

Some Characteristics of Female Labor Force Participation in Japan during the Post War Period

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Japan has rapidly industrialized since the end of World War II. The annual growth rate of the Gross National Product sharply increased : 8.7% during 1955-1960, 9.7% during 1960- 65, 11.6% during 1965-70, and 8.5% during 1970-72. The industrialization has not only affected the economic structure of Japan in general, but also has influenced several social aspects of Japanese society : family structure, demographic characteristics of the population, life styles, etc.

Labor force participation of women has been roughly parallel to the increase in economic growth. It is interesting that at the beginning of the 1970's the female labor force participation rate in Japan was high compared with that of the Western developed countries, as may be seen in the following table :

Table 1. The Female Labor Force Participation Rate by Age Group, Selected Countries⁽¹⁾

Country	Year	Age Group									
Total		15-	20-	25-	30-44	45-	50-	55-	60-	65-	
U. S.	1970	40.5	29.2	56.1	45.4	48.3	53.0	52.0	47.4	36.1	10.0
U.K.	1971	42.6	55.7	60.1	43.0	53.0	61.5	58.6	50.7	28.0	6.3
Italy	1971	25.5	36.7	44.7	36.2	30.5	29.7	26.3	16.9	9.9	3.2
Austral.	1971	37.1	52.1	58.6	39.1	42.4	43.1	36.4	28.3	16.0	4.2
Canada	1971	39.9	49.3	44.2	40.1	8.3					
Sweden	1971	37.3	29.3	53.3	49.0	49.8	55.0	50.3	41.1	25.7	3.2
W. Ger.	1970	38.3	64.4	67.1	51.5	46.3	48.4	43.0	34.7	17.8	5.8
Fran.	1968	36.2	31.3	62.3	50.7	42.4	45.5	45.3	42.3	34.4	8.2
Japan	1970	49.9	33.6	70.5	45.6	55.9	63.0	58.6	48.8	39.1	18.0

Industrialization

The industrialization in Japan after World War II during the first three decades can be divided into two periods : the decade after the war, 1945-1955, which was a period of recovery from the war damage when full industrialization was achieved ; and the period

from 1956 through the 1970's during which Japan has increasingly become industrialized and has passed through the "oil shock" in the late 1973 and in 1974. Of course, Japan was heavily industrialized before the war; but agriculture was predominant. Since the devastation of the war, industry has more than recovered and overwhelmingly surpasses agriculture. The post-war industrialization of Japan has brought huge changes to Japanese society.

There has been greater demand for labor in industry, commercial activities, and service industries; more jobs available for women; more opportunities for education; improvement of the standard of living; and rapid growth of urbanization. The economic growth during the decade after the war is manifested by the steady increase of the GNP:

Table 2. Annual GNP of Japan, 1946-1950 (in billions of yen)⁽²⁾

1946	360.9	1951	4,525.2
1947	968.0	1952	5,084.9
1948	1,961.6	1953	5,747.7
1949	2,737.3	1954	6,022.4
1950	3,381.5	1955	6,718.9

It is not only industrialization that brought greatly increased working opportunities for women, but women's status as a whole has been elevated. Women's freedom to join political parties was established in 1945; in 1946 women's suffrage and eligibility for election to the Diet were introduced; the new constitution stated the equality of both sexes; equal pay for equal work was prescribed for men and women; and, the protection of women was provided for in the Labor Standard Law.⁽³⁾

The percentage of labor participation of women increased from 45.1 in 1947 to 55.0 in 1955 (see Table 3).⁽⁴⁾ This was higher than the percentage of participation in recent years. One reason for this is in the later period women have tended to go to school for longer periods of time, thus reducing their participation in the labor force.

Table 3. Percentage of Male and Female Workers of All Persons above 14 Years of Age, 1947-1955⁽⁵⁾

Year	Male	Female	Year	Male	Female
1947	83.9	45.1	1952	83.3	49.9
1948	83.9	47.4	1953	84.6	53.1
1949	83.6	50.9	1954	83.7	53.3
1950	83.2	49.3	1955	83.9	55.0
1951	83.2	48.8			

Source: Ministry of Labor, Annual Report of Labor Statistics, 1948-1957.

Furthermore, poverty and the depressed economic situation after the war appears to be another reason that pushed women to work outside the home. According to a 1949 survey by the Ministry of Labor, which was conducted during a period of economic depression, 40% of women were reported to add one-half or more to the amount of the family income by doing part time work, by helping in the family business, or by taking up a regular occupation.⁽⁶⁾ A survey of 1948 covering 1,724 female clerks and workers employed in offices in Tokyo on a permanent basis showed that the reasons which they gave for working were as follows :

Table 4. Reasons Given for Working by Female Workers: A Survey of 1948⁽⁷⁾

Reasons	Percentage
To support the family	16
To supplement family income	38
To gain money for own use	16
Both to supplement family and to gain money of own use	14
To gain knowledge of society	5
To render service to society through work	3
Other	8

Source : National Public Opinion Research Institute, *Women and Work*, 1948

Even though to gain more income was the main reason for those clerks and workers in the office, it should be kept in mind that during this period women received for the same work less than 50% given men (43% of men's wages in 1948, 46.2% in 1951, and 43.7% in 1955).⁽⁸⁾ Even today, equal pay for equal work is the exception in Japan.

One feature of female labor force participation in the 1945-55 period was the increased proportion of the labor force in non agricultural work and the corresponding decrease in agricultural work.

After 1955, the Japanese economy has grown rapidly; see the table showing the GNP below:

Table 5. Annual GNP of Japan 1956-76 (in billions of yen)⁽⁹⁾

Year	GNP	Year	GNP
1956	7,627.9	1966	38,449.5
1957	8,285.9	1967	45,322.1
1958	8,519.0	1968	53,368.0
1959	10,037.3	1969	62,997.2
1960	11,903.7	1970	73,237.2
1961	14,117.7	1971	81,577.0
1962	21,659.5	1972	94,765.3
1963	25,592.1	1973	115,675.2
1964	29,661.9	1974	136,422.4
1965	32,812.5	1975	149,631.6
		1976	169,208.6

Also the changing pattern of industrialization is shown by the distribution of industrial output (Table 6).

Table 6. The industrial distribution of Output (in Trillions of Yen) Among Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Industries⁽¹⁰⁾

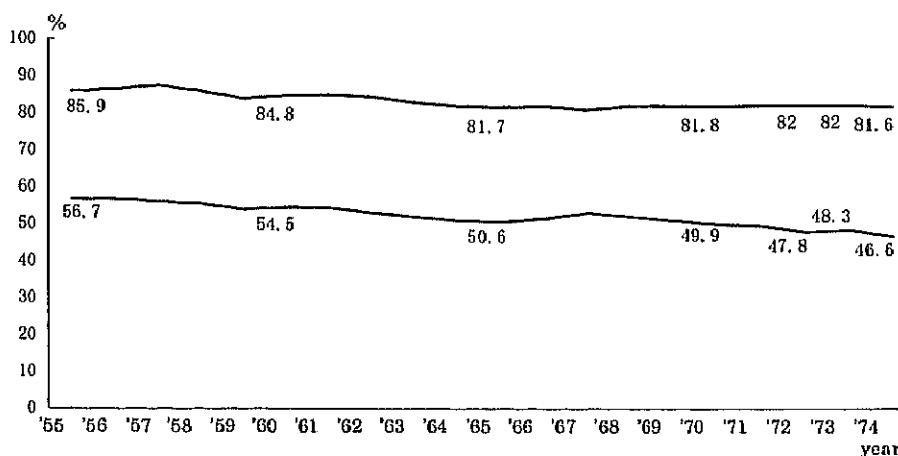
	1960		Annual Growth		1975		Average %	
	Yen	% of T	1970	% of T	Yen	% of T	1960-1970	1970-1975
Prim. Ind.	6.0	10.5	6.7	4.2	7.7	3.8	1.7	1.6
Secd. Ind.	29.4	51.3	97.5	60.4	120.9	59.5	12.7	4.4
Tert. Ind.	21.9	38.2	57.1	35.4	74.7	36.7	10.0	5.5
Total	57.3	100.0	161.3	100.0	203.3	100.0	10.9	4.7

The output of primary industry (agriculture, forestry, and fishing) in 1960 was about 10.5%; it decreased to 3.8% in 1975. In contrast, that of secondary industry (mining, construction, manufacturing, etc.) increased from 51.3% in 1960 to 59.5% in 1975, and that of tertiary industry (transportation, service, etc.) slightly decreased from 38.2% in 1960 to 36.7% in 1975. The total average annual growth rate during the 1960's was 10.9% (a very high figure) while during 1970-1975 it was 4.7% (lower in part because of the oil shock). The growth of the economy has been paralleled by the increase in the number of employed workers; note the increase in the following table and compare with Table 6.

Table 7. The Industrial Distribution of Employment, Male and Female⁽¹¹⁾

	No. of Employed Persons (in 10,000's)		Average Annual Change					
	1960	1970	1975	1960-70	1970-75			
Prim. Ind.	1,424	32.6%	1,009	19.4%	740	13.9%	3.4%	6.0%
Secd. Ind.	1,289	29.5%	1,803	34.6%	1,849	34.8%	3.4%	0.5%
Tert. Ind.	1,659	37.9%	2,399	46.0%	2,725	51.3%	3.8%	2.6%
Total	4,372	100.0%	5,211	100.0%	5,314	100.0%	1.8%	0.4%

This table shows that the number of employed workers increased by almost 10 million from 1960 to 1975. The labor force participation ratio of both sexes is shown here :

Chart 1: Proportion of Male/Female Labor Force Participation, 1955-1974⁽¹²⁾

From Chart 1 one may note that after the oil shock in 1973, the number of laborers of both sexes decreased from 52,900,000 in 1973 to 52,740,000 in 1974, and among these total laborers, female laborers dropped from 20,450,000 in 1973 to 19,960,000 in 1974 (the participation ratio decreased from 48.3% in 1973 to 46.6% in 1974).⁽¹³⁾

In order to examine the reason for the decreasing number of female laborers one can look at the Basic Survey of the Employment Structure conducted by the Office of the Prime Minister which stated that among the female laborers who entered the labor market in 1974: 41.0% entered from school, 49.1% entered from home, 9.9% entered from other places; on the other hand, among these who left the labor market in the same year: 1.4% returned to school, 87.0% returned to their home, and 11.6% went to other places.⁽¹⁴⁾ These figures show for women a strong inverse correlation between their participation in the labor market and their participation as full time homemakers. Moreover, because of the tremendous impact of the oil shock on the industrialization of Japan and on the shrinkage of the labor market, there was a campaign against working women; women

were actively encouraged to stay at home with their homework and children. (Partly because of this, female college graduates from 1973-76 found great difficulty in obtaining jobs outside the home.)

In the three types of industries, the female labor force in 1945-1955 participated greatly in primary industry, but as the industrialization and commercialization grew, female labor gradually shifted mainly into secondary and into tertiary industries. At the same time they steadily withdrew from primary industry as it has reduced its share of the Japanese economy. The percentage is shown in the following table :

Table 8. Industrial Composition of female labor, 1955-1967⁽¹⁵⁾

	Percentage Distribution			
	1955	1960	1965	1967
Prim. Ind.	48.6	41.1	33.7	30.4
Secd. Ind.	17.3	19.7	23.4	25.1
Tert. Ind.	34.1	39.2	42.9	44.5
Total Number (in 10,000's)	1,705	1,812	1,888	1,964

Source: Bureau of Statistics, Office of the Prime Minister

The above table indicates the declining trend of female labor in primary industry and the decreasing trends in that of secondary and tertiary industries. However, the industrial composition in 1977 was somewhat different from that in 1967. As a highly industrialized country, Japan should be compared with other industrialized countries. The table below concerns Japan, the United States, and West Germany in the 1970's :

Table 9. Industrial Composition of Female Labor in Three Countries: Japan in 1977, and the United States and West Germany in 1975 (in 1,000's)⁽¹⁶⁾

	Japan		United States		West Germany	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Prim. Ind.	3,616	18.4%	626	1.7%	911	9.5%
Secd. Ind.	5,053	25.7%	6,574	17.9%	2,908	30.2%
Tert. Ind.	10,992	55.9%	29,486	80.4%	5,814	60.3%
Total	19,661	100.0%	36,686	100.0%	9,633	100.0%

Even though there is a two year difference in the figures between Japan and the two other countries (due to the inability to locate appropriate statistics), it can be seen that the pattern of Japanese female industrial labor force in the 1970's was similar to that of West Germany's and may become similar to that of the United States' in the near future. In 1977, the Japan Economic Research Center projected that by 1985 the primary industry

of Japan will reduce further its share of the nation's total production, with the labor force objected to decline by about 14%.⁽¹⁷⁾ This means that the primary industry composition of the female labor force is sure to decline.

It appears that the female labor force participation in tertiary industry in Japan will increase because of: 1) the jobs in tertiary industries are not usually gender mandated (both men and women can do the same work) so that women can compete more easily; 2) the female's wages are much lower and they will not be in the labor market for more than a few years so that a firm does not have to pay considerable fringe benefits, hence giving women a competitive edge over men. As a manager at a major bank stated, "*Recently, it has been difficult to save on labor costs except by hiring women, and we plan to replace male workers with females to reduce the cost. Most women workers get married in about four years. This is the most important point in hiring them.*"⁽¹⁸⁾

A major conclusion is that female participation in the Japanese economy is subject to economic fluctuation more than is male participation.

Education

Table 10. Percentage of Male Female Graduates Continuing On for Further Education, 1951-1974⁽¹⁹⁾

Year	Junior High School Grads Year (9th Grade) Who Go to Senior High School		Senior High School Grads (12th Grade) Who Go to College or University	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1951	51.4	39.6	30.1	12.9
1952	52.9	42.1	26.9	13.0
1953	52.7	43.7	25.4	15.7
1954	55.1	46.5	23.3	14.7
1955	55.5	47.4	20.9	14.9
1956	55.0	47.6	18.7	12.5
1957	54.3	48.4	18.2	13.3
1958	56.2	51.1	19.0	13.3
1959	57.5	53.2	19.6	13.8
1960	59.6	55.9	19.7	14.2
1961	63.8	60.7	20.2	15.3
1962	65.5	62.5	21.9	16.5
1963	68.4	65.1	23.8	17.8
1964	70.6	67.9	26.9	19.6
1965	71.7	69.6	30.1	20.4
1966	73.5	71.2	28.2	20.6
1967	75.3	73.7	26.1	21.1
1968	77.0	76.4	24.7	21.4
1969	79.2	79.5	24.1	22.3
1970	81.6	82.7	25.1	23.0
1974	88.3	90.6	31.6	30.8

In 1947 it was stated in the Fundamental Law of Education that the following would be provided: a) equal educational opportunities for both men and women (article 3); and, b) a coeducational system (article 5). The percentage of women going on to higher education has increased as shown above.

Table 10 shows that the ratio of male and female junior high school graduates who went on in their education has increased at about the same speed over the years. Furthermore, the female rates seem to be slightly higher in 1974. Also the proportion of female senior high school graduates who continued studying has increased from only half of that of male's in 1951 (12.9%) to be about the same percentage (30.8%) in 1974. At the university level, women account for 90% of the students at the two year colleges but only 18% at four year institutions.

The rising level of education among women could function as a stimulus for women to work, but as a matter of fact, the attitude that a woman should be a "good wife and wise mother" is still firmly emphasized in Japanese society; education has tended to reinforce this attitude. A woman's graduation from college is extremely desirable since it greatly improves her prospects for marriage to an upwardly mobile, successful, and well-off spouse. In 1956 home economics was made compulsory for girls in high schools. Moreover, ". . . *the policy of many women's universities is to educate women for their roles as mothers. Graduate schools at government supported women's universities are virtually non-existent. Some subjects are still considered unsuitable for women, especially the hard sciences and social sciences such as economics. Accordingly, most women, even at four year educational universities, specialize in the humanities.*"⁽²⁰⁾

". . . . *One explanation for government reluctance to upgrade educational facilities for women is society's attitude that women's education does not yield a return of the financial investment. This attitude will persist so long as the assumption that all women must sooner or later marry and become dependent persists.*"⁽²¹⁾

A survey done by the Japanese Association of University Women of which the respondents were limited to the graduates of women's universities established before 1935 shows some of the reasons of women for giving up gainful employment and for not being employed:

Table 11. Reasons for Leaving Jobs, by Age Group⁽²²⁾

Age	Marriage	Birth/ Rearing of Child	Poor Health	Specific Job Con- dition	Domestic Problems	Others	Total
-29	53	19	3	19	4	4	102/87*
30-39	107	55	13	32	29	15	251/211*
40-49	84	47	17	12	21	8	189/166*
50-59	42	13	7	8	11	18	99/88*
60-	39	14	17	22	16	17	125/110*
N. A.	4	3	-	1	1	1	10/9*
Total	329	151	57	94	82	63	776/671*
% of T.	42.4	19.5	7.3	12.1	10.6	8.1	

*Responses/Respondents

Reasons for leaving jobs are primarily "marriage" (42.4%) and secondarily "child-bearing and rearing" (19.5%). This means that more than half of these university graduates are so concerned about families that they gave up their jobs. The survey was done further on a combination of women who used to be gainfully employed and those who have never been gainfully employed, asking them the reasons in order to check with the previous responses. See the following table :

Table 12. Reasons for Not Being Gainfully Employed, by Age Group⁽²³⁾

Age Group	Eight Reasons (Keyed Below)								Total
	1	2	3	4	5&6	7	8	N. A.	
-30	11	10	10	9	88	1	5	4	134/122*
30-39	23	13	24	32	191	4	13	16	300/252*
40-49	36	12	33	32	86	13	17	13	229/200*
50-59	32	10	13	11	40	16	11	6	133/119*
60-	39	6	7	6	20	77	10	7	165/145*
Total	141	51	87	90	425	111	56	46	961/83
% of T.	14.7	5.3	9.1	9.4	44.2	11.6	5.7	0.1	

* Responses/Respondents (N. A. are excluded)

Eight Reasons :

- 1) No need to be employed because of economic security
- 2) No urge felt to have job because am satisfied with life in the home
- 3) Can not find any job that suits my taste to ability
- 4) Family (husband or parent) is against my having a job
- 5) Difficult to combine outside home work with household responsibilities
- 6) Do not want to work outside home when children are very young
- 7) No confidence in working because of my age
- 8) Other

From the above table the reasons of female graduates for not working is still primarily because of preference for housework and for taking care of children (44.2%). Unsurprisingly, the reason of economic security is as high as 14.7% because the man's wages in Japan are supposed to be sufficient for the family ; besides, these respondents are likely to be from a fairly high socioeconomic class. In another survey done in 1976 and 1977 by the Bureau of Statistics, Office of the Prime Minister, it appears that the higher socio- economic class that women are in, the lower the rate of labor force participation.⁽²⁴⁾ Therefore, it can be concluded that the higher standard of education for women in Japan reflects the modernization and rapid growth of the Japanese economy ; it also elevates women's status and provides them more freedom from home duties. But on the matter of labor force participation, so far, education has not been as influential a force as one might expect.

Limitation of Female Labor Force Participation

As a patriarchal society with strong Confucian influence and social norms influenced by samurai ethics, Japanese society had a distinctively traditional feature before World War II. Even though Japan has been a modern nation since the late nineteenth century, the Japanese still retain many of those conservative social values, including traditional views on women's place in society. In spite of the greater demand for labor in the labor market and the higher educational qualifications possessed by women, by and large working women in Japan are limited to certain roles and remain unfree to compete equally with men. Furthermore, the working conditions for women in Japan tend to discourage women's labor participation by discrimination in promotion and wages.

Social Expectation of Women's Role

As mentioned previously, Japanese society has a strongly engrained attitude that a woman should be a "good wife and wise mother". Most women, even those who are working, accept this social role expectation. Therefore, the female labor force participation in Japan is characterized by :

1) A high participation rate of young female graduates who do not plan to work more than three or four years before marriage. The high participation rate occurs again in the group of women in their forties, when their children are in high school or college. It should be noted that even though women enter the labor market at almost the same high rates in their twenties and in their forties, their motivations are different. Before marriage, the young female graduates from all socioeconomic classes will work even for a short time in order to gain social experience, become knowledgeable about society, and

find prospective husband. Compared to those women who enter the labor market after marriage or those who do not give up jobs after getting married, the motivation for working women in their forties tends to be to gain a supplementary income for the family. There is a high proportion of these older female laborers who re-enter the job market as part time workers. Part time workers in Japan tend to be exploited, receiving low wages and almost no benefits and promotions; hence, not all women (particularly those from the higher socio-economic classes) will re-enter the job market.

According to a survey done by the Bureau of Statistics, Office of the Prime Minister, on the family income of the Japanese households, the proportion of wife's income in the family is higher in the lower socio-economic group. See Chart 2 :

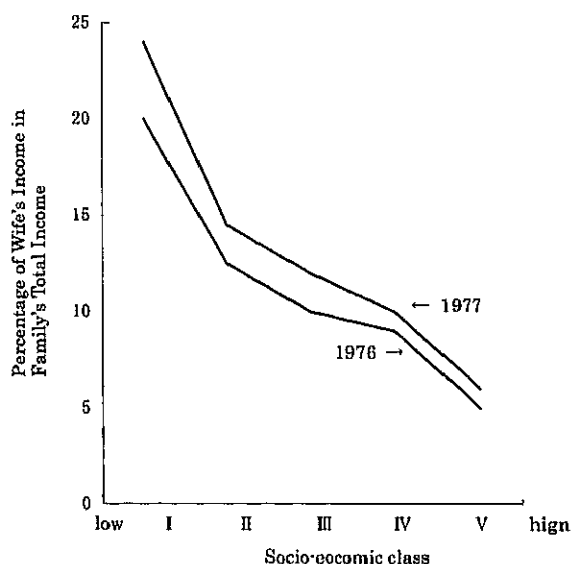


Chart 2 Percentage of Wife's Income Family's Total Income by Socio-economic Status⁽²⁵⁾

The chart illustrates that the percentage of the average wife's income in level I is twice as high as that in level III and is about four times higher than that in level V. One can infer from this that the main incentive of women who work outside is financial; on the other hand, the women's traditional role, which was originally regulated by samurai ethics, is more evident in the higher socio-economic classes.

2) High proportion of women labor participation in some occupations. similar to many countries, some occupations in Japan have traditionally belonged to women and still do. For example: nurses, weavers, seamstresses, etc. Also, some new occupations are considered women's: stewardesses, social workers, secretaries, interior decorators, ele-

mentary school teachers, etc. Due to such social values, even though young female graduates are hired by a company as officers, “. . . *they are expected as part of their work to serve tea and perform the 'womanly' duties that make working conditions pleasant for their male co-workers.*”⁽²⁶⁾

Job Discrimination

The lifetime employment system, which is usually viewed as a long term and binding symbiotic relationship between employee and employer, is one of the primary characteristics of Japanese business. It is naturally expected that the employee who remains faithful to a company will gain more benefits the longer he stays. Because of the rule of seniority in Japanese society, the employee who stays can gain many improvements in wages, rank, and position as he grows older. On the other hand, once he leaves the company before retirement, for any reason, he gives up every benefit he could have expected had he stayed. It is not easy to return to the same work or office. Even more difficult is finding a position in another company, for occupational mobility is practically non-existent.⁽²⁷⁾

Although the lifetime employment system is highly regarded by many people outside Japan, it is a highly rigid system of employment that is used as a tool of discrimination against women. After a woman quits her job at the time she is married (which is the normal thing that is done) she can not in the future go back to her old job because her post will have been filled. If she is lucky enough to find a position in any company, she has to start from the bottom again, with a very low salary. Due to the combination of high participation of young women and the rigid system of lifetime employment, the company can exploit the female labor force by : 1) hiring young women for a few years until they marry and resign ; hence they are not able to enjoy the benefits of the lifetime employment system. If they do not resign they have to face other discrimination in the work system ; and, 2) hiring the reentered female laborers with lower pay, usually as part time workers.

Position and Wages

Usually, women are put in temporary and unimportant positions while men's positions are permanent and important. In spite of the lifetime employment system, women are not promoted to the higher positions : hence, they do not get as high pay as men do. A survey done in 1975 on 2,500 businesses (each employing more than 30 people) shows that 11% of the businesses require women to retire before age 35, and more than 33% deny women the opportunity of promotion to management positions.⁽²⁸⁾

Wages for men and women are little different at the beginning of working, but as

time goes by, men's wages greatly out distance those of women's.

The average wages of female and male workers are shown in the following table :

Table 13. Monthly Average Net Wages (Excluding Taxes and Allowances) of Male and Female Workers in Japan, 1955-1977⁽²⁹⁾

Year	Yen		Yen		(b)/(a)%	(c)/(d)%
	White Collar		Blue Collar			
	Male (a)	Female (b)	Male (c)	Female (d)		
1955	23,431	9,707	16,377	6,935	41.4	42.3
1960	20,301	11,941	20,476	8,557	39.4	41.8
1965	44,363	19,906	31,762	15,285	44.9	48.1
1966	48,218	21,753	35,263	17,755	45.1	47.5
1967	53,715	24,066	39,829	18,340	44.3	46.0
1968	60,195	27,191	45,271	21,040	45.2	46.5
1969	68,388	31,296	51,913	24,508	45.8	47.2
1970	78,693	36,559	60,094	28,137	46.5	46.8
1971	88,295	42,204	67,981	32,695	47.8	48.1
1972	99,791	48,607	78,189	38,041	48.7	48.7
1973	117,946	58,049	93,802	45,254	49.2	48.2
1974	145,808	73,465	111,034	56,813	50.1	51.2
1975	164,842	84,773	131,525	66,236	51.4	50.4
1976	185,510	93,700	149,539	73,161	50.5	48.9
1977	203,958	101,447	164,289	78,942	49.7	48.1

On the average, the wages of females in Japan are about half those of men ; men's wages tend to increase disproportionately with time while those of women do not, because of the discrimination built into the labor market system and Japanese society as mentioned. Japanese female workers suffer more discrimination in wages than do their female counterparts in the West.

Part Time Workers

The usage of part time workers is another evidence of exploitation and discrimination against female labor in Japan. The term "part time worker", or "part timer", applies to anyone who is paid by the hour, no matter how many hours a day or how many days a month they work. Usually, part time workers in Japan do not obtain benefits : bonuses, health insurance, allowance money, and other fringe benefits ; and neither do they obtain the pay raises nor enjoy job security that full time workers do. Besides, in Japan where full time working affiliation is taken by society as a sign of personal reliability, part time workers, who are not considered to be fully affiliated with the firm for which they work, are treated as temporary workers and are generally considered unreliable.

It was found in 1973 that the average female part time worker was 39 yearsold, worked 7 hours a day, 22 days a month. Similar data for more recent years was not located for this study, but in 1973 there were 681,000 female part time industrial workers which was a 77.8% increase over the number of those in 1972.⁽³⁰⁾

For women, working part time provides income to supplement the family budget and does not interfere much with their household duties as mothers and wives. A survey published in 1976 found that there is a significant proportion of business firms hiring part time workers :

**Table 14. number of Business Firms Hiring Part Time Workers
(Each Firm Hiring More than 30 People)⁽³¹⁾**

	# of firms in survey	# of firms hir- ing part timers (% of workers)	% whose female part timers constitute 50%+ of work force
Prim. Ind	787	577 (73.7)	25.4
Secd. Ind.	1,054	535 (50.8)	24.8
Tert. Ind.	165	128 (77.6)	39.5
Total	2,006	1,240(61.8)	

Another reason that part time work has become more common is the expansion of factories into rural areas and the expansion of company branch offices into small cities and towns. The farm women, who are seasonally free from agricultural work, and women from small cities and towns become sources of cheap labor for these businesses. In general, the more the economy expands, the greater the demand for part-time labor becomes, especially the demand for relatively cheap female labor.

Conclusion

It is evident from statistics that during three decades after the war the female labor force participation in Japan has been increasing at about the same rate as the growth of the economy as a whole and as the growth of education for women. However, these three variables ---labor force participation, economic growth, and educational improvements for women--- have important interrelationships. Economic growth and education interact positively to support each other: the more the economy grows, the higher the educational level women are able to obtain; and the more and better education women have, the more the economy is benefited directly and indirectly. Further, economic growth and educational advancement provide chances for women to work; being better educated they become more competitive in the widened labor market.

Nevertheless, since Japanese society still holds traditional, conservative views con-

cerning women's roles, there are two main factors that encumber female labor force participation and influence women's motivations for entering the labor market. One factor is the self-perception of women concerning their own roles in society; they consider themselves as wives and mothers rather than as potential careerists. Another factor is society's underestimation of women's capabilities, which leads to discrimination against and exploitation of female labor.

Notes

- (1) The Japan Economic Research Center, p. 50.
- (2) Asahi Shinbunsha (1978).
- (3) Koyama, p. 101.
- (4) According to the Japan Economic Research Center, the rate in 1955 was 56.7%.
- (5) Koyama, p. 101.
- (6) *Ibid.*, P. 65.
- (7) *Ibid.*, p. 110.
- (8) *Ibid.*, p. 112. This is based on average monthly wages.
- (9) Asahi Shinbunsha (1963, 1975, 1978).
- (10) The Japan Economic Research Center, p. 6.
- (11) *Ibid.*
- (12) Ministry of Labor (1975), pp. 231-232.
- (13) *Ibid.*, pp. 230, 232.
- (14) The Japan Economic Research Center, p. 53.
- (15) Kusano, p. 182.
- (16) Ministry of Labor (1978), appendix p. 113.
- (17) The Japan Economic Research Center, p. 6-7.
- (18) Carter, et al., p. 77.
- (19) Ministry of Education, *Kyoiku Tokei Shiryoshu*, pp. 105-106.
- (20) Paulson (co-ed.) in *Lebra*, p. 21.
- (21) Okamura, pp. 79-80.
- (22) Sano, et al., p. 4.
- (23) *Ibid.*, p. 6
- (24) Ministry of Labor (1978), p. 84.
- (25) *Ibid.*
- (26) Carter, et al., p. 76.
- (27) Sano, et al., p. 7.

- (28) Carter, et al., p. 78.
 (29) Ministry of Labor (1978) Table 23.
 (30) Matsumoto, p. 60.
 (31) Jurist Special Issue No. 3, p. 132.

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