Committee IV
Crises in Education in the 1980's:
A Survey of Educational Values and Systems

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HIGHER EDUCATION AND WORKING WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

by

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Japan's educational system seems to be well-organized, but a careful study will reveal its shortcomings and drawbacks. It is true that in 1947 Japan established a 6-3-3-4 structure (six years of elementary school; three years of junior high school; three years of high school and four years of university). This structure is similar to that of the United States, but the investigation of the ratio between teachers and students or the curriculum will easily disclose what a big difference lies between the United States and Japan.

Coeducation is now widely accepted throughout Japan, but the ratio of male students to female students is 3:1. Thus, in 1982 there were 289,886 male students, but only 92,580 female students who graduated from college. In the United States in 1980 473,611 male students and 455,806 female students received bachelor's degrees. On the graduate school level, the sex ratio is more conspicuous. In Japan 14,044 male students received master's degrees while only 1,811 female students received the same degree. The ratio is 11:1. In the United States 150,749 men and 147,332 women received master's degrees. The ratio is almost 1:1. The doctor of degree system in Japan is different from that is the U. S. Though in the fields of medicine and engineering the doctor of degree programs in both countries are almost the same, in the fields of social science and humanities they are quite different. In the United States such degrees as the Ph. D or Ed. D can be obtained when students complete graduate courses and write an acceptable dissortation. However, in Japan after completing the course

work students are employed as instructors and continue at the same time to work on their thesis. It takes twenty to thirty years for them to finish the thesis.

In 1982 in Japan 3,684 men and only 285 women received doctor's degrees, while in the United States 22,943 men and 9,672 women received doctor's degrees.

In a word, women's education in Japan is surprisingly backward, Even now many first rate companies refuse to employ women university graduates. In some top universities female professors are seldom hired; moreover, some departments will not employ female professors even though they are well qualified. Japan's lifetime employment system reduces unemployment, but it prevents women from getting jobs.

From an economic point of view Japan can be called an advanced country, but its education system still remains underdeveloped. Women's higher education especially leaves much to be desired. The main reason is that most parents want to educate their daughters for the role of both wife and mother. Many young women themselves want to become housewives and mother rather than career women. The social system as well as the social traditious of Japan should not be overlooked. In Japan people tend to remain in the same job all their lives, so it is difficult for women to reenter the job market after bearing and raising children. In addition, their spouses' wages are usually enough to support the family. One should realize that Japan is an organization-oriented society, not a market-oriented

society, especially in the field of employment.

As table 1 shows, the ratio of male students to female students has improved since 1950. One is surprised by the rapid increase in female students. However, even in senior high schools percentage of the female teachers is quite low; for example, in 1982 it was only 18%. In the United States in 1980-81 the number of secondary school teachers was close to 997,500, of which there were 509,600 men and 487,900 women. Female teachers accounted for 48.9%. In Japanese junior high schools female teachers make up 33.1%. Therefore, in Japanese secondary schools one-fourth of the teachers of the total number are female, whereas in the United States the percentage is double.

Table 1. Senior High Schools in Japan

	Schools		Teachers*		Students(1000)	
Year	main	branch	male	female	male	female
1950	2903	1389	67964	14968	1202	321
1960	3549	1049	109231	22488	1756	1483
1970	4565	381	168577	33863	2153	2079
1980	4946	262	200001	43591	2330	2292
1981	4970	249	203080	44638	2357	2326
1982	4974	239	203511	44596	2315	2286

* full-time service

As the situation now stands, Japanese young people have less chance to study under female teachers. They tend to regard the woman's role as that of a mother who stays at home doing the house work. The Japanese still believe that men

should work on the outside while women should remain at home.

As table 2 shows, in institutions of higher education women are a minority except in some are as of study. The notion in Japan seems to persist that women and men are educated with different goals in mind. In fact many female students attending the top coeducational universities reported much opposition at home. Parents fear that their daughters may seem "unfeminine," hurting their chances of marriage. However, recently the trend in Japan seems to be changing, though slowly, to both increased enrollement of women in all types of education and to more accommodating attitudes on the part of parents.

Table 2. Students of Colleges and Universities by Course of study (1982)

	Students enrolled		New Students enrolled	
Course of study	male	female	male	female
Total(1,716,956)	1,329,489	387,467	317,264	97,272
Humanities	101,489	137,997	23,470	49,519
Social science	625,012	56,034	150,420	13,808
Physical science	45,914	9,274	10,772	2,513
Engineering	326,689	6,698	79,098	2,065
Agriculture	51,387	7,685	12,099	2,089
Health	78,778	35,679	13,638	8,141
Mercantile marine	1,492	22	351	14
Home economics	256	31,197	55	7,960
Education	65,126	68,598	16,017	16,806
Arts	16,395	27,788	4,056	6,832
Other	16,949	6,495	7,288	3,272

As table 2 shows, in general, Japanese female students tend to gravitate towards home economics courses and the humanities and the arts; few enroll in technical courses which assure jobs after graduation. Women majoring in humanities, home economics and the arts, constitute a little over half of all female students in higher education.

Table 3 shows that in the United States the situation seems somewhat similar in many ways to that in Japan. Whereas the percentage of women involved in home economics courses has decreased greatly over recent years, those in literature, foreign languages, fine arts, education, home economics and nursing comprise one-third of the total number. The percentage of women who major in the social science is 42%. This percentage is remarkably different from that in Japan. Less than 5% of women major in engineering and physical sciences.

In Japan as well as in America, women generally do better on tests of verbal ability, whereas males are more successful in visual and spatial tests. The fact that women do well on verbal tests may be connected with the majors they choose and the vocations they enter.

Women in Japan tend to study at junior college as indicated in table 4. In 1982 163,688 women were enrolled in junior colleges. This number is almost that of the women who enrolled in colleges and universities. Many women, therefore, are not prepared to hold meaningful jobs.

Table 3. Bachelor's, Master's and Doctor's Degree Conferred by Institutions of Higher Education, by Sex of Students and by Field of Study; United States (1979-1980)

	Bachelor's degrees requiring 4 or 5 years		Master's degrees		Doctor's degree's (Ph. D., Ed. D., etc.)	
Major field of Study	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
All fields	473,611	445,806	150,749	147,332	22,943	9,672
Agriculture and natural resources	16,045	6,757	3,082	894	879	112
Architecture and environmental design	6,596	2,536	2,245	894	66	13
Area Studies	983	1,506	403	369	95	50
Biological sciences	26,829	19,542	4,098	2,412	2,690	946
Business and management	123,964	62,719	42,843	12,305	681	115
Communications	13,656	14,960	1,527	1,555	121	72
Computer and information sciences	7,782	3,372	2,883	764	213	27
Education	30,896	87,206	30,875	72,578	4,419	3,521
Engineering	62,488	6,405	15,101	1,142	2,412	95
Fine and applied arts	15,065	25,827	4,067	4,641	413	242
Foreign languages	2,731	8,402	666	1,570	234	315
Health professions	11,391	52,529	4,357	11,347	435	351
Home economics	861	17,550	234	2,456	46	146
Law	372	311	1,531	286	36	4
Letters	16,525	24,108	3,360	5,140	1,107	768
Library science	20	378	1,004	4,370	35	38
Mathematics	6,562	4,816	1,828	1,032	624	100
Military sciences	241	10	46	--	--	--
Physical sciences	17,864	5,546	4,248	971	2,705	384
Psychology	15,419	26,543	3,376	4,430	1,602	1,166
Public affairs and services	16,942	20,631	9,624	10,463	254	138
Social sciences	58,576	45,294	7,785	4,396	2,351	874
Theology	4,625	1,582	2,705	1,217	1,242	77
Interdisciplinary studies	17,197	17,276	2,861	2,091	283	118

Table 4. Students of Junior Collegs by course of study (1982)

Course of study	Students enrolled male	Students enrolled female	New Students enrolled male	New Students enrolled female
Total	37,480	331,885	15,913	163,688
Humanities	1,557	78,413	669	39,399
Social science	11,568	22,407	4,808	11,145
Liberal arts	117	7,355	95	3,864
Engineering	2,511	16,899	7,164	1,340
Agriculture	3,217	740	1,509	392
Nursing	2,027	16,059	27	3,153
Home economics	111	99,320	6	35,925
Education	673	86,382	312	41,730
Arts	1,241	18,408	643	9,091
Others	10	401	4	303

Both technological and social changes since the end of World War II have increased women's leisure time. At present in both Japan and the United States, the average woman stays in school longer than before World War II and marries at a later age. Also because of birth control, she has fewer children, and is thus younger when the last child enters school. Modern conveniences cut down on time spent on housework, and the retirement age has been extended, so more women tend to spend their increased leisure time working.

In 1982, women constituted 39.0 percent of Japan's total labor force of 5,638,000; 55.4 percent of working age women were in the labor force. There often seems to be two distinct categories of employment in the case of working women: those fifteen through twenty-four years of age and those in their forties to early fifties. The time lapse in between is the

child-bearing, child-rearing years. In 1970, 33.6 percent of females in the fifteen to nineteen age group were employed, but in 1982, 17.2% were employed; this decrease is attributed to more women studying in school. On the other hand, the 70.6 percent of working women in 1970 in the twenty to twenty-four age bracket increased to 71.1 percent in 1982. In Japan in 1982 the working women in the twenty-five to thirty-four age bracket was 50.2%, those in the thirty-five to forty-four age bracket was 62.7 percent and those in the forty-five to fifty-four age bracket was 62.8 percent. Table 5 gives some idea of the changes in Japan's total work force as well as the relative positions of employed men and women.

It is true that the number of working women has recently increased but their working conditions are not so favorable. Many women have to work part-time; moreover, the number of women in this situation in various occupations has risen from 383,000 in 1972 to 681,000 in 1973, an increase of 778 percent. One may also view working woman in terms of economic class: most women in the lower class bracket begin working immediately after senior high school for economic reasons. Minimal educational background gives these women no opportunity to find jobs other than those requiring basic skills and offering low pay and little job security. More and more middle class women attend junior or women's colleges and average a short work span of only two or four years after graduation and before marriage; they may enter the work force again when they are in their late thirties or forties, after their children have grown up. Finally women of the upper middle class and

Table 5-1

Employed Persons by Industry and Employment Status (1980)

(In thousands of persons)

Industry	Total	Male	Female	Employment status: Self-employed	Family workers	Employees
Total	55,665	34,591	21,073	9,390	6,289	39,965
Agriculture	5,426	2,676	2,750	2,515	2,765	146
Forestry and hunting	177	146	31	28	12	137
Fisheries and aquaculture	459	360	99	168	120	172
Fisheries	359	301	57	131	79	148
Aquaculture	101	59	42	37	40	24
Mining	111	99	12	4	2	105
Construction	5,364	4,668	697	949	286	4,130
Manufacturing	13,145	8,404	4,742	1,290	674	11,182
Food and tobacco manufacturing	1,165	605	559	60	70	1,035
Manufacture of textlle mill products	960	395	566	187	110	663
Manufacture of apparel and other finished products made from fabrics and similar materials	897	216	681	273	67	557
Manufacture of lumber and wood products	423	294	129	47	35	341
Manufacture of furniture and fixtures	344	246	99	50	36	258
Manufacture of pulp, paper and paper products	330	218	112	25	14	291
Publishing, printing, and allied industries	700	501	200	57	38	605
Manufacture of chemical and allied products	585	453	132	3	2	581
Manufacture of petroleum and coal products	59	51	8	0	0	59
Manufacture of rubber products	195	123	72	21	7	167
Leather lanning and manufacture of leather products, and fur skins	152	76	76	45	21	86
Manufacture of ceramic, stone and clay products	609	439	171	36	27	546
Iron and steel	472	426	46	7	4	461
Manufacture of non-ferrous metals and products	212	169	42	6	4	202
Manufacture of fabricaled metal products	1,324	987	337	166	109	1,049
Manufacture of general machinery	1,011	831	180	43	28	940
Manufacture of electrical machinery, equipment and supplies	1,566	887	678	92	19	1,456
Manufacture of transportation equipment	1,023	851	172	24	12	987
Manufacture of precision instruments and machinery	351	199	152	23	9	320
Other manufacturing industries	768	437	331	127	62	579
Wholesale and retail trade	12,633	6,899	5,734	2,503	1,820	8,310
Wholesale	3,874	2,752	1,121	287	192	3,395
Department stores	344	129	215	--	--	344
Retail trade-dry goods, apparel and accessories	844	356	488	229	178	436
Retail trade-food and bevorages	2,139	917	1,222	645	586	908
Eating and drinking places	2,254	934	1,320	651	388	1,215
Retail trade-motor vehicles, bicycles and carts	512	404	108	58	39	415
Retail trade-furniture, fixture and household utensils	725	436	289	203	159	363
Other retail stores	1,943	971	972	431	279	1,234

Table 5-2

(In thousands of persons)

Industry	Total	Male	Female	Employment status: Self-employed	Family workers	Employees
Financing and insurance	1,604	824	780	51	12	1,541
Real estate	433	286	147	105	23	305
Transport and communication	3,476	3,072	404	153	29	3,294
Railways	516	500	16	--	--	516
Road passenger transport	671	615	56	54	7	610
Road freight transport	1,055	959	96	83	18	954
Water transport	170	153	17	4	1	164
Air transport	48	32	16	--	--	48
Warehousing	91	74	17	1	0	90
Services incidental to transport	309	246	63	9	2	298
Communication	617	492	125	2	0	615
Electricity, gas, water and heat supply	348	299	49	--	--	348
Services	10,346	5,200	5,146	1,592	539	8,215
Goods and leasing	109	82	27	12	5	91
Hotels, boarding houses, other lodging places	548	218	330	57	47	444
Domestic services	77	1	75	27	--	49
Laundries, barber and beauty shops, public bathhouses	876	313	564	349	198	329
Other personal services	373	127	246	218	34	121
Motion pictures, amusement and recreation services	478	237	241	57	14	407
Radio and television broadcasting	60	49	11	1	--	59
Automobile repair and automobile parking	418	341	77	68	41	309
Other repair services	175	149	26	39	13	122
Cooperative associations (not selsewhere classified)	409	263	146	--	--	409
Information services, research and advertising	274	188	86	14	3	257
Other business services	609	382	227	90	19	500
Professional services (not elsewhere classified)	1,154	708	446	422	70	662
Medical and other health services	1,602	451	1,151	169	74	1,359
Public health and waste management services	221	171	49	7	2	212
Religion	140	104	36	47	12	82
Educational services	1,876	1,029	847	8	5	1863
Social insurance and social welfare	572	126	446	7	2	563
Research institutes of science and art	146	117	29	0	--	146
Political, business and cultural organizations	179	109	70	--	--	179
Other services	33	22	11	0	--	33
Foreign government and international agencies in Japan	19	15	4	--	--	19
Government	2,023	1,592	431	--	--	2,023
National government	694	537	158	--	--	694
Prefectural and local government	1,328	1,055	273	--	--	1,328
Establishments not adequately described	119	67	52	32	8	56

the upper class generally attend four-year colleges or co-educational universities, though most are in the so-called "woman's" majors such as home economics, literature, and the humanities. These women are somewhat more likely to work after marriage than are women of the middle-class and they tend to enter the work force after bearing chiedren.

As table 6 shows, the average earnings of women are lower than those of men because women work for a shorter period. I'll discuss earnings more exactly in more detail in a later section.

As in Japan, women in the United States experience more leisure time today because of household conveniences, shorter childbearing years, and increased prosperity. It is said that an American woman is more likely to work if she is well-educated, if her children are of school age, and if her husband's income is not sufficient. As table 7 shows, women's labor participation rate has greatly increased. In 1960 the rate was only 37.7 percent, but in 1981 the rate was 52.1 percent. The total female work force totaled 46.7 million and the total male work force totaled 62 million. Therefore, in that year, women made up 42.9 percent of the total work force in the United States.

There is,unquestionably, a strong current forward in the employment of women in the United States; this trend, though present in Japan, is not progressing at such a breathtaking rate. The twenty-five to forty-four age bracket attributed with a good deal of the United States increase covers the childbearing, child-rearing age -- a period of low employment

Table 6.

Wages by Industry (Japan) (1000 yen)

	Year	Total	Mining	Construction	Manufacturing	Wholesale/ Retail trade	Finance/ Insurance	Transportation/Communication	Electricity, Gas, Water and Steam	Services
Males:	1960	--	27.4	22.5	28.5	29.4	41.1	30.3	37.6	--
	1975	204.3	209.0	173.2	193.9	198.8	285.5	207.1	252.5	238.2
Females:	1960	--	11.6	10.4	11.0	13.0	19.5	16.9	21.8	--
	1975	114.1	101.6	83.4	92.9	108.5	133.6	135.7	149.1	151.6

Median annual earnings of year-round full-time women workers by occupation (United States, 1973)

	Dollars	Percent of Men's Earnings
All occupations	6,340	57
Professional/Technical	9,090	64
Managers/Administrators	7,670	53
Sales workers	4,650	38
Clerical workers	6,470	61
Craft workers	6,140	55
Operatives	5,360	56
Nonfarm laborers	4,960	61
Service workers, except private household	4,590	58

in Japan. This phenomenon explains the decline in birthrate in the United States which is at an "all-time low." Between the years 1975 and 1981, the crude birthrate dropped more that 8.4 percent. The birthrate is calculated per 1,000 population. Other reasons for the sharp increase in working women include rises in the divorce rate, in female graduates wanting careers, and in the numbers of married working women. In 1940, whereas only 36.4 percent of all working women were married, in 1972, this percentage had risen to 63 percent; in 1950, 11.9 percent of working women had children, a number increasing in 1972 to 30.1 percent. It seems that, in the United States, though there was, previously, a dual employment trend as is yet present in Japan, the female work force is now a closer representation of the total American female population, in terms of age. As in Japan, young women whose husbands' pay is lower, usually work to supplement the income; young singles and divorcees are also forced to work for their survival. Middle class wives often work in order to keep the family's income steady throughout inflationary fluctuations, whereas wives of higher income families work to "broaden their horizons," (i.e., either pursue their interests or work simply to achieve a greater sense of self-satisfaction).

Though women are playing an increasingly significant role in the work forces of Japan and the United States, in both countries, the occupational fields in which women are involved is quite limited. In Japan, this phenomenon is probably more frequent than in the United States. One third of all working women in Japan are employed as office workers,

19 percent in factory work and 21 percent in service industry. The table 7 gives a somewhat more complete picture of the changes in Japanese female employment over a five-year period.

Because of their shorter or more general education, women are often forced to seek work mainly in the fields of clerical, industrial and service work. Though conditions are shifting, there still exist many women who do minor, "decorative" office jobs, and are known as "flowers of the workplace." One sign of the changing trend is the report from the Tokyo Police Academy that there is an average of twenty times more female applicants than available jobs. Only fairly recently have women in the United States been becoming more active in this line of work. Women are still largely underrepresented in the professions; they comprise about 10 percent of all Japan's doctors, about 10 percent of the dentists, and about 13 percent of teachers in junior colleges, colleges and universities. of the 140,000 qualefied lawyers in Japan, 229 are women; there are also 50 female judges and 21 public prosecutors.

Women of the United States are in a similar occupationally-limited situation, though to a lesser extent than in Japan. In 1970, one-fourth of all employed women worked as one of the following: secretary, domestic, school teacher, waitress. As in Japan, large discrepancies occur between the percentage of women working in non-professional and professional jobs, or those of administrative or managerial status. In 1970, clerical occupations included 34.9 percent of the female work force and 7.6 percent of males, whereas slightly over 10 percent of managerial jobs were held by males as compared with less

Table 7.

Percentage of Japanese Women Workers, by Occupation

Occupational category	1955	1960	1965	1970
Professional/Technical	30.1	35.9	37.6	40.7
Managers/Officials	2.7	4.3	3.4	3.8
Clerical	33.5	36.3	39.9	46.9
Sales	41.0	34.2	37.0	32.7
Farming/Fishing	20.0	24.7	23.7	23.8
Mining	6.1	5.7	5.0	10.0
Communications/Transportation	3.9	13.5	12.0	10.0
Operativea	25.2	25.7	24.9	25.9
Laborers	25.2	25.7	31.5	33.2
Services	59.4	58.2	54.7	56.2

Major Occupational Groups of Employed Women, 16 years and over

Occupational Group	April, 1974	1969	1964	1959
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Professional/Technical	15.6	13.8	13.0	12.1
Managers/Administrators	5.0	4.3	4.6	5.1
Sales workers	6.8	6.9	7.3	7.8
Clerical workers	34.5	34.3	31.2	29.9
Craft and kindred workers	1.4	1.2	1.0	1.0
Operatives	13.1	15.4	15.3	15.4
Non-farm laborers	1.0	0.5	0.4	0.5
Service workers	21.3	21.6	23.9	23.5
Farm workers	1.2	2.0	3.3	4.8

Carol Whitehurst, Women in America: The oppressed Majority P.61

than 4 percent females. The same occurs in education: 88 percent of elementary school teachers are female, 22 percent are principles of such schools; and in medicine: 71 percent of all health professional positions are held by women, but three-fourths of this percentage work as nurses, nurse's aides/ orderlies, or as practical nurses. The following chart shows more clearly the clustering of occupational types held by women.

Women consitute 9 percent of all physicians, 5 percent of all lawyers ans judges and 28 percent of all college professors and administrators in the United States. There are different speculations as to why this situation is present. As noted earlier, women tend to end their education earlier than do men. and so do not have the experience or degrees necessary to obtain many of the more prestigious, higher-paying professions. Why, then do women have this tendency to cut their education short? Popular explanations cite the cause of early socialization and cultural training experiences inflicted upon the growing female. Though the trend seems to be dying, it has generally been the case, as in Japan, for a girl to grow up expecting to marry immediately after college or high school; also, traditional associations of sex with certain occupations are still present in the minds of many Americans, though the new attitude is to deny and fight against these stereotyped notions.

In both Japan and the United States, women's wages often do not even come close to equalling those of men. In Japan, the Labor Standards Law (1947) provides for equal pay for equal work, but in 1972, women's average wage was only half that received by male workers in similar occupational situations.

At that time, women's salaries came closest to approaching men's in the transportation and communication category at 65.7 percent. In the United States, the picture is not much better; in 1973, a full-time, year-round employed woman earned only 57 percent of an employed man's wages. Also, surprisingly enough, the gap between women's and men's wages seems to be widening: in 1955, women's earnings were 64 percent of men's; 61 percent in 1961; 58 percent in 1968; 57 percent in 1974. In the United States, the largest proportion of men's income earned by women is in the porfessional/technical category, where women's earnings are 64 percent that of men's; the smallest proportion is 38 percent in the sales category (1974). In both countries, only a small portion of women workers are unionized. The following charts present some basis for comparison of wage conditions of Japanese and American women.

In both countries, discrepancies in wages earned by males and females are partly due to the greater amount of women who work part-time and partly because women are often more likely to be employed in jobs that require less training and are often over-crowded. Because women are often considered less well trained and more likely to quit, they receive less pay and fewer benefits, such as security or promotions. However, combined with these causes are conditions likely present in both countries, where, despite equal opportunity and equal pay laws, "employers are able to find a means to avoid obeying these statuses by classifying women and men according to different scales." As similarly stated by a female worker interviewed by Professor Hannah Levin about Japan: "Problems come with

trying to get enforcement. Too many employers just ignore the law."

A recent survey conducted in Japan showed women factory workers to believe that they were equal to men in the qualities of "cooperativeness, accuracy, responsibleness, ambition, creativity and perseverance," and that men were superior in "managing, judging, executing, problem solving, studying, enterprising and positively asserting onself." The male industrial workers felt their gender to be superior in all areas except cooperativeness and accuracy. Traditionally held attitudes about the role of the woman in society undoubtedly play a signigicant part in the likelihood of women seeking jobs and in their success as workers. In the United States, as well, though attitudes are changing, a 1970 study showed that over three-fourths of all females agreed it was "better for all" if the male was the achiever while the female acted as homemakers.

In the United States, there are two primary reasons cited for discrimination against working women: 1) women "don't need the money as much as do men"; 2) women workers are a "poorer investment," because of higher costs due to a greater amount of turnover, absenteeism and their requirement of special facilities. In the first case, however, it has been found that 23 percent of working women are single, 19 percent are widowed, divorced, or separated, another 23 percent have husbands with incomes lower than 5,000 dollars a year. In dealing with the second problem, the United States Department of Labor found that "women have favorable records of attendance

and labor turnovers when compared with men employed at similar levels and under similar circumstances." It is noted that the factor to keep in mind is that the highest average number of sick days occur among workers earning the lowest salary rates--the levels where a majority of women work. The Department of Labor concludes that "meaningful comparisons of absenteeism and labor turnover of women and men workers must take into consideration similar job levels as well as other factors such as age and length of service. Many of the critical generalities frequently voiced not only exaggerate overall differences but also compare dissimilar groups of men and women."

There still remains, however, the undeniable problem of child care. The prevailing attitude in both Japan and the United States is that a mother should be at home to take care of her children, at least when they are very young; many mothers definitely want to assume this role. However, for the woman who would like to return to work, one possible solution is that of day care centers, growing in number in both countries, though to a far lesser extent in Japan. In Japan, attitudes remain strong that such facilities should be reserved only for the poor; "only under the most desperate circumstances should a mother turn her children over to a stranger." Another alternative that has been tested to an extent in the United States involves flexible working schedules, i.e., agreeing on getting a job done by a certain time; a woman may arrange her own work schedule to fit her life style, provided she meets her goal.

Ultimately, a change in basic, traditional attitudes needs to come about before sex-typing in the employment sphere is laid to rest completely. Janet Giele and Audrey Smock suggested in their book entitled Women:Roles and Status in Eight Countries alternatives in changing present conditions include: "1) enforcement of antidiscrimination laws; 2) restructuring of work schedules and production techniques; 3) provision of supports to women's familial roles; 4)encouragement of women to reenter the work force (counseling services, retraining opportunities)." Generally, conditions facing the working woman of Japan and the United States are quite similar in nature; however, at this time, women of the United States seem to have a greater voice for changes in their traditional roles than do those of Japan. As stated by a contributor to Women in Changing Japan, "The major difference I see between the United States and Japan is not in the actual conditions faced by women seeking to have careers. It lies in the somewhat wider consciousness among American Professional women that major social changes are needed." However, it is impossible to say which measures will prove to be more successful: the enlivened demand for immediate change characteristic of the United States, or the more gradual, subtle approach assumed by the women of Japan.