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Recommended Citation
DOI: 10.58837/CHULA.ARV.3.1.3
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Japanese Working Women

Yumiko Nishimura

Introduction

"Japanese women have long been enveloped in the myth that their role in life is to be a good wife and mother. Today, however, full-time wives and mothers are in the minority," says a recent report. A lot of women are engaged in the work force. Job opportunities for women are increasing and the number of women workers is still rising.

When one comes to think of it, however, most women have always been working even in Japan. While two-thirds of all families ran some kind of family-owned business (including farming) before the last war and for a while right after that, most women worked in their fields, shops, and factories.

Against the background of Japan's rapid economic growth, which began in the 60's, the situation has changed. As the industrial structure has moved the center from the primary industry to the second one and to the third one, the number of employed women has grown. In 1950, there were 13.75 million working women. In 1960, the number of working women stood at 17.12 million and in 1970, 20.39 million reaching 23.04 million in 1985. In 1950, 61.3% of women workers were engaged in family-owned business (including farming). By 1984 the figure had decreased to 20.3%. At the same time, the percentage of women employed by businesses outside the home rose from 26.2% to 66.5%. By 1985, this figure had reached 67.2%. (Table 1)

Table 1. Trends in the Number of Workers  
(million, %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>THE PRIMARY INDUSTRY</th>
<th>THE SECOND INDUSTRY</th>
<th>THE THIRD INDUSTRY</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W '60</td>
<td>17.12 (100.0)</td>
<td>7.38 (43.1)</td>
<td>3.45 (20.2)</td>
<td>6.28 (36.7)</td>
<td>7.38 (40.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W '70</td>
<td>20.39 (100.0)</td>
<td>5.34 (26.6)</td>
<td>5.30 (26.0)</td>
<td>9.74 (47.8)</td>
<td>10.96 (54.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M '85</td>
<td>23.04 (100.0)</td>
<td>2.44 (10.5)</td>
<td>6.51 (28.3)</td>
<td>14.00 (60.8)</td>
<td>15.48 (67.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T '60</td>
<td>43.72 (100.0)</td>
<td>14.24 (32.6)</td>
<td>12.76 (29.2)</td>
<td>16.70 (38.2)</td>
<td>23.70 (54.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O '70</td>
<td>52.11 (100.0)</td>
<td>10.09 (19.4)</td>
<td>17.71 (34.0)</td>
<td>24.30 (46.6)</td>
<td>33.06 (63.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A '85</td>
<td>58.07 (100.0)</td>
<td>5.09 (8.8)</td>
<td>19.92 (34.3)</td>
<td>32.83 (56.5)</td>
<td>43.12 (74.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Census, Rodoryoku chosa (Annual Survey on the Labor Force)

In the past, women in the workplace were mainly "young, unmarried" women who worked for several years. In 1960, their average age was 26.3 years old and only 32.7% of them were married. But in 1985, the average age was 35.4, 52.9% of them being married. Instead of "young, unmarried" women, the majority of female employees were "middle-aged married" women. (Figure 1) At the same time, the woman’s career has become longer. The number of women employees with more than 10 years’ working experience, for example, has risen from about 10% to 25% over the last decade and-a-half.

Participation in the work force is an indispensable part of life for Japanese women today. On the other hand, traditional ways of thinking and customs are found everywhere even in present-day Japanese society. As before, most women workers today also bear the double responsibility of going out to work and taking care of the family. Furthermore, although a lot of discrimination still exists in offices, women are making steady strides. In this paper, the situation of the contemporary working woman (especially the female employee) is analyzed by various census and surveys.
Figure 1. Marital Status of Women Employees

(\%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Never married</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Divorced or widowed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Rōdōryoku chosa (Annual Survey on the Labor Force)
Note: Excluding agricultural and forestry workers

"Letter-M-Pattern" Participation

The proportion of working women in terms of age group is shown in Figure 2. The curve has two peaks in the 20-24 and the 40-49 age ranges, thus forming "the shape of the letter M".

The proportion of young women employed in the 15-19 age group is small in that most people in this group are still at school. Nearly 100\% of junior high school graduates go on to senior high school, and about 35\% of those that graduate from senior high school proceed to college and university.

Nowadays getting a job right after graduation from school is a normal pattern of behavior for a woman. The left peak shows it. But many women workers give up their careers several years later, as a result of which the curve drops. However, after a few years of absence, they enter the work force again. Various data shows that these years of absence correspond to the period of childbirth and childcare at home. Thus, it is these women re-entering the job market who push up the curve, as can be seen from the right-hand peak.
This “letter-M-pattern” curve is peculiar to Japan, when especially compared with other highly industrialized or post-industrialized countries in the world. In other such countries, the curve pattern nowadays is more like a trapezoid, with or without a very shallow trough.

**Women Re-entering the Workforce**

Figure 3 shows the proportion of career patterns with regard to married female employees; they have also been grouped according to the age bracket in which they happen to fall. In Japan, generally the career patterns of married female employees can be grouped as follows. (1) The continuing career pattern: people in this pattern continue to work after school (in some cases job changes have been included). (2) The
pattern of re-entering a career: people in this pattern had several years' working experience after school but had stopped working to stay at home for several years, mainly to take care of their family (especially their children) and then, entered the workforce again. (3) The pattern whereby women take up a career in middle age: people in this pattern had no working experience before marriage and took up a career for the first time in middle age.

**Figure 3. Structure of Various Career Patterns by Age Bracket**

![Career Patterns Diagram](image)

I-F : The continuing career pattern Full-timer  
I-P : The continuing career pattern Part-timer  
II-F : The re-entering career pattern Full-timer  
II-P : The re-entering career pattern Part-timer  
III-F : The starting from middle age career pattern Full-timer  
III-P : The starting from middle age career pattern Part-timer  
IV-F : Ungrouped Full-timer  
IV-P : Ungrouped Part-timer

The pattern-structure differs according to age group. In the 26-29 age group, a continuing career pattern accounts for the majority (75%) of those employed. The re-entry pattern (22%) and pattern whereby middle aged women take up a career (4%) constitute a smaller part of the female workforce. But the number of those continuing with their careers gets proportionately smaller with advancing age. On the other hand, the proportion of women re-entering the workforce and of those taking up a career in middle age is growing. The pattern of re-entering a career accounts for 53% of all women in the 35-39 age group, and 59% of the 45-49 age group. At the same time, the proportion of those starting a career in middle-age increases in the groups of 35 and over.

Considering these facts, the two peaks of the curve depicting woman’s participation in the workforce consist of two different types of workers. The left-hand peak consists of traditional “young unmarried” women and also young married women who are mainly childless. The right-hand peak consists of “middle-aged married” women with children. The former work full-time in a career in which they are continuously employed, while the latter work mainly as part-time in a career which they discontinue at intervals.

It is certain that those women re-entering the workforce have recently pushed up the rate of participation of women in the workforce. Moreover, this tendency will continue into the future, at least for the next 10 to 20 years. So it is important to investigate it.

According to our investigation, an average profile of a woman re-entering the work force can be drawn as follows. She is now 39.4 years old. She got her first job when she was 18.8 years old and stopped working at the age of 25.5, right before the birth of her first child when she was 25.8 years old. The average leave of absence of her career, which she takes in order to take care of her family at home, is about 10 years. She usually re-entered the work force at the age of 35.1 years old. In terms of length, her total working experience nowadays is ten years long and is getting longer. However, her working life is divided into two parts by a long, ten-year gap in her career.

All the women whose career followed this pattern were willing to stop working. Some might have been willing, but, for others, there was simply no other choice.


In this report, detailed data about career patterns, conditions of employment, daily work at home and the consciousness of married female employees are analyzed.
Day-care centers have increased, but even nowadays it is still difficult to find one especially for babies under one year old. If a baby is lucky enough to gain entry to a nursery center, it is obliged to stay there for more than 8 hours a day because of the parents’ hours of work and the time it takes to travel to and from the office. The responsibility of raising children is often left entirely to the mother. Such a life results in mental and physical fatigue for both mother and child. There are few companies (only 14.3%, in 1981) which allow child-care leave in Japan. Even in the public sector only a professional worker such as a school teacher or a nurse can take this type of leave.

Because of the recent increase in the number of nuclear families and the process of progress in rapid urbanization, a mother with a baby finds less help either inside the home or outside the home in the neighboring community. Therefore, her expectations of support are not very high. In addition, the notion that "a baby should be raised by the mother herself for at least the first 3 years" is widely held and women workers with babies do not get the support they need from their community or their fellow office workers.

On the other hand, the career prospects for most women are relatively slight. There seems to be little possibility of her being promoted, receiving a raise in pay, or being transferred to an interesting position in the future.

In fact, the chances of promotion for women are exceedingly slim. There are few women holding managerial posts. Although women accounted for 56% of all elementary school teachers in 1983, they constituted a mere 2.1% of all elementary school principals. The situation is even worse in private companies, where most women workers are currently employed. In private companies, in 1985, only 1.1% of women workers held managerial posts. The figure for men was 16.3%. It goes without saying that almost all the managerial posts were held by men; a staggering 97.5% of these posts were occupied by men, while only 2.5% belonged to women. This tendency continues even today. The number of years one is able to make a continuous contribution to one’s company plays an important part in whether or not one receives a promotion. Thus, it is said that women are promoted at a much later age because their contribution is shorter. But, as Figure 4 shows, there is a wide gap between women and men even though they have make the same contribution in terms of years. Men are promoted step by step as their age increases. Women, however, are promoted much later than men, as a result of which many women holding managerial posts retire much lower down the company totem pole. This, of course, means that for most women there is little chance of promotion. Given the circumstances, it is understandable that many women decide to stay at home and look after their babies; after all, taking care of one’s baby is a much more creative job than office work.
Figure 4. Distribution of Managerial Staff by Age Group

Now, there are several reasons why an increasing number of women are resuming their careers. Firstly, the recent increase in household expenses (especially for one's children's education and mortgages) demands two incomes. In fact, although a salaried family is in the black all their life when one calculates the total balance between earnings and expenses, there comes a time, when their children are in college or university, that they are in the red. Secondly, as can be seen in Figure 5, the female life-cycle has changed dramatically. Figure 5 compares the average female life-cycle for 1983 with that for 1930. In 1987 the life expectancy of Japanese women reached 81.93 years; in short, women are living longer. On the other hand, the average number of children born to each woman had decreased from five before the last war to about two today. The change has a lot more "free time" for most women. The average woman nowadays lives for a further 45 years after her last child has entered school. Women at this stage of life (after they have finished raising their children) are sometimes called displaced mothers. They look like a mother bird sitting on a vacant nest. Their problem is that they need something worthwhile to strive for.

Figure 5. Life Cycle of Average Japanese Female

Note: The age at death equals the age at the time of marriage plus the remaining life expectancy at that time.
At the same time, there is a factor which helps to contribute to this feeling of emptiness: third, the amount of household chores has declined greatly due to an expansion in the supply of water, gas, and electricity, and the ready availability of durable consumer items, such as washing machines, refrigerators, and other labor-saving devices in the stores. In addition, it is so easy to buy clothes off the rack that it is no longer necessary to make them at home, and cooking is no longer the chore it used to be in that a wide range of ready-to-eat foodstuff is readily available. This means that the average woman can spend her time and energy on activities outside the home.

Furthermore, the increasing number of women with a higher education has changed the traditional idea whereby "men do the work; woman's place is in the home". This tendency has been accelerated by the international trend towards women's liberation movements.

As the changes occurring in the structure of the industrial sector demand the provision of more and more services, the demand for a more flexible workforce, particularly for part-timers, is increasing. The phenomenon of the middle-aged woman engaged in part-time work appeared during the rapid economic expansion of the 60s. Employers needed them to fill the vacancies caused by a shortage of young workers. And at that time part-timers considered this form of labor a convenient way of managing to balance their work both inside and outside the home. Since then this type of work has become firmly established in Japanese society. Companies have a number of reasons for hiring part-timers: part-times are good enough for certain types of work; using them makes it possible to cut costs. In addition, it is easy to find part-timers to meet seasonal demands, etc. The demand for part-timers has been increasing due to the recent expansion of the service-economy. For the above-mentioned reasons, however, companies are willing to employ women re-entering the work force only as part-timers and tend to keep them in that position. Despite the growing number of female part-timers, therefore, their status is by no means stable.

The Results of Years of Absence

No matter how many reasons a woman may have, and no matter how good they are, an absence of several years away from her career is bound to be a big handicap in terms of her future career since the Japanese system places a great deal of emphasis on experience which, in turn, determines one's seniority within the company. Thus, this is one of the more serious problems facing working women in Japan. In fact, there is a substantial difference in their working conditions before and after their years of absence.
What exactly do the years of absence mean to a female worker in terms of her career? It appears that the most effective way to answer this question is to compare conditions before and after their years of absence. Table 2 shows the changes in the form of employment, the type of occupation, and the size of the company.

Table 2. Changes in Conditions of Employment before and after Years of Absence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The form of employment</th>
<th>The sort of occupation</th>
<th>The size of company</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>clerical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: the same as Figure 3.

Before their years of absence, about 90% were working as full-timers. In addition, while about 60% worked in the clerical sector, there were fewer "grey-and blue-collar" workers. As for the size of the company in which they were employed, 34% worked for large companies, 28% for medium-sized ones, and 37% for small concerns. However, after a long period of absence, the number of part-time increased by about 70%. The percentage of "white-collar" workers dropped, while that of "grey-or blue-collar" workers rose. More than half of them (58%) worked for relatively small companies that employed fewer than 50 people. Furthermore, almost all of them (90%) were working for very small companies with fewer than five employees.

Given these facts, generally speaking, re-entering the workforce means a reduction in her working status. The years in which she was absent make it difficult to keep the continuation of career on an even heel and result in the serious disruption of her career. It also has a severe impact on the conditions of employment for women. Their working conditions are far inferior to those for men.

The average salary for a woman is about 50% of that for a man. The reasons why women are lower paid are easy to point out. Firstly, for example, many women are working for small or medium-sized companies. Secondly, many women are employed in industries with a lower rate of pay, for example, the textile or food-processing industries. Thirdly, women's educational level is lower than that of men, the gap being especially wide among middle-aged people. Fourthly, men's basic
salaries are supplemented by an allowance for dependents as well as housing, since most of them have households to maintain. The first and the second reasons are very closely related to the pattern of re-entering a career as described earlier.

Fifthly, the point is that in Japan wages are based primarily on the length of time an employee is able to make a continuous contribution to the company. Not surprisingly, the average length of time that a woman is continuously employed is considerably shorter than that of a man. And sixthly, one-fifth of all female employees are working as part-timers. The pay level for part-timers is as low as the starting pay for graduates fresh from senior high schools. Furthermore, it bears little relation to seniority or even length of experience. Most part-timers are paid by the hour with little chance of a pay raise and bonuses a rarity. Now, we should keep in mind that part-timers consist mainly of those re-entering a career (67%) and those taking up a career in middle age (72%) and that people in both these categories have less experience.

The Latent Trapezoid-like Curve

Figure 6 shows the percentage of latent participation of women in the workforce in terms of the age bracket. Each percentage represents the total percentage of actual participation and the percentage of latent applicants who hope to enter the workforce, and who are at present without an occupation. The curve follows a trapezoid-like pattern. This means that as far as their consciousness is concerned, Japanese women are on a par with their counterparts in other highly industrialized or post-industrialized countries as mentioned before. In other words, if conditions permitting, more women with a background indicating a pattern of career re-entry would join the workforce.

Many applicants say that there are no suitable jobs available for them today. That is to say, many women dislike putting up with the decline in status that accompanies re-entering the workforce. The most important condition that the potential applicant sets is that she be given a position at the same level as the one she held before her absence. But, as seen earlier, re-entering the workforce means a considerable decline in status in a number of respects. This type of situation is not likely to be tolerated by women with ability and ambition; hence women with a higher education rarely re-enter the workforce.
Next, a more important problem facing them is how to manage their responsibilities both at work and at home. In Japan, today, the average percentage of men who share the domestic chores is exceedingly small. According to our investigation, the average percentage of men (married, with infants) who hardly ever shared the household chores during the week amounted to 30.6%. Moreover, 30.7% of all those husbands who helped their wives do the chores did so for only 30 minutes a day during the week. In the case of working wives who had pushed their career continuously, their husbands tended to be more involved in helping with the domestic

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3. Koyo-Shokugyo Sogo Kenkyujo, "Josei no Shokuba Shinshutsu to Kazokukino ni kansuru Chosakenkyu Hokokusho" (Survey no how women entering the workforce is related to changes in the family), 1986.
chores. However, husbands whose wives have rejoined the workforce as part-timers rarely share in, or help their wives do, domestic work. Essentially, their actions are not different from those of husbands whose wives have no outside occupation. In other words, most women, even if they have an outside job, perform the domestic chores virtually alone or with little help from their husbands.

**Professional Jobs**

The question arises: is there any way to maintain one's career at the same level after several years of absence? As mentioned before, according to our own investigation there were some women who were able to do so even after several years of absence. Most of them had full-time jobs and enjoyed reasonable working conditions. The fundamental difference between these women and the others is that the former had pursued some kind of professional career before their years of absence, and when they re-entered the job market they took up virtually the same profession as before. These professional women include, for example, nurses, public health nurses, primary-school teachers, licensed cooks, hairdressers and so on. The fact that these professions need some kind of qualification is one of the important factors in enabling these women to continue similar career to before at the same level.

The new trend in industry is to increase the demand for professional and technical experts. Various new professions are beginning to emerge, especially in the computer trade. In addition, some companies, mainly those involved in distribution, set up their own in-house system of acquiring the requisite professional qualifications. According to this system, a worker becomes qualified as a professional in a particular field or areas; in a certain department store, for example, there is a professional clerk concerned with specific areas of business, such as baby-articles, electrical appliances, furniture, etc. The purpose of this system is to meet the more and more varied demands on the part of the consumers for certain services. This tendency seems to be becoming increasingly widespread.

Conditions of employment for those with a profession—even "in-house company" professional workers—are much better than for non-professional employees, even if they are employed as part-timers (this type of workers has recently been termed "professional part-timer"). Since this type of part-time professional work meets the demands of a woman who is looking for a suitable job and, at the same time, the sort of flexibility that makes it compatible with domestic chores, it will boost the number of women participating in the workforce even further.
Domestic Tasks

As mentioned before, the extent to which men participate in domestic tasks has not kept pace with the advances that women have made in the workforce. As for working women today, the situation seems to be changing from "men work, women take care of the home" to "men work, while women take care of the home and work". In every survey almost all women stated that they themselves did most of the domestic chores.

The fact that most husbands cling to the out-of-date notion that "domestic chores are not the man's business" is a serious problem. Most wives, however, do not compel their husbands to share the housework because they also tend to approve of the notion. The reason is that most husbands are forced to put in a great deal of overtime and have to travel long distances to the office; therefore, they have little time and are exhausted when they get home.

However, like their husbands, many women feel that housework should be mainly their responsibility. In fact, 52% of all part-timers with a pattern of career re-entry said that the domestic chores of the home should be done by themselves; only 10% said they did not mind if those tasks were done by somebody else. Full-timers whose career pattern is one of continuous work have different opinions on the subject. For instance, 33% of them would not mind if somebody else did the domestic chores at home. On the other hand, 29% of them said that such tasks should be done by themselves. This traditional, old-fashioned notion represents an obstacle for women wishing to enter the workforce.

Because of the double burden they have to bear, when choosing a job, one of the main considerations for women re-entering the workforce, is the "time factor". In other words, the number of hours they are expected to work and also travelling time to and from the office are high on their list of priorities. Wages, type of occupation, stability of the company, and less discrimination at the office are much lower down on their list of priorities. Under these conditions women can hardly expect to advance in terms of their careers.

Women and Career Continuity

Figure 6 shows the possibility of an increase in the number of re-entering a career; at the same time, however, it also shows the possibility of an increase in the number of women enjoying continuity in terms of their careers. This is supported more clearly by other data; for example, out of among 69 million mothers with babies under one year old and without an occupation, 40 million hoped to get a job.
Furthermore, 6 million were actually in the process. If conditions permitting, these women would join the category of those whose careers follow a continuous, unbroken pattern.

The number of women whose careers follow a continuous, unbroken pattern is thought to be in the increase. The differences between the generations in terms of participation in the workforce is shown, according to age bracket, in Figure 7. Although this Figure contains a lot of factual data, the important point here is that the curve for the youngest generation (the age group born between '56-'60) has a shallower trough in the 25-29 age group. It is at precisely this point that the possibility of a growth in the trend towards career continuity could appear. At the very least, it can be said that the younger generation is looking for ways to solve the problem of balancing a job with the duties of a housewife either by postponing marriage or starting a family, in order to continue their careers, if possible, beyond childbirth and the period of postnatal childcare.

**Figure 7. Generation-Differences in terms of Participation in the Workforce by Age Bracket**


What is the key to the pattern regarding career continuity? As mentioned before, according to our investigation, people who fall into this pattern and who tend not change jobs, are mainly employed in the public sector (43%). It goes without saying that in the public sector there is no discrimination on principle. This means, therefore, that, if conditions permitting, the number of women enjoying an uninterrupted career would really increase.

Japan now has an Equal Employment Opportunity Law guaranteeing women equal opportunities and treatment with regard to employment. It obliges employers to treat women and men equally in terms of recruitment, hiring, placement, and promotion. It prohibits discrimination with regard to education and the training of employees, the retirement age, resignation, and dismissal. It is this law that represents one of the keys to women’s continuing to pursue a career.

There still exists a problem, however: although the law contains provisions for advice, guidance, and recommendations by the Women’s and Minors’ Offices in the various prefectures and for the settlement of disputes by local arbitration committees, no penalties are imposed for violating any of these prohibitions.

It is questionable, if the working conditions of men should be set as the standard for women to follow. Regrettably, even today, the working conditions under which Japanese men labor are relatively poor. For example, working hours are considerably longer than in other industrialized countries; as reported by the ILO in 1981, the total number of working hours per year in the manufacturing industries in Japan was 2148 hours in 1981, while in the U.S.A. the figure was 1883 and in West Germany 1706. Should this be the aim of Japanese women?

Women workers who tend to continue with their careers are found mainly in the public sector partly because of guaranteed equal opportunities, but also because there is little or no overtime; they are seldom transferred to a distant location and can take leave with relative ease. In addition, childcare facilities in the public section are an important attraction. That is to say, a total overhaul of women's working conditions (especially a vast reduction in the number of working hours) is necessary on the basis of equal opportunity. Furthermore, this should be applicable to men as well. If such a state of affairs could be realized, more men will be able to do their fair share of the housework. Moreover, women will have more chance to develop their careers. There is a plan to reduce working hours to 1800 hours a year which should be pushed ahead as fast as possible.

At the same time, there need to be a guarantee that some kind of childcare program will be available. Otherwise, given under the working conditions that exist nowadays, women seeking equal opportunity will refuse to have any children unless
they receive such a guarantee. We have already made a model case study of such a program. Cases where this type of childcare program has been initiated show that this system can greatly contribute a great deal to women workers' career development.⁵

There is also one more further point. Many investigations have pointed out that the key to a continuous career is the ability to see a long-range career plan in perspective. According to our investigation, women who had had a long-range career plan when young were able to maintain a better standard of working conditions after they re-entered the workforce. On the other hand, women who did not make a long-range career plan when young were unable to maintain the same standard with regard to working conditions after re-entering the workforce. Furthermore, this tendency to plan ahead was stronger among women whose pattern of employment was continuous. Given this situation, much is lacking in terms of education. Throughout their schooling, especially in university and college, much more information and support should be provided.