for many years.

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