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Care Ethics Study and the Reception in Japan

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Abstract :

This paper is mainly concerned with the significance of care ethics in Japan. Furthermore, the second aim of this paper is to consider the difficulty of the acceptance of care ethics in the context of Japanese history and politics. The first part explains the current situation of the Japanese care ethics studies. The second explains the difficulty of Japanese care ethicists to introduce care ethics because of their fervent attitudes toward liberal democracy, which is based on the critical reflection on Imperial Japan. The third section considers the importance of care ethics as a theory to solve serious problems like “Inner and Invisible Eugenics”. In conclusion, this paper suggests the reconsideration of subjectivity through the adoption of some concepts like *Seikatsu-sha* in order to promote the researches on care ethics.

Keywords :

Care; Care Ethics; Japan; Empire of Japan; Japanese Democracy; Masao Maruyama; System of Irresponsibilities; Autonomous, Independent and Reasonable Person; Aging; Eugenics; Seikatsu-sha

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to consider the significance and meaning of care ethics in Japan rather than to examine care ethics itself.

There is another and more important purpose of this paper. Japanese care ethicists face

the difficulty to promote the researches on care ethics although there is quite a possibility that Japanese people, who face a sharp aging of the society, accept the concept of care and care ethics. Therefore, the second aim of this paper is to think over the difficulty to accept care ethics.

The difficulty comes from the political and social situation of Japan and the historical background of Modern Japan. Consequently, this paper deals with Japanese history, above all the matters of Imperial Japan and the Japanese democratic theories after World War II.

We first examine that the current situation of the study on care ethics through the publishing of the papers.

The second part considers that Japanese political scientists and democrats have difficulty to introduce care ethics into Japanese society for fear that the introduction might harm Japanese liberal democracy which is advanced and sophisticated but fragile at the same time. In order to think the problem, this paper examines Masao Maruyama who is a representative political scientist and democrat in Japan after World War II.

The third part argues, in the context of the consideration on care ethics, some serious problems in Japan; the sharp aging of society, the connection between neoliberalism and neoconservatism, and the spread of eugenic thinking.

Conclusion deals with the relation between care ethics and the problem of subjectivity, while referring to the concept of *Seikatsu-sha*.

1 The Study of Care Ethics in Japan

This part is concerned with the current condition of the study of care ethics in Japan. It should be noticed that the care ethics study in Japan has differed from the American and European situations.

The Current Situation of the Care Ethics Study in Japan

Japan has a little accumulation of the studies of “care ethics”, while there are a lot of research achievements in “care” studies. We can find only 175 theses when we search *kea-no-rinri* (care ethics) in CiNii, which is the internet database of Japanese research papers.

The database, which is constructed by National Institute of Informatics of Japan, is stored with all of Japanese academic papers. Among the 175 papers on care ethics, there are 73 papers: reviews on books, interviews, and so on. Hence, the actual numbers of academic papers are only 102 works. On the other hand, when we search *kea* (care) in the same database, we can see 145,926 papers.¹ These figures show that care in Japan means the practical conducts, not a theoretical concept.

The 102 papers on care ethics are in the various academic fields. The sphere of philosophy and ethics, including medical ethics, are the largest field that includes 41 papers. Subsequently, 13 papers in nursing and in education, 8 papers in welfare studies, and 6 papers in political science.²

The Number of the Academic Papers on Care Ethics in Each Academic Field

(The result of the author of this paper, based on the data of CiNii)

Philosophy / Ethics (Including Medical Ethics)	41
Education	13
Nursing	13
Welfare Studies	8
Political Science (Including Political Philosophy, Global Justice)	6
Feminism / Gender Studies	3
Law (Including Philosophy of Law)	3
Sociology	3
Theology	3
Psychology	2
Social Security	2
American Studies	1

¹ Retrieved January 16, 2018. CiNii Website: <https://ci.nii.ac.jp/>

² This classification is done, in accordance with the specialties of the authors of papers, the characters of the journal publishers and the academic associations, and so on. The classification was difficult because care ethics is not an independent academic field. Moreover, the researchers belong to various academic spheres. Hence, if another person classifies the researchers, the classification will be different from the outcome of this paper.

Economics	1
Literature	1
Other	2
TOTAL	102

Care Ethics and Feminism in Japan

Numerically, in Japan, there are a few papers in feminism/gender studies. Feminism is not so much major as other academic fields; the members of the Women’s Studies Association of Japan, established in 1979, is 442 persons, while Japanese Political Science Association has 1,453 members, Japanese Association for Social Policy Studies has 1,141 members, and the Japanese Society for Ethics has 954 members.³

Furthermore, before feminism and gender studies became popular, Japan had many research achievements about care as conducts. There have been many researchers and achievements in nursing. The conduct of care has been regarded as important and the significance has never been denied, although there were some problems; care was often described as paternal conduct. Consequently, care has not needed care ethics as a principle of the own justification.

The meaning of care, however, has drastically altered, as the Japanese society changed. In order to cope with the situation, the importance of care ethics will increase more and more.

Care Ethics in Political Science Studies in Japan

In political science and political philosophy, some remarkable works on care and care ethics have appeared since the late 20th century.

Yoshinori Hiroi, Kyoto University, has tried to establish his original *Kea-Gaku* (care studies) through researching social policies and welfare. He has a career as a bureaucrat of the Ministry of Health and Welfare. Hiroi considers care as an essential factor of human beings. In addition, he thinks them humans as “caring animals” (Hiroi 2000:19-20). Hiroi’s

³ Retrieved March 9, 2018. *Gakkai-meikan* (Directory of Academic Associations in Japan). Web site: <https://gakkai.jst.go.jp/gakkai/> This database is built by Science Council of Japan, Japan Science Support Foundation, and Japan Science and Technology Agency.

care studies is “transdisciplinary”, and constituted in social and economic context. It requires that agendas should be set and solved in the applied context (Hiroi 2000:47-48). Although he is not a care ethicist in the strict sense, his studies always take care ethics into consideration.

Yayo Okano, Doshisha University, has emphasized the importance of care in thinking about liberalism and citizenship, from a viewpoint of feminist political theories. Okano’s works impacted the Japanese political science and impressed the significance of feminism on Japanese researchers.

Okano’s *Politics of Feminism* (2012) is an essential book about care ethics in political philosophy. In this book, Okano indicates that the politics yielded by modern political theories is “Politics of Oblivion”, which has neglected the nature of human beings. The modern states based on the theories have achieved the inclusion of the nations. Nevertheless, in order to realize the inclusion, the states have abused violence and power without hesitation (Okano 2012:20-23). Furthermore, Okano criticizes that, because liberalism has eagerly required autonomous and independent constituents, liberalism has excluded the people who are not able to bear the civil responsibilities (Okano 2012:33-34). Okano define care ethics as the ethics to avoid inflicting someone in various scenes, while mentioning Carol Gilligan and Joan Tronto (2012:160).

Okano has tried to redefine liberalism and citizenship, from the feminist standpoint, through introducing the concept of care and care ethics. We cannot deny democracy and liberalism in Japan as well as in the United States and Europe. Okano’s challenge is a common task for care ethicists who study care ethics in liberal democratic countries.

In addition, care ethics is recently introduced in some textbooks on political philosophy (Tamura 2017, and so on).

The Current Condition and the Meaning of Care Ethics in Japan

There are some features of the studies on care ethics in Japan.

The first is that care ethics is a minor academic field, but the interest has surely increased in recent years. Considering the sharp aging of Japanese society, the interest in care ethics has been gradually and steadily increased although it has not been popular in Japan.

Secondly, care ethics in Japan does not necessarily relate to feminism. More noteworthy

is that the Japanese situation of care ethics is different from the Western one. The Kohlberg's experiment placed emphasis on the difference of men and women on the human moral development. On the other hand, as Carol Gilligan mentioned, in the preface of Japanese translation of her *In a Different Voice*, that Japanese society has traditionally valued relationship among people, regardless of the difference of sex and gender.⁴ The character and the thinking of Japanese people and the society might have much affinity with the concept of care and care ethics. Many Japanese has not made an issue of the important problem of Kohlberg and Gilligan. Consequently, Japanese people might have dispensed with the theory to justify care like care ethics, and the circumstances might have led to the smallness of the research achievements on care ethics.

The situation has an important problem. If the Japanese feel traditionally and essentially attached to care, however the Japanese are easy to understand the importance of care, care would be easily incorporated into traditional paternalism. In order to solve the problem, we will discuss the Japanese modern democracy.

2 Care Ethics and Japanese Democratic Theories

This part examines the situation of Japanese democracy and the studies of political science in Japan after World War II. The reason to deal with the examination is that the reception of care ethics may be influenced by the political and academic situation of Japan.

The Foundation of Modern Japan

While Japanese national leaders constructed a rigid and centralized imperial system, many democrats, intellectuals, and journalists had tried to introduce the democratic political system, since the Edo-Tokugawa Samurai government ended and the Meiji Imperial government began in 1868. Japan established the Constitution of the Empire of Japan, which was the first written constitution in Asia, in 1889. The Imperial Parliament, which was

⁴ Hiroi 1997:43-44. Now, the Japanese translation of Gilligan's *In a Different Voice* is out of print. Although I have not verified the article directly, I have shown the article because I think it interesting and should introduce it.

consisted of *Kizoku-in* (the House of Peers) and *Shugi-in* (the House of Representatives), was established at the same time. Moreover, the male universal suffrage was realized in 1925, for the fruit of a lot of efforts of many politicians and democrats. The Empire of Japan was not a state of absolutism. Although there were a lot of regulations and restraints, Imperial Japan was a modern constitutional state and achieved to establish the democratic and parliamentary politics.

On the other hand, the Japanese system had some weak points; the defective separation of powers, the inadequate control over Imperial Military, the insufficient protection of human rights, and so on. To discuss the problems in detail are outside the scope of this paper. Eventually, Japan had been the state of militarism and totalitarianism in 1930s. Thus, the task for the political scientists of Post-World War II is to reflect the defects of Imperial Japan in order to establish the liberal democracy.

Japanese political scientists of *Sen-go* (Post-World War II) have tried to construct a liberal and democratic state in accordance with the Constitution of Japan.⁵ The constitution, the current Japanese constitution enforced in 1947, is established under the leadership of the United States, which is the main constituent of the occupation army and is contained many liberal New Dealers. Consequently, the constitution is one of the most liberal and democratic organic laws. Many liberal political scientists have strived to embody the ideas of the constitution. On the contrary, many conservative politicians and ideologues have doubted the legitimacy of the constitution up to the present because it was established under the occupation of the United States (Abe 2006, and so on).

Many *Sen-go Minshu-shugi-sha* (Post-war democrats) have supported modern liberal and democratic theories. There are three principles of the Constitution of Japan; People's sovereignty, Respect for the fundamental human rights, and Pacifism (Renunciation of war). These principles, without Pacifism, are the achievements of modern liberal and democratic

⁵ *Sen-go* means Post-World War II (*sen* means war; *go* means after). This word has a special meaning for Japanese society and politics. *Sen-go* indicates not only the epoch of the regime that has been constructed by the United States and the Allies, but also the values and ideas of the regime: liberty and freedom, democracy, human rights, pacifism, and so on. Likewise, *Sen-go Minshu-shugi-sha* is the democrat who supports the Japanese liberal democracy of Post-World War II. *Sen-go* is a disputatious word in Japan.

theories. Therefore, many Post-war democrats and liberal political scientists have been devout advocates of the constitution as well as defenders of liberal democratic theories that are based on the existence of an autonomous, independent and reasonable person. Let us look at a representative liberal political scientist.

Masao Maruyama's Political Theory

Masao Maruyama (1914-1996) was a prominent Post-World War II democrat who studied Japanese political thought by using the Western academic methodology. Moreover, he was a famous opinion leader in Post-war Japan. Hence, Maruyama has been the reference point of Japanese politics; if someone agrees with Maruyama's view, the person may be a liberal; if disagree with him, the person may be a conservative.

Maruyama focused on the mental structure of Japanese people, in other words, Japanese ethos. He concluded that Japanese mental structure caused Japanese militarism and the tragic end with numerous victims and tremendous demolitions. For Maruyama, the reflection on Japanese ethos was indispensable to establish the wholesome liberal democracy.

There are three points in the political theory of Maruyama;

- 1) Maruyama focused on the mental structure of Japanese people rather than the economic and social structure.
- 2) Maruyama criticized, in Japan, the un-establishment of the citizen's consciousness as an autonomous, independent and reasonable person.
- 3) Maruyama required citizen's engagement with democracy and society.

1) Maruyama focused on the mental structure of Japanese people rather than the economic and social structure.

Maruyama was influenced by Max Weber and Karl Manheim. Therefore, Maruyama put emphasis on people's inner sides. According to Maruyama, Japan has "the all-pervasive psychological coercion, which has forced the behavior of our people into a particular channel" (Maruyama 1969:2=2006:12). In detail, that is "private affairs cannot be morally justified within themselves, but must always be identified with national affairs, has a converse implication: private interests endlessly infiltrate into national concerns" (Maruyama

1969:7=2006:16). Maruyama compared Japanese mental structure and Western one. Western states were constituted as Karl Schmidt's *ein neutraler Staat* (a neutral state), which is neutral in the moral and mental sphere. The states did not intervene people's morals and, consequently, helped to establish their consciousness as individuals. On the other hand, Modern Imperial Japan assumed the existence of *Ten-no* (Emperor) as a core value of the state. Moreover, the political sphere and the moral-mental sphere were integrated through the existence of the Emperor: the concept of the integration is *Koku-Tai* (National Body; National Structure). *Koku-Tai* means the regime and constitution as well as the national character of Japan. Imperial Japanese government forced the people to submit to *Koku-Tai*.

The founders of Imperial Japan needed the mental axis of the state. When Hirobumi Ito, the first Japanese prime minister, drafted the Constitution of the Empire of Japan, he noticed that Japan has no mental basis as Christianity in the Western states. Ito assumed the Emperor as the mental core of the nation (Maruyama 2014:31-34). Although it takes it for granted that the Emperor is not an idea but a physical existence, the Japanese founding fathers expected the Emperor to become a sacred existence. This *Koku-Tai* system connoted such a serious contradiction.

Furthermore, because *Koku-Tai* was regarded as the national basis, it possessed the function of mental homogenization and conformity (Maruyama 2014:36-37). The thought of *Koku-Tai* penetrated into the Japanese mentality and restrained them up to the end of World War II.

The Emperor, moreover, was not an absolute existence like absolute European kings and Chinese emperors. The Japanese Emperor was thought to be the supreme successor of the long tradition of myth and legend. Hence, the Emperor was defined and limited by his ancestors and their traditions as well as the Constitution of Imperial Japan. That is, all existences, including the Emperor, were not autonomous and independent in Japan. Maruyama said; "Society was so organized that each component group was constantly being regulated by a superior authority, while it was imposing its own authority on a group below. (Maruyama 1969:16=2006:23)"

For Maruyama, *Koku-Tai* was the very thing of the Japanese mental structure.

2) Maruyama criticized, in Japan, the un-establishment of the citizen's consciousness as an autonomous individual.

As we have seen, Maruyama studied the mental structure of Japanese people. Above all, he was interested in the mentality of Japanese national and military leaders.

In Maruyama's view, the idea of the individual was generated in the modern West, and the concept aided the construction of the modern states. For instance, social contract philosophers like Thomas Hobbes and John Locke constructed the theories that each individual's will constitutes a political and civil society. John Stuart Mill argued that each individual is the moral basis for themselves. Modern Japanese intellectuals, represented by Maruyama, have regarded the Western-oriented theories, like social contract theories, as model theories to create a democratic politics and society.

Maruyama sternly evaluated and criticized the Japanese leadership as *Mu-sekinin no Taikei* (system of irresponsibilities) (Maruyama 1969:128-129=2006:129-130). Most of the Japanese leaders, in the Tokyo War Crime Trials, made an excuse for their political and military decisions, denied their suspicions and collusions, and argued that they had inwardly opposed the war. In their assertion, although they had not agreed to the war, they had only obeyed the decision of war because it was determined by the organizations of the state. Maruyama criticized that nobody had recognized the responsibilities of the national leaders. They neglected to think by themselves and to burden their own responsibilities. They were subject to the dominant atmosphere in the organizations and the state.

Maruyama's system of irresponsibilities is similar to Hannah Arendt's "Banality of Evil". Arendt described, as banality of evil, the character of the person who is not aware of own responsibility without consideration and conscience. She thought that the constituent officials and officers in Nazis Germany were affected by banality of evil. On the other hand, in Maruyama, Japanese people, including the national and military leaders, were under the influence of system of irresponsibilities.

After the war, with analyzing Japanese mental structure and Japanese war leadership, Maruyama insisted that every person has to recognize themselves as an autonomous and independent citizen. Irresponsibilities are not only leader's characters but also all Japanese characters, so to speak Japanese ethos. This is the Japanese intrinsic defect. Maruyama

thought that Japanese people should be autonomous and independent to overcome system of irresponsibilities.

3) Maruyama required citizen's engagement with democracy and society.

Maruyama insisted that people's engagement is one of the most essential factor for democracy. Maruyama's approval for people's participation comes from Alexis de Tocqueville. In Tocqueville, democracy should be supported by people's engagement like townships, jury systems, voluntary associations (Tocqueville 1992). A citizen should recognize her/himself as an autonomous and independent individual, and she/he should have interests in public affairs. We can situate Maruyama in the line of civic republicanism, including Tocqueville. Maruyama distinguished "doing" from "being" (2014:170-199).⁶ Maruyama said: If citizens feel too safe in possessing civil rights, they will lose them. Democracy needs sustained efforts to observe the political system. People in democracy should put emphasis on the process of democracy, not the definition and the conclusion. Maruyama required citizens' daily engagement with public affairs. Tocqueville and Maruyama shared the thought to make much account of public engagement and participation.

Maruyama's Defects

Maruyama's first problem is to overvalue the Western political theories and the concepts. He fully recognized that mass society yielded totalitarianism and fascism in Europe. Maruyama's intention was to closely examine the problems of Japan by comparing to the European political and social situations. Even if we understand his intention, Maruyama is thought to be lenient toward the Western modern theories.

His second problem is elitism. For example, he divided Japanese middle class into two groups (Maruyama 1969:57-65=2006:63-70). The first group contained small factory owners, building constructors, proprietors of retail shops, master carpenters, small landowners, independent farmers, primary school teachers, employees of village offices, low-grade

⁶ Maruyama's *Dearu-koto to Suru-koto* (Being and Doing) is a very famous essay and is often used as an educational material to study citizenship, and logical writing and reading in secondary education (Sekiguchi 2004; Ishi 2017).

officials, Buddhist and Shinto priests. The second group contained urban salaried employees, so-called men of culture, journalists, men in occupations demanding higher knowledge such as professors and lawyers, and university and college students. Maruyama criticized the first group because they supported Japanese fascism. On the other hand, the second group resisted fascist authority. They were limited and their efforts were in vain. Many of them had much intelligence for they could afford to study higher education. Although Maruyama had never despised common people and workers, he overlooked the blessed situation of the second group and consequently concluded that the first group of Japanese middle class was inferior to the second group.

The third is the heavy responsibilities of people as citizens. The political theory of civil participation is a thought that burdens ordinary people. Tocqueville said: « il n'est rien de plus fécond en merveilles que l'art d'être libre; mais il n'y a rien de plus de dur que l'apprentissage de la liberté. » (Tocqueville 1992:275). As Tocqueville expressed the duty of citizen as “apprentissage” (harsh training), it is a severe task for ordinary people to constantly participate in politics, to conduct public affairs, and to pay attentions to social matters, because the task needs much time, cost and labor. Maruyama's political theories are not entirely corresponding to Tocqueville's thought. However, Maruyama inherited the Tocqueville's ideas about politics.

Care Ethics and Maruyama

Maruyama was an orthodox successor of modern liberal and democratic theories. Accordingly, care ethics that has criticized the theories is essentially opposed to Maruyama's views.

Maruyama insisted that each citizen is required to possess a certain level of cognitive capacity, literacy, and logical thinking. Furthermore, the citizen should have the consciousness of citizenship, which is a motive for the participation in politics and public affairs. As Shigeki Uno pointed out, Maruyama showed three aspects of subjectivity: the subjectivity of a nation, the subjectivity of relativeness, and the subjectivity of association. The first subjectivity is based on the premise that each individual is the active constituent of the nation state; the second subjectivity is emerged through the reflection on one's own

thoughts in encountering various things and other people; the third is on the basis of voluntary associations retaining the spirit of resistance and independence (Uno 2003:71). Therefore, civil democracy requires a “perfect citizen,” who is autonomous, independent and reasonable. The citizens are limited although Maruyama’s view about politics is orthodox and may be correct in thinking about democracy.

Many Post-war democrats, represented by Maruyama, have insisted the importance of modern political theories and the construction of liberal democracy. However, at the same time, the succession to modern political theories means the acceptance of the strict stance on various vulnerabilities, including intellectual and physical disabilities. Consequently, for many Japanese democrats, the reception of care ethics would pose difficulties.

3 Significance of the Introduction of Care Ethics in Japan

This part deals with the significance and meaning of care ethics while thinking over the current political, economic, and social conditions in Japan.

The Possibility of the Reception of Care Ethics

As we have seen, many Post-World War II democrats have a specific difficulty to introduce care ethics in Japan. Not only in the advanced countries, but also in many developing countries, democracy and liberalism are the given conditions now. It is hasty to abandon liberal democracy even if it has some serious defects. The theories of liberal democracy and the efforts of the realization enabled people to regain political powers from kings and peers and to fulfill the people’s equality. The greatness of the achievements has not been still diminished today. Therefore, Japanese care ethicists must promote the study of care ethics, with respecting liberal democracy which is partly antagonistic to care ethics.

Now, in Japan, there is a condition to willingly adopt and accept care ethics. The two reasons are; firstly, the rapid aging of Japanese society; secondly, the transformation of conservatism.

The aging of Japan will be tremendously sharp and it has been unlike any other countries in the world. According to the White Book of Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare of

2016, the aging population rate (over 65 years old) will be 39.9% in 2060. While 10 persons of working generation supported an elder person's life in 1950, 1.2 working persons will support an elder person.⁷ The sharp aging forces Japan and Japanese people to consider the importance of care. For political scientists and researchers who study politics and political philosophy, the most important question is to ponder the meaning of citizen in the society that has many people with some vulnerabilities because of their own aging. In the society, the image of an autonomous, independent and reasonable person will become invalid. The care ethicists must seek the new character of citizen who supports the new society.

Then, the transformation of conservatism will influence the adoption of care ethics in Japan. The new type of conservatism has recently appeared in Japan. The typical and traditional conservatism of Japan yearned for Imperial Japan and deeply respected the Emperor and the monarchy. This traditional conservatism was exclusive but it was warm to compatriots. On the other hand, the new type of Japanese conservatism is the fusion of traditional reactionary thought, neoconservatism, and neoliberalism.

Neoconservatism and neoliberalism closely relate each other in Japan like the Western countries. As David Harvey pointed out, neoconservatism glosses over the faults of neoliberalism (Harvey 2007:81-86=2007:115-121). We can easily find that neoliberalism has much contradiction; for instance, governmental non-intervention in an economic market is achieved by strong interventions of government. The connection between neoconservatism and neoliberalism smooths over the contradiction.

One of the most serious defects of neoliberalism is a meritocracy that regarded economic achievements and success as most important. Political philosophy has always criticized economy because economy might harm political values (Arendt 2006, and so on). As far as neoliberalism, the criticism of political philosophy based on care ethics is that neoliberalism values achievements as well as despises people without achievements. Neoliberalism is characterized by strong ownership and property, free market, free trade, economic activities of individuals. What is more, the theory regards exchange in a market as an ethic, and it

⁷ *The White Book of Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare of 2016*. Retrieved March 9, 2018, from Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare Web site: <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/wp/hakusyo/kousei/16/>

pushes people into the world of a market (Harvey 2007:2-4=2007:10-12). It follows that the value of economy and economic competition is applied to the human existence. In such a world, a person without success, especially economic success, is not appreciated at all.

Neoconservatism compensates the ruthlessness of neoliberalism by emphasizing the traditional values. Conservative values are subordinate to economy and neoliberalism, and neoconservatism complements neoliberalism.

Many Japanese liberals have opposed to the paternal and traditional views of conservatives. The traditional conservatives have been partly warm to compatriots and neighbors. Hence, the liberal's opinions against the conservatives have been condemned that the opinions might damage human relations like family. Conservatism, however, has changed into neoconservatism. The new type of conservatism is not a bond of human relations but a cause of the social divide. Care ethicists can reservedly raise the alarm about neoconservatism.

Care ethics is required in Japanese society. The first reason is that the rapid aging needs the principle to appropriately maintain Japanese society faced the social transition. The second reason is that Japanese society needs the principle which is different from a traditional and paternal one and maintains the ties of people. Care ethics can supply the principle to meet these requirements.

Inner and Invisible Eugenics

Japan has a serious problem; eugenic thinking has spread gradually across the country. One of the worst mass murder in Japan happened in 2016, in Sagami-hara-city, where is about 60 kilometers west of Tokyo. A 26-year-old man broke into the facility for people with intellectual and mental disabilities at midnight. He killed 19 sleeping residents and injured 26 people. The murderer was a former staff of the facility. He wrote that the people with disabilities can only produce misery (The Asahi Shimbun 2017:31, 83). Furthermore, on the internet, many people sympathized with the murderer's opinion. The issue, appeared by the Sagami-hara mass murder, is that many people evaluate the human value and dignity by the achievements and success. Shun-suke Sugita expresses it "inner and invisible eugenics". He analyzed that the eugenics is the complex of meritocratic Thanatos, capitalistic Thanatos, and

masculine Thanatos, and so forth; Thanatos means self-destruction (Sugita 2016:151-176). Although most people do not agree with eugenics, few people recognize their own inner and invisible eugenics. In the world of the collaboration between neoliberalism and neoconservatism, meritocracy would easily connect eugenics without a prick of conscience.

The idea of care and care ethics are entirely opposite to meritocracy and eugenics. Care ethics is based on a recognition that everybody has vulnerabilities; everybody needs care; and there is no complete person and no “perfect citizen”. On the contrary, meritocracy and eugenics dogmatize that only competent persons deserve recognition. If meritocracy and eugenics are the dominant principles in the current world of neoliberalism and neoconservatism, care and care ethics might be hard for many people to accept. Care ethics is destined to be a radical and critical theory in Japan and the current world. That is to say, to be radical and critical is the duty of care ethics in Japan.

Conclusion

Considering the previous parts, it is evident that the introduction of the concept of care and the promotion of care ethics study are highly effective and significant for the people and the society of Japan. At the same time, the character of care ethics is essentially different from the ideas of liberal democracy. Therefore, Japanese care ethicists studying political science and political philosophy have to pursue both of care ethics and liberal democracy.

Japanese care ethicists need to reconsider the image of citizen as a political subject. Moreover, because most of them are democrats, they respect the achievements of liberal democracy. They might fear that the acknowledgement of human vulnerabilities would cause the damage to liberal democracy. In liberal democracy, a citizen must be autonomous, independent and reasonable. Nevertheless, the premise is actually inadequate.

The important concept for reconsidering the image of citizen is subjectivity. As Judith Butler said, the question of “the subject” is a crucial problem for feminist political theory (Butler 2002:5). Feminism, which is an influential theory to criticize modern liberalism, argued that we do not need to be “the subject” to admit our own persons and personalities, because being “the subject” requires essentialism and the denial of dependence (Okano

2012:123-124). The concept of subjectivity is on the basis of the image of an autonomous, independent and reasonable man. As a result, many feminists cannot admit the view at all.

In this paper, we should reconsider the concept of citizen as a political subject rather than the denial to subjectivity because the concept of “the subject” is the basis of liberal democracy. Furthermore, the self-awareness of most people tends to be of essential. If subjectivity is denied, the concept of individual and the civil society based on it would be lost. Therefore, we should invent another model of political subject.

Masako Amano, for instance, suggested the concept of *Seikatsu-sha*; *Seikatsu* means life; *sha* means person in Japanese. According to Amano, the word was used by a novelist Hyaku-zo Kurata in 1926 for the first time. Although the word is similar to “common people” in English, many Japanese scholars and philosophers have suggested various definitions of the word, and *Seikatsu-sha* has held fertile meanings. In Amano’s view, *Seikatsu-sha* is an unknown but concrete existence who live in the family and the local area; is reflective to one’s own life, is interested in common affairs and is in hope of connecting with other people. Moreover, *Seikatsu-sha*, although she/he is a “weak person,” is sensitive to another people’s pain and takes care of the life of them. The sensitivity and interest will grow up to public values (Amano 2012:i-iii). Amano’s *Seikatsu-sha* is the suggestion about subjectivity, which is different from the citizen and the individual in the Western world. *Seikatsu-sha* is the useful concept to pursue both of care ethics and liberal democracy.

Care ethics has variability. The ethics is essentially radical and critical to the conventional way of thinking. If the problem of subjectivity is solved, the coexistence of care ethics and liberal democracy would be realized. If that happens, care ethics would be not only a critical theory but also a metatheory to synthesize various social theories.

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