# 嘉庫　嘉悦大学学術リポジトリ　Kaetsu

# University Academic Repository

日本の女子短期大学 :
その文化的機能についての再考

| メタデータ | 言語: eng |
|---|---|
| | 出版者: |
| | 公開日: 2005-04-30 |
| | キーワード (Ja): |
| | キーワード (En): Sociology of education, Japan, female higher education, women's junior college(s) |
| | 作成者: 嘉悦, 康太, カエツ, コウタ, Kaetsu, Kohta |
| | メールアドレス: |
| | 所属: |
| URL | https://kaetsu.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/132 |

# 日本の女子短期大学——その文化的機能についての再考

## Japanese Female Junior Colleges : Re-Contextualization of Their Cultural Function ; A Preliminary Survey

嘉　悦　康　太

Kohta Kaetsu

＜要　約＞

　日本の高等教育における「女子短期大学」という制度は、特に欧米における教育社会学の分野においては、あまり活発に議論されてきたとはいいがたい。実際、英語圏の教育・社会学者（日本専攻）の一人であるブライアン（Brian, J. M.）は1997年に刊行された自著『日本の女子短大—"女性らしく"を学ぶ—』において「日本の教育制度全般に関しては、これまで数多くの研究が（日本語・英語ともに）なされてきたにもかかわらず、こと女子の短期大学に関しては、多くの書物の中でいわば無視され続けてきた存在である」と述べている *Life in a Japanese Women's College – learning to be ladylike –* （Routledge : London, 1997）。そこで本論ではこのギャップを少しでも埋めることを意図して、まず第一義的にはこの日本に独特の高等教育制度である「女子短大」というものの特殊性に焦点を当て、各種特色を明らかにする。最終的には、このような高等教育機関に対するものとして、何がもっとも重要で意義のある問いかけであるかということを検討してみたい。

　日本の女子が高等教育の現場で達成しつつある「（40％台後半の）高い進学率」というものが、いわば「数字上のレトリック」に修飾された基本的に危ういものであるという考え方もあるが（Fujimura & Kameda 1995等）、本論でもその「危うさ」の原因のひとつをこの日本独特な高等教育機関の存在に求めていくアプローチを取った。そして、このような教育機関が日本社会全体においてどのように位置付けられるかの「再文脈化」を試みた。その際、特に女子の短期大学が現代にいたるまでの日本女性たちの学問的・職業的な到達に、どの程度貢献しかつまた悪影響を及ぼしたのかを考慮しながら、制度自体の構造的な解釈を進めていくこととした。議論の過程でこういった一種特殊な社会・教育制度を考える際に、どのような方法論的枠組みがふさわしいのかについても簡単に触れている。

　従来、「女子短大の社会学的意義を構造的・制度的に分析する際に有効である」とされてきた方法論的枠組みの中には、「機能主義」（Functionalism）や「解釈主義」（Interpretivism）、あるいは「マルクス主義」（Marxism）や「フェミニズム」（Feminism）などがあるが、本論ではそれらの枠組みの中に位置づけられる先行研究の事例のいくつかも紹介している。また、本論自体も不完全ながらではあるが、それらの各種理論を統合したものをその主たる分

析枠組みとすることを目指した。いきおい、必然的に女子短大という「性差を有する」この社会制度そのものに対しては、一部批判的な記述があることをあらかじめご了解いただきたい。本論の後半部分では、このようなテーマを将来的に発展させていく際に有意義であると思われるいくつかの方向性も示したつもりである。


## KEY WORDS

Sociology of education, Japan, female higher education, women's junior college(s),


## INTRODUCTION : FIELD OF INTEREST

The Central Council for Education, an advisory board to the minister of education and science (former minister of education) concludes its report issued in 1997 with the following statement:

> Japanese education has experienced a dramatic expansion and development. (...) Rapid social changes in recent years, however, greatly affected the state of affairs in education. (...) On the other hand, there has been an increased demand to adapt the educational system to extensive and drastic social and cultural changes.

### The reform Impetus

During the course of Japan's miracle recovery from the ruin after the World War II, education served as a 'driving force for the economic, social and cultural development' of a new Japan (Ministry of Education, MOE, 1997). A national enthusiasm for education, however, resulted in some social side-effects such as the placing of too much value on educational background in every respect of social life; excessive competition in entrance examination; problematic behavior in young people; and uniform, inflexible structures and methods of formal education (*ibid*, p. 1). Now major educational reform is being considered so that both school administration and the curriculum reflect the recent 'extensive and drastic social and cultural changes' (*ibid*, p. 1)[1]

The Japanese educational system has already experienced two major reforms since Japan became a modern country in the mid 19th century- it was reformed firstly by the Meiji government in the period immediately following the Meiji Restoration in 1867 and secondly by the Allied Nations' occupation after the Second World War.[2] Thus, Japan has been undergoing a third major round of reform from the end of the 20th century to the begining of

the 21st.

## *Focus on private, female and junior higher institutions in Japan*

Essentially, the 1990's educational reforms originated, at least in a part, from recognition of the risk which all Japanese educational bodies appeared to be facing as a result of drastic changes in the composition of population, namely the increasing older population in an aging society and the consequent decrease in the youth population at an ever increasing pace. In Japan, the percentage of students going to university and junior colleges has already exceeded 43.3% of the population of 18-years-olds in 1994 (MOE 1995). However, this quantitative expansion of higher education in Japan will undoubtedly soon cease following the reduction of population size of the successive age group. The population of 18-yers-olds is predicted to decline from 1.86 million in 1994 to 1.29 million in the year 2007, which is a considerable decrease of more than 30% within 15 years. According to Baba and Tanaka (1997), a possible result of this demographic change is the serious prospect that 'some universities might be closed or fall short of the regular number of students due to the decrease in applicants'. Private educational institutions, which are, more precarious in the face of changes in the economic climate than their national or public counterparts, are now taking the situation very serious in their ceaseless effort at self-transformation.[3]

Generally speaking, on the other hand, Japanese educational institutions traditionally provide female students with fewer educational opportunities at higher educational levels, compared with other developed foreign countries (e.g. UNESCO 1978). To be sure, as Yamada (1995) puts it, following the egalitarian reform over the course of the post-war period, 'women have achieved an "equal opportunity" to participate up to the secondary level'. However, she points out that 'women still face barriers to participation at the tertiary level of education and questions remain regarding the goals of higher education for women' (*ibid*). The fact that Japan is behind the field of female higher education is partly attributed to traditional gender roles and their reflection to be found within the educational system especially in private sectors.[4]

More importantly, as Yamada (*ibid*) further continues, 'most female students are still absorbed into junior colleges', which are quite unique educational institutions in Japan, catering almost solely for girls. This fact, according to the same author, casts a shadow over the recent achievement that 'since 1989, the percentage of female students entering higher education institutions has exceeded that of males'. That is, in 1994, 45.9% of women compared to 40.9% of the male population entered higher education (Yamada 1995). The key role which female junior colleges have had in the Japanese official educational framework,

thus, necessitates our re-examination of female academic participation in its specific context of Japanese higher education.[5]

## *The Structure of the Essay*

Interestingly enough, Japanese female junior colleges have not been actively researched. Indeed, as Brian (1997) observed, 'Regardless of the tremendous amount of research about Japanese education, (...) junior colleges have been neglected in the literature' whether in Japanese or English. In order to bridge this gap, I will focus primarily on female junior colleges in Japan, and explore what might be the most interesting and relevant questions to be asked about such colleges in the current climate. In this attempt, I will begin with looking at the so-called 'rhetoric of figure' behind the actual female attainment on the higher educational front in Japan, as an indication of 'problems' which are caused by such female institutions. I then consider how such institutions might link to Japanese society, especially in so far as they, in turn, disadvantage the academic and professional status of women systematically in the society. The discussion will then refer to the consideration of which methodological frameworks are available for the research of such institutions. Approaches such as functionalism, interpretivism, Marxisim and feminism are discussed in relation to the possible analytical frameworks for Japanese female junior colleges. The final section of the essay suggests some future directions of the study.

## FEMALE JUNIOR COLLEGE: A UNIQUELY JAPANESE INSTITUTION?

### *'Rhetoric of Figures'*

In Japan, since 1989, the female enrollment ratio in higher education has already exceeded that of the male population with the figure of 47.6% for the former, as opposed to that of 37.2% for the latter, as of 1998 (MOE 1998). This achievement of women in higher educational institutions has been partly attributed to the economic growth realized by post-war Japan, and the consequent rise of national living standard in general (Fujimura-Fanslow 1985).[6] This figure, which seems to indicate a drastic change in female status over the post-war period, is, however, somewhat misleadingly represented. This 'rhetoric of figure', so to speak, comprises two aspects, and both of which are related to the uniquely Japanese educational, industrial and cultural environments. The first aspect of this rhetoric can be regarded as 'quantitative', while the second aspect can be similarly labeled as 'qualitative'.

Firstly, this figure on female higher educational enrollment, which is more than 40% as of 1990 (MOE 1998, pp. 586-587) must be considered in the light of the fact that 30% of female colleges students were enrolled at institutions with an exclusively female students population, and that most of such female students go to junior colleges, where they represent an overwhelming population of 90% (Fujimura-Fanslow 1985). The consequence is such that '[W]omen constitute a very small percentage at the (…) co-educational universities' (*ibid*).

Secondly, if we focus on the subjects female college/ university students are studying, we notice another type of gender differentiation. For example in 1981, 'more than six out of ten women enrolled in universities were clustered in the traditionally female fields of literature, education, and home economics' and the proportion of female representation in these fields rises to 80% in junior colleges (Fujimura-Fanslow 1985). Even brief quantitative and qualitative analysis of such statistics suggests the need for a re-examination of women's status in Japan in its specific context of female higher education. Women's junior colleges in particular could be therefore reasonably focused on, as a reflection of Japanese society in which females are still modestly represented both academically and professionally.[7]

### The 'Second' Track for Female Higher Education

Junior colleges are a part of the Japanese official higher institutional framework, characterized by the following features: Firstly, they provide the students with two-year courses, at the end of which they receive a so-called "half- bachelor". Secondly, these two-year institutions are vocationally, rather than academically, oriented. Thirdly, the governing bodies are usually private, with some minor exceptions which are national or public. Essentially, the students' population in these colleges is predominantly, and in many cases even overwhelmingly, female. Lastly, coupled with these features, they are often not regarded as universities in any real sense but rather as 'the supplier of short-cycle, cheap clerical workers' (Narumiya 1986). This female route from secondary education into short-term tertiary education, mostly within such all-female environments, can be reasonably regarded as the 'second' track of the Japanese female higher education. The existence or maintenance of a 'dual' track system inside the official and institutional framework of Japanese female higher education clearly contrasts with the following historical fact:

As a result of the Allied nation's egalitarian educational reform in the post-war period, the prewar multi track, elitist education system and high quality technical schools gave way to a single (unisex) track, 6-3-3-4 educational ladder system (Wray 1991, pp. 453-454).

*A Socio-Economic Explanation*

To understand some reasons for the conservation of this 'dual track system' within the official framework of Japanese female higher education, an understanding of such institutions in the specific context of Japanese culture might be helpful. A traditional, and still prevailing, notion with regard to gender roles in Japan is that "men work outside to earn money and women stay at home to keep family and children". This persisting social norm, though becoming seemingly more precarious nowadays, can still be found in the Japanese educational system:

> The prewar concepts of gender differentiated education and the ideology of education for "good wives and wise mothers" has resurged from time to time over the postwar period (Fujimura-Fanselow& Kameda 1995, p. 14)

Moreover, as this cultural norm also includes, though implicitly, that "a husband should be better educated than his wife", Japanese women's colleges which grant the half-bachelor degree play an "ideal" function within Japanese society (*ibid*).

This kind of social philosophy is also brought into individual families, where the parents are more likely to regard the education of their sons as being more important than that of their daughters. A recently implemented nationwide public survey revealed the following fact:

> While there has been a general rise in the levels of education that the Japanese desire for children of both sexes, parents continue to assign higher priority to the education of sons (Fujimura-Fanselow& Kameda 1995, p. 28).

This unfortunate trade-off between their sons and daughters in the same family is perpetuated by many young women choosing to go to private colleges/ universities, where the tuition fees must be covered by their parents. Female junior colleges tend to be chosen by the parents more often because their tuition fees are theoretically half, compared to those of four-year institutions, given the half-length of the enrollment period in such short-cycle institutions.

From an industrial point of view, Japanese women's junior colleges have always been an integral part of the Japanese economic structure. In fact, they have acted as a continuous

supplier of a "cheap" and "trained" female labor forces during a period of unprecedented Japanese economic prosperity. As Brian (1997) insightfully argued, such institutions have acted, at least in a sense, as 'employment agencies' for the industrial world. Although such institutions are often categorized into two types, namely 'general education' and 'training for employment', according to the programs they offer, many junior colleges combine these two types of education into one course of a so-called 'bride-training' (*ibid*). In this sense, women's junior colleges respond fairly well to the industrial need that 'girls could finish their education before reaching a marriageable age' (Yamada 1995). Indeed, since, at least logically, the graduates from the junior colleges can work for two years longer than their colleagues' graduating from universities, the general preference on the side of employers are as follows:

> Many companies, as a matter of policy, do not recruit female university graduates, which partly accounts for the fact that employment rates among these women have been lower than those found among female junior college graduates and male graduates (Fujimura-Fanselow 1985, p. 484).

Here is yet another clue to understand the hitherto continuing popularity of such institutions. These various themes could usefully provide a framework for the study of such colleges and the subsequent identification of specific research questions to be discussed in the final section of this paper.

## METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS

In this section, I will examine four dominant paradigms within the field of sociology of education, all of which are expected to be potentially useful for the study of Japanese female higher education and specifically Japanese women's junior colleges. Generally speaking, major sociological perspectives on education fall into the following three approaches: functionalism, interpretivism and Marxism (Blackledge& Hunt 1985, p. 1). Although these three paradigms within the sociology of education are interrelated, and sometimes even intertwined, I will provide a brief account of each approach. Feminist perspectives will be also discussed individually as an alternative approach of these three traditional paradigms. The brief overview of all these four paradigms will be followed by their respective application to the existing study of Japanese educational issues, so far conducted by both Western and

Japanese researchers.

## *Functionalism*

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) and Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) are regarded as the two major figures in the field of sociology of education. Especially, the concentration and devotion of Durkheim and 'modern Durkheimians' to the educational aspects of the society is above all noteworthy (*ibid.*, p. 2). According to Blackledge *et al.* (1985), Durkheim's two major contributions to the sociology of education were, first, his research on the co-relation between social class and educational attainment 'through the tradition of "political arithmetic" and, second, his coverage of the economics, social mobility and political order through his "functional theory"' (*ibid*, p. 2). The work of Parsons, the other dominant figure in functionalism, has been also introduced in educational studies mainly by Ralph Turner (1964; 1966) and Earl Hopper (1971; 1975; 1981).

Durkheim originally developed an analysis of social function performed by social institutions. His attention was focused on the part to be played by the institution in the promotion and maintenance of a particular form of social cohesion and social unity (Banks 1968, p. 4). This emphasis on the functional role of social institutions then led him to realize the contemporary meaning of schools in modern industrialized society.

> The educational process itself must take on the role of the allocation
> and selection (...) for their adult role (*ibid.*, p. 5)

Importantly, this function of such institution considered here is conceived as being more than a simple transmission of skills and values to the next generation. Another contribution of the functional approach to education is the placement of the issues within the broader context of socio-economics. As Banks (1968) clearly states, '[O]ne of the major strength of the structural and or functional approach to education is the firm placing of educational institutions in their relationship with the wider social structure' (*ibid.* p. 5). Consequently, in taking account of educational issues within the context of modern society as a whole, one must consider their association with both economic and demographic surroundings.

The weakness of functionalism, on the other hand, is the tendency to

> [O]ver look not only the extent of differentiation in a modern
> complex society but also the fact that differentiation implies (...) a (...)
> degree (...) or contained conflict (Banks 1968, p. 6)

For Banks (1968), furthermore,

> [I]t was one of the major errors of Durkheim to minimize the
> amount of conflict consequent upon the division of labour, and this same
> error continues within the structural school (p. 6)

This criticism from a Marxist approach was to some extent plausible, when we acknowledge the fundamental importance of the concept of ideology over the process of education in any society. Additionally, according to Banks (1968), again, this ideological aspect has been 'so seriously neglected' in the study of education up to the 60's (p. 6).

In Japan, rather neutral attitude has been primarily associated with this traditional functionalist sociology. For example, the research on status-attainment, carried out by Tominaga *et al.* (1979), has indeed taken an objective stance in a series of reports, which were based on their preceding Social Stratification and Mobility (SSM) surveys on Japanese society. While Tominaga *et al.* use Parsons' AGIL model for their analytical framework, as referred in Brinton (1993), Lummis *et al's* examination on what kind of impact was brought to male Japanese and their actual view on the in female counterparts, as a result of the women's movement and the consequent changes in women's aspirations and roles over the past twenty years, takes on neutrality, too. Change in masculinity including their attitudes toward their own roles as husbands, fathers, and wage earners have also been considered (Fujimura& Kameda 1995). Another example of the neutral evaluation on Japanese society within this school is the work done by Masaki Yamaguchi, who, through his eyes as a journalist, reported on changes in family life in recent years. Consequently, he succeeded in offering valuable insights into ongoing processes of self-questioning and redefinition of the male role by a small but growing number of Japanese men today (*ibid.* xxxv). In relation to the Japanese women's junior colleges, Dore (1976)'s evaluation of such institutions within an economic paradigm leads him to conclude that this function as an employment agent for the industrial world 'works well' in the sense that it provides an adequate *modus operandi* of distributing each generation among the available middle class jobs (*ibid*). He further expounds that they may be described as 'ability-filtering devices' for the labour market (*ibid*). More recently, Takatori& Tachi (1998)'s argument creates a new focus on the role of female junior colleges in Japan through their theory of so-called 'junior colleges as a first stage', where the female students can find their further direction while pursuing their study. However, this is not yet validated, given the actual situation that 'in 1991, 87.0% of junior college graduates sought employment while 3.8% continued their education' (MOE 1992 and

Brian 1997).

Negative evaluation of the social function of Japanese women's education can also be found amongst the researchers. Such stances include the strategy of locating the study of women's work within the context of the patriarchal, that is family, system of Japan. By focusing on the pre-modern factors within the Japanese society, Takenaka, for example, argued that 'any change in women's earnings, or in women's position in the workplace or labour force', hence that of education, 'requires a fundamental change in that patriarchal family system' (Ueno 1985, 1990). The central point to this kind of discussion is that

> [W]hile the prewar family system has been formally abolished (...) the restriction on "women's freedom of choice and independence" still remains and this in turn hinders "the realization of a truly egalitarian relationship between wives and husbands"' (Fujimura& Kameda 1995, pp. 183-197)

Yoshizumi (1995) notes in her essay, which looks at marriage and the family in contemporary society, that psychological and cultural as well as legal residues of that system persist.[8] Kameda (1986) also argues that '(junior colleges) distribute workers according to sex distinctions and provide short-term education, which equals an education suited for women'.

### Interpretivism

Interpretivism was initially devised as an alternative approach to functionalism, which intrinsically involves empirical and logical difficulties as well as a tendency to be politically conservative (Blackledge& Hunt 1985, p. 2). As a result, interpretivism was developed to focus on firstly the study of 'micro' social processes and secondly their consequential pursuit of 'new' sociology of education (*ibidi.*, p. 3). While the former made use of the insights of interactionism, ethnomethodology and phenomenology, and analysed classroom interaction (*e.g.* teacher-pupil relationship etc.) into the depth, the latter tentatively focused on knowledge as a social construct. Ethnography and symbolic interactionism together with hemenuetics have gained substantial popularity over the course of the development.

Some distinguished figures in this school include Clifford Geerts (ethnography), G. H. Mead and Herbert Blumer (symbolic interactionism) and Martin Heidegger, Charles Taylor and Hans-George Gadamer (hermeneutics), none of whom we are going to discuss any

further in this essay.

In short, interpretivism, as an alternative approach, focused on 'microcosmic' world, putting the emphasis on individual case studies, as opposed to the functionalist approach which focused on the 'macrocosmic' world (*ibid.*, p. 4). The methods employed in interpretivist study of educational matters can thus include participants' observation, interviews with informants and archival research (Denzin& Lincoln 1998, pp. 221-222). Functionalism and interpretivism are the same, however, in the sense that both use the notion of 'social actor', placing it within the broader social context such as industry, culture, family and the like. The difference is that interpretivism takes considerable account of 'interpretation' as an essential activity to understand the world (*ibid.*, p. 222). The goal of this type of investigation is, therefore, to have a grasp or understanding of the 'meaning' of social phenomena, and not the mere 'function' of social actors, whether they are individuals or institutions.

At this juncture, the difficulty of maintaining the opposition of subjectivity and objectivity, that is engagement and objectification, thus arises for interpretivists.[9] Regardless of a number of prominent figures within this school, the paradox of how to pursue "an objective interpretative science of subjective human experience" must be said to have still remained unsolved. While this impasses in relation to the trade-off between subjectivity and objectivity was exactly what the functionalists faced previously, this major weakness was to be shared by both functionalist and interpretivists.[10]

One example of gender and educational studies in Japan which uses interpretivist frameworks is by Libra (1976). Based on her collection of rich ethnographic material on Japanese women, she succeeds in presenting some basic directions in the movement towards women's equality in Japan. She then concludes that, as far as 'these (...) directions are problematic in a broad social context' , and seem to 'line sexual equality up with racial, economic and other types of inequality', 'progress beyond a certain point involves fundamental social change'. (*ibid.*) Briton (1993), on the other hand, describes a division of labour in Japan using the following methodologies; three city survey, daily interaction with people and media, interviews or survey with a random sample, and government statistics and newspaper reports on women's labour force. In an attempt to 'bridge the gap between quantitative and qualitative techniques', according to Brian, he was deeply motivated by the belief that 'good social science comes not just in the form of constructing regression equations but also in listening to what people have to say about their own lives' (*ibid.*).

Tanaka (1995), a Japanese female sociologist, also researched women's participation in labor force divisions amongst several cohorts of Tokyo women at different points in their

lives and especially looked at how they balance family and work responsibilities (Fujimura& Kameda 1995, xxxv). She analyses 'the life cycle employment patterns and occupational distribution of women in relation to educational background' and reveals that, 'while access to both educational and employment opportunities has rapidly increased, education has not been fully translated into career advancement for Japanese women, due largely to the limited employment opportunities for married women, especially those seeking to re-enter the labor market after having left it because of household and child care responsibilities' (*ibid.*, xxxv). The 'life-cycle' approach, which she utilized in this research, is now a widely used method in Japan, together with those of 'life-course' and 'life-stage', as its broad synonyms. Vogel (1978), as a distinguished figure among the "japonists", gives a detailed account on the lives and the social roles of some typical middle class Japanese housewives, indicating that their role in the family is distinct from that of American housewives. The data is drawn from 'an in-depth study of a sample of middle class Tokyo housewives' and reveals that 'the vast majority of women desire marriage and see it as their primary, if not exclusive, life-long career, requiring training, special skills and endless devotion' (*ibid.*). Last but not least, Brian (1997), in his study of Japanese female junior colleges, addresses the views that such institutions enhance gender definitions, and concludes that such criticism 'should not be surprising', because 'they are part and parcel of an educational experience that systematically socializes women from an early age'. Focusing on a specific female junior college in Japan, he aims to 'provide an ethnographically informed study that highlights the concreteness, color and cultural context of this college', taking what he called 'a bottom-up, inside-out approach, with on-the-ground description of a particular institution and its socializing activities' in order to secure 'a focused, qualitative, and interpretive account'. Using both qualitative and quantitative data collection at this particular college, he challenges taken-for-granted assumptions about such colleges (Brian 1997).

### *Marxism*

In a sense, Marxism has re-emerged, albeit contradictorily, following the recognition of the limitations of interepretivism. This movement led to a renewed concern with 'macro' social processes, economics and politics (Blackledge& Hunt 1985, p. 3). Traditionally, Marxists have approached educational studies in either of the following two patterns: first, education as the 'reproduction' of social stratification, or as maintenance of capitalist 'relations of production', or, second, as a 'site of resistance' to the demands of the capitalist system (*ibid.*, p. 3). Bowles and Gintis (1976), for example, controversially criticize the role of education and capitalist economy itself through their study of American education, and in

doing so, they illustrate well many of the feature of educational Marxism.

The considerable merits of the Marxist approach can be argued as follows. First, it successfully incorporated schools within the complicated nexus of 'other more powerful social and economic institutions', particularly the school's relationship to the workplace and the family (Giroux 1981, p. 13). Another contribution made by this particular school is the correction of some of the 'political and ideological shortcomings' which were inherent in both functionalist and interpretivist frameworks (*ibid.*, p. 14). Marxism has made yet another contribution in restoring the value of 'culture' in social science. According to Giroux (1981), in the traditional field of social science, 'the concept of culture (...) has contributed little to an understading of how powerful functions are in a society so as to structure its various socio-economic classes, institutions, and social practices' (*ibid.*, p. 26). He exemplifies this failure by referring to his account that 'Talcott Parsons (...) reduced "culture" to a form of cultural idealism, or (...) Clifoord Geerts to the study of a semiotic field' (Giroux 1981, p. 26). Marxists, on the contrary, have achieved a successful incorporation of cultural elements into the study of society, including the educational system, by way of 'politicizing' the concept of culture (*ibid.*, p. 26).

Nevertheless, Marxism is not free from criticism, either. Primarily, since this school inevitably employs macro-perspectives throughout investigations, this approach is also vulnerable to the criticisms from those methodologies employing micro-analysis such as case-study and field work. Moreover, it should be noted that Marxism is essentially the same as functionalism in that both theories see society as a system of role/ function, (...) and therefore both are liable to be criticized 'for overstressing this factor' (Reid 1978, pp. 10-12). Pluralists and Weberians, too, criticize the Marxist overemphasis on economic matters in dealing with educational questions (*ibid.*, p. 3). Finally, it is worth noting that Marxists' common theoretical backbone of 'production and reproduction' theory stems directly from Durkheim's conception of school role as being a system for the 'methodological socialization of the young generation' (Durkheim, 1956, p. 71). The result of this homogeneity is the synthesis of these perspectives under the name of "structuralism".

In Japanese contexts, too, Marxism approaches have emerged as a possibly valid way of investigating female educational issues in similar ways to those found in Western countries. Brinton (1993) explains the process leading to the restoration of Marxism in the Japanese context:

> Most of the English-language literature on gender stratification in
> Japan falls into two categories: descriptive, qualitatively rich vignettes

of individual Japanese women, and quantitatively sophisticated work
either by labour economists working in a human capital tradition or by
sociologists working in a status-attainment tradition.

He then expands his argument to the criticism of interpretivism as shown below:

> On the one hand, the micro-level, descriptive literature is useful
> in being able to tap into how individual Japanese women think, feel,
> and behave. But this literature offers no sustained analysis of "why"
> patterns of gender stratification are systematically reproduced in
> Japanese society (Brinton 1993).

Thus, Marxist perspectives were brought into the field and gained a substantial renewed
popularity in due course.

## Feminism

When discussing the critical tradition of social research in general, Harvey (1990)
writes:

> It is all the more surprising (...) that, while it is simple enough to
> find accounts of the core process of say positivistic/quantitative or pheno-
> menological/qualitative approaches to sociological research, accounts of
> the essential nature of a critical approach are elusive (p. 15).

In this specific connection, one may argue that feminists, as relative latecomers to the
fields of social science, appear to have partially succeeded in filling this gap. Social scientists'
effort to remain critical has substantially been behind the endeavors of Marxists, and there
is no doubt that feminism is partly derived from Marxism in a sense that the former has
fully inherited the latter's critical attitudes (Harvey 1990, p. 15).[11]

However, the fact that feminism is not completely derived from Marxism must also
be admitted. The early feminists' endeavour was 'to develop a sociological theory of the
schooling which formalized how education functioned as a political instrument of the state,
governed largely by men' (Dillabough& Arnot 1999). Their contribution finally resulted in
their successful establishment of a theoretical/methodological framework that incorporates
Parsonians' structural functionalism and Durkheim's moral perspective into Marxism critical

stances. Feminist researchers, in my view, have successfully secured both subjectivity and objectivity through their employment of an eclectic approach which combines qualitative and qualitative data. One example of excellent handling of quantitative data in British case is the Essex Survey (Marshal *et al.* 1988) in which they successfully provide some evidence that 'women are less likely than men to be seen as promotable, and they are recruited on the specific understanding that they will not seek promotion' (Abbot and Wallace 1997, pp. 62-65). An example of tactful handling of qualitative data, on the other hand, is Brown and Gilligan (1992) in which the authors skillfully deconstruct "girls' talk" and their different "voice" through the implementation of multiple interview and reading of what they call their listening guides.

Feminists' pursuit of critical social researches is well documented in the writing of Acker, a leading figure in British feminism, who reveals male sociologists' frequent failure to recognize that sex differences are the result of cultural and social influence.

> Writing of men, sociologists show an acute awareness of the social constraints upon their actions. Writing of women, or of sex differences, they frequently switch to psychological or biological levels of explanation (Acker 1981, cited in Thomas 1990, p. 1)

Similarly, the following becomes their common premise:

> People's actions are socially constrained, although not socially determined; people make decision which are based on an awareness of the potentialities and limitations of certain courses of action (Thomas 1990, pp. 1-2)

This cognizance of oppression in general, caused by the unique status of being female in particular, led some feminist researchers to use the familiar version of Marxists' "production and reproduction" theory.

> Whether we believe that inequality of the sexes is the result of genetic differences, the desire of men to control and dominate women, outdated attitudes and prejudices or historical struggle, it is undoubtedly the case that there is a continuous process of producing and reproducing inequality (Thomas 1990, p. 2).

More importantly in this connection, their critical stance never allows them to overlook the shortcomings of Marxism. Thomas elucidates:

> Explanations for the failure of working-class children within the system, for example, have ranged from the "cultural deprivation" theory (*e.g.* the Plowden Report, 1967) to the vulgar Marxist belief that the primary function of education is to instill in working-class pupils the docility and passivity necessary for participation in the labour force (Thomas 1990, pp. 2-3).

The second phase of the discussion (from 1970's onwards) made within the framework of these socialist feminism is thus characterized by their usage of the notion of 'gender codes' or 'gender regimes' in their argument of school as a reproductive institution (Dillabough& Arnot 1999).

In the Japanese context, however, almost every single example of feminist research is predominantly coloured by the Marxist discourse. Fujimura illustrates this tendency substantially well:

> The essays (...) evaluate education both as an instrument of oppression that restrains women, locking them into sexually defined roles, and discourages their participation in public life as well as a force for liberating women and equalizing their opportunities (Fujimura 1985).

This very skeptical attitude towards Japanese female education in general, is verified even more sharply in the field of higher education in particular, where evidence is such that women continue to pursue their studies in sex-segregated institutions and also that gender differentiation is further evident in terms of the content of study pursued (Fujimura& Kameda 1995). Under such status quo, no matter how women's junior colleges provide educational opportunities for women, they are vulnerable to the criticism that they have fixated and reinforced women's roles, becoming a 'structural element in the reproduction of sex roles' (*ibid.*). Hara's (1995) endeavours to find a cause of this social structure necessitate her revision and re-analysis of the nature and development of female education over the couse of Japan's post-war recovery in historical contexts (*ibid.*). She subsequently concludes:

The state-controlled, sex-segregated educational system of prewar Japan, based on the ideology of "education for good wives and wise mothers", was designed to maintain a conservative social order and to keep women in a separate and inferior role within the family and society (*ibid.*).

These discussions imply that the problems regarding the female status, including their educational attainment, certainly involve causes which are inextricably interwoven in the historical and cultural roots of Japanese society. Fujimura (1995), focusing on women in higher education, explores 'the reasons for persisting gender differences in patterns of college attendance, changing patterns of employment among female graduates, and the attitudes of college women regarding their future, including employment, marriage, and family' (Fujimura& Kameda 1995). Her conclusion, basing on her analysis of existing research data – including statistical data and public opinion survey data – collected by both Japanese ministries and private institutions, subsequently claims that sex difference in educational opportunities still persist. Furthermore, regardless of recent changes, according to her, this inequality is most noticeable at the tertiary level (*ibid.*). In many cases, her discussion is also supplemented by interviews undertaken by the author with both her own and other women students and graduates from a number of universities, junior colleges and senshu-gakko (post-secondary institutions offering short-term vocational and technical training). Yamada (1993) also shows the differences in the patterns of both attendance and specialization between men and women.[12]

## FEMALE JUNIOR COLLEGE – STILL THE 'SECOND TRACK'

### Contradictory Phenomena

Fujimura (1985) found, on the basis of her interviews with female students, that young Japanese women are now well aware of the fact that they do not have equal access to employment as university-educated males. They are, moreover, cognizant of the restriction on their mobility, advancement and receipt of high remuneration (*ibid.*). These rather pessimistic views on the side of young women partly attributed to the results of the surveys recently held by the Japanese Recruiting Centre, in which much smaller proportion of university-bound female, compared with male high school seniors, acknowledge that 'a university degree is advantageous in terms of employment' and accordingly much smaller

proportion of female graduates thought that 'one will be at a disadvantage unless one has a university degree' (Japan Recruiting Centre 1990). This female negative perception of the value of a university degree may, in part, result in the continuing popularity of junior colleges, which only offer them a half-bachelor, as their choice for post-secondary educational institutions. Narumiya (1986), who attempted to illustrate 'the structure of higher education opportunities for women through the process of expanding education' after the WWII, by using mainly the governmental statistical data, also points out the continuous growth of the junior college over the period, and critically analyzes this 'uniquely Japanese phenomenon'.

### *Primarily a Female Issue*

The statistical fact that massive proportion of over 90% of the total enrollment in junior colleges are female renders the above mentioned problems uniquely female issues. Furthermore, although many schools train female students in various specializations in employment, the general impression is that female students, rather than being educated to be 'citizens or individuals', are socialized to be 'women' at junior colleges (Amano 1986). When Yamada (1995) shows, during her discussion of the disparity between male and female students in higher education, that 'most female students are still absorbed in junior colleges', female junior colleges are pitilessly exposed to the criticism that they are a "harmful function".[13]

### *Some Discussion for/against Female Junior Colleges*

In order to assess the achievement of equal educational opportunity in a society, Levin (1976) looks at whether the same degree of family expectation for both their sons and daughter is expressed. On the other hand, it is generally believe that societies with flexible employment options for women have an equally similar sex ratio in educational institutions between the male and female population (Giele& Smock 1977). Furthermore, the quality of higher education in any society should be evaluated by the integration of the following four functions: research and training for future researchers; teaching through liberal arts education; professional training and education; and cultivation of critical thinking (Parson& Platt 1973). However, Japanese higher institutions, most notably female junior colleges, have some trouble with any of these three aspects.

Firstly, the relatively high tuition fee of private universities, in which most of the female students are in reality enrolling, leaves less options to the parents in relation to their daughters' education. Parents are more likely to send their daughters to two-year colleges/ universities, where the cost is theoretically a half of the four-year equivalent owing to its

half period of attendance.

Secondly, although the graduates from two-year institutions can find a job soon after their graduation — sometime even more easily than their counterparts graduating from four-year institutions — they are usually employed as a clerical workforce. In Japanese companies, this type of employees has no real prospect for the promotion, and thus their future career orientation tends to be rather provisional.

Thirdly, Japanese women's junior colleges as a whole have been accomplishing only two of Parsons *et al* four functions of higher education, and they simply provide either a liberal arts education or professional training and education, or both at most (Yamada 1993). Thus, some researchers even conclude that Japanese female higher education, including both four and two year, has served the social function of not promoting equal opportunities, but of reproducing and fixing gender roles, and therefore could not be regarded as the educational function in the same way as their male or mixed equivalent have played (Kameda *et al.* 1995).

However, a positive prospect regarding such female junior colleges can be also found in the recent discussion, and this partially aims to define junior colleges as to be the 'first stage' of heir experience in higher education, during which period the students can decide even more thoughtfully and profoundly their future orientation (Takatori& Tachi 1998). The female graduates from four–year institutions have relatively narrow choices as to their future direction after graduation—they have to immediately begin working in a company, given, again, the nation-wide opinion that women should get married at around an "appropriate" age. The graduates from two-year institutions, in contrast, have more options – *e.g.* transferring into the third year of four-year institutions, studying abroad and the like. Therefore, if these institutions can successfully provide the graduates with such routes to continue their study according to their different levels of aspiration, this argument could have some validity.


## CONCLUSION: FUTURE DIRECTION OF THE STUDY

> Today, (...) we are facing an age of transition – transition to
> an internationalized society, transition to an information-centered
> civilization, and transition from a fifty-year life-span to an eighty – year
> life span (...) Education must respond to these requirements of the new
> age.
>
> (The Ad Hoc Council on Education 1985)

### Women's higher education: an interesting research theme

Berger (1976)'s study on the gender stereotype in Japan, basing on interviews with Japanese women and their comments on their American counterparts, concludes that 'standards of strength and power differ as social and cultural values differ' (UNESCO 1983, p.85). His conclusion, in turn, appears to me to argue for researching Japanese women within an analysis of the unique Japanese social and cultural context. On the other hand, the papers edited by Hunter (1993), dealing with women's work in Japan, were not limited to a single disciplinary approach.

> As women's work is a topic of shared interest for economists[14], historians[15], sociologists, anthropologists and others, this volume includes contributions from a variety of disciplinary perspectives as well as from a range of academic and geographical backgrounds (Hunter 1993, p. 6).

Similarly, Fujimura& Kameda (1995), in their co-work titled Japanese Women: *New Feminist perspective on the Past, Present, and Future* attempts to analyze:

> [T]he complex and often contradictory situation in which Japanese women find themselves today, drawing on current feminist research about or on the historical, religious, social, political, economic, and cultural dimensions of women's lives both past and present (*ibid.*, xxx).

This common stance shared by both editors of the works on Japanese women implies that female issues must be considered across several related disciplines.[16]

### Methodological Approaches to be Employed

Owing to both the partial and complementary nature of any major perspectives of contemporary sociology of education and the interrelated and multi-disciplinary nature of Japanese female issues, I shall not take any particular approach, nor any particular discipline in my study. However, three of the four traditional approaches have emerged as potentially available analytical frameworks for the study, and those are functionalism, Marxism and feminism. Very little ethnographic / micro studies within interpretivist paradigm might supplement the study. In short, my methodological stance will be a mixture of the three paradigms, *i.e.* functionalism, interpretivism and Marxism, with strong

influence from feminism. While the historical investigation of related matters will be a part of the study, I am also prepared, at this early stage, to pursue the direction of the so-called post-modernism investigation.[17]

## Research Questions

According to Wray (1991), the study of educational reform in Japan is, in a sense, 'a study in the assimilation, alternation, and rejection of adopted foreign institutions and values in a country with a long history and deep-seated cultural vales'. Fully alerted by this insight, this essay has allowed me to identify the following preliminary research questions in relation to female junior colleges, and specifically their relationship to the educational reforms which are currently under way:

1) *Are female junior colleges no more than historical legacies whose male counterpart has already vanished? If not, what is the contemporary role of Japanese junior college for women, especially in relation to the actual economics and social change?*

2) *To what extend are such junior colleges framed by traditional gender discourse, or by contemporary concepts of individualization?*

3) *What are the limits of their adaptability to contemporary social pressures?*

...etc.

## Bibliography

1. Abott, P.& Wallace, C. *An Introducation to Sociology – Feminist perspectives –* (Roulgedge, 1997)

2. Aisawa, T. 'Some personal remarks on Japanese trends and issues in higher education' *New Era in Education* Vol. 71, no. 2: Aug 90, pp. 52- 53

3. Akamatsy, R.& Hayami, T. *Koyo Kikai Kintoho* [Equal Employment Opportunity Act] (Tokyo: Yuhikaku Libre, 1986)

4. Amano, M. 'Taishuka katei ni okeru jyoshi koto kyoiku no kozo to kino' [The structure and function of women's higher education as part of mass higher education] *Kinjo Gakuen Daigaku Ronshu* 86, 1979

5. — (ed. ) *Joshi Koto Kyoiku no Zahyo* [Goal of women's higher education] (Tokyo: Kakiuchi Shuppan, 1986)

6. — 'Daiichiji Taisengo ni okeru Jyoshi Koto Kyouiku no Kino' [The social function of women's higher institutions after WWI] *Kyoiku Shigaku Kenkyu* 33 (1987)

7. American Association of University Women Educational Foundation *The AAUW Report 'How Schools Shortchange Girls'* (Washington, DC: AAUW Educational Foundation& The National Education Association, 1992)

8. Apple, M. W. *Ideology and Curriculum* (Boston, MA: Routledge& Kegan Paul, 1979)

9. – *Education and Power* (Boston, MA: Routledge& Kegan Paul, 1982)

10. Aptheker, B. 'Teaching about anti-Semitism and the legacy of Jewish women' *Women's Studies Quarterly* 21, pp. 63-68

11. Arai, K. 'Daigaku Shingaku no Kettei Yoin' [Determinant factor for promotion rate to university] *Economist Study* Vol. 41, no. 3

12. Arimoto, A. 'Market and higher education in Japan' *Higher Education Policy* vol. 10, no. 3-4: Sep-Dec 97, pp. 199-210

13. Arnot, M.& Dillabough, J-A. 'Feminist Perspecitves in Sociology of Education: Continuity and Transformation in the Field' in Levinson, D., Sadovnik, A.& Cookson, J. (eds.) *Education and Sociology: An Encyclopedia* (Garl& Publishing: New York)

14. Baba, M., Tanaka, T. 'Government funding versus private funding in Japanese universities' *Quality in Higher Education* Vol. 3, no. 3, Nov. 97, pp. 263-276

15. Bando, M., Noguchi, M.& Niiyama, Y. (eds.) *Josei toi Gakumon to Seikatsu* [Women, Science and Life] (Keiso Shobo, 1992)

16. Banks, O. *The Sociology of Education* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1968)

17. Beck, U. *Risk Society* (London, 1992)

18. Belenky, M. F., Clinchy, B. M., Goldberger, N. R.& Tarule, J. *Women's Ways of Knnowing* (NY: Basic Books, 1986)

19. Bell, S. E. 'On the (Re-)Production of Social Class: Living in, with, & beyond Elementary School' in B. Glassner& R. Hertz *Qualitative Sociology as Everyday Life* (Sage, 1999), pp. 69-78

20. Bazucha, R. J. 'Feminist pedagogy as a subversive activity' in Culley, M.& Portuges, C. (eds.) *Gender Subjects; the dynamics of feminist teaching* (Boston, MA: Routledge& Keegan Paul, 1985)

21. Blackledge, D.& Hunt, B. *Sociological Interpretations of Education* (Croom Helm, 1985)

22. Bowles, G.& Klein, R. D. (eds.) *Theories of Women's Studies* (NY: Routledge& Kegan Paul, 1998)

23. Bowles, S.& Ginits, H. 'Education and Personal Development: The long Shadow of Work' in *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1976)

24. Bowman, J. *Educational Choice and Labour Markets in Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981)

25. Bowmen, M.& Osawa, M. *Developmental perspectives on the education and economic activities of Japanese women* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement, 1986)

26. Brian, J. M. *Life in a Japanese Women's College-learning to be ladylike* – (Routledge: London, 1997)

27. Brock-Utne, B. 'Feminist didaktik-the why, what, and how to teach women' *Women's Studies International Forum* 18, pp. 487-498

28. Brwon, L. M.& Gilligan, C. 'The Harmonics of Relationship' in *Meeting at the Crossroads: Women's Psychology and Girls Development* (Harvard UP, 1992)

29. Bunch, C. & Pollack, S. *Learning Our Way; essays in feminist education* (Trumansburg, N.Y.: The Crossing Press, 1983)

30. Campbell, D. T.& Stanley, J. C. 'Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research on teaching' in N. Gage (ed.) *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (New York: RandMcNally, 1963)

31. Cannon, L. W. 'Fostering positive race, class, and gender dynamics in the classroom' *Women's Studies Quarterly* 18, pp. 126-134

32. Carnegie commission on Higher Education *Opportunities for Women in Higher Education: Their Current Participation, Prospects for the Future, and a Recommendation for Action* (NY: McGrow-Hill, 1973)

33. Carr, W.& Kemmis, S. *Becoming Critical: Education, Knowledge and Action Research* (London: Falmer)

34. Cayleff, S. E. 'Teaching women's history in a medical school: challenge and possibilities' *Women's Studies Quarterly* 16, pp. 97-109

35. Central Council for Education *An Interim Report on Policies for the Future Expansion and Development of Education in Japan* (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, June 1969)

36. – *Basic Guidelines for the Reform of Education* (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1972)

37. Clark, B. R. *The higher education system: academic organization in cross-national system* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press 2000)

38. Cobb, P. 'Concrete can be abstract' in *Education Studies in Mathematics* 17 (1), pp. 37-48

39. Culley, M.& Portuges, C. *Gender Subjects: the dynamics of feminist teaching* (Boston, MA: Routledge& Keegan Paul, 1985)

40. Cummings, W. K. *Education and equality in Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press)

41. – 'The Problems and Prospects and Prospects for Japanese Higher Education' in Austin, L. (Ed.) *Japan: The Paradox of Progress* (New Heave: Tale University Press, 1976), pp. 57-87

42. – , Amano, I.& Kitamura, K. (eds.) *Changes in the Japanese University* (Paeger, 1979)

43. Daigaku Fujin Kyokai *Koto kyouiku wo uketa fujin no ishiki ni kansuru chosa* [Survey on the perception by the female higher education graduates] (1977)

44. – *Koto kouiku wo uketa fujin no shakai sank no kankyo ni kansuru chosa* [Survey on the environmental around the female higher education graduates' vocationa lparticipation] (1981)

45. De Danaan, L. 'Center to margin: dynamics in a global classroom' *Women's Studies Quarterly* 18, pp. 135-144

46. Dean, M. *Critical and effective histories – Foucault's methods and historical sociology –* (Routledge, 1994)

47. Deble, I. *The School Education of Girls* (Paris: UNESCO, 1980)

48. Denzin, N.& Lincolon, Y. S. (eds.) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research – Theories and Issues –* (Sage Publication, 1998)

49. Dore, R. P. 'The Future of Japan's Meritocracy' in *Socila Structures and Economic Dynamics in Japan Up to 1980*, ed. Fodella, G. (Treviso: Longo& Zoppelli, 1975)

50. – *The Diploma Disease: Education, Qualification and Development* (Derclay: University of California Press, 1976)

51. Durkheim, E. *Education and Sociology* (Glencoe: Illinos; Free Press, 1956)

52. Engel, J. W. *A comparison of Japanese and American housewives' attitudes toward employment of women* (CP, 1986a)

53. – *General differences in Japanese attitudes toward women's employment* (CP, 1986b)

54. Fay, B. 'Is our understanding of others essentially historical' in *Contemporary Philosophy of Social Science: A multicultural approach* (Blackwell: Oxford), pp. 155-177

55. Fisher, J. 'Retuning women in the feminist classroom' *Women's Studies Quarterly* 15, pp. 90-95

56. Friere, P. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (NY: Seabury Press, 1973)

57. – *The Politics of Education: culture, power, and liberation* (south Hadley, MA: Bergin& Garvey, 1985)

58. Fujii, H. *Nippon no Jyoshi Koto kyouiku* [Higher Education for Women in Japan] (Domesu Shuppan 1973)

59. Fujimura-Fanslwo, K. 'Women's Participation in Higher Education in Japan' *Comparative Education Review* Nov. 1985, pp. 471-489

60. – 'Fiminist pedagogy: its goals, principles and implementation' *Toyo Eiwa Journal of the Humanities and Social Science* 1, pp. 95-113 (1989)

61. – 'Feminist dedagogy: riron to sono jissen' [Feminist Pedagogy; theory and practice] (Tokyo, 1995)

62. – 'Women's studies and feminist pedagogy: critical challenges the Japanese education values and practice' *Gender and Education* vol. 8, no. 3: Oct. 96, pp. 337-352

63. – & Kameda, A. (eds.) *Japanese Women: new feminist perspectives on the past, present, and future* (NY: The Feminist Press at the City University of NY, 1995)

64. Fujin Kyoiku Kenkyu-kai (eds.) *The present status of women in statistics* (Tokyo: Kakiuchi Shuppan ,1991)

65. Fujita, T. *Japanese Women in the Post-War Years* (Tokyo: Nihon Taiheiyo Mondai Chosakai, 1954)

66. Fujitani, A.& Uesugi, T. (eds.) *Daisotsu jose hyakumannninn jidai* [Era of one million female university graduates] (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1982)

67. Fukaya, M. *Ryosai Kenboshugi no kyoiku* [Education of 'Good wives and wise mothers'] (Tokyo: Reimei Shobo, 1966)

68. Gagne, R. M. et al. 'Factors in acquiring knowledge of a mathematical task' in *Psychological Monograph* 76 (7), pp. 1- 21

69. Giele, Z. J.& Smock, A. C. (eds.) *Women: Roles and Status in Eight Countries* (New York: Wiley, 1977)

70. Gilligan, C. *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1982)

71. Giroux, H. A. *Ideology, Culture, and the Process of Schooling* (Philadelfia, PA: Temple Univ. Press, 1981)

72. – *Teachers as Intellectuals* (Grandy, MA: Bergin& Garvey)

73. – *Theory, Resistance, and Education* (South Hadley, MA: Bergin& Garvey)

74. Good, W. J. *World Revolution and Family Patters* (New York: Free Press, 1963)

75. Guba, E. S.& Lincoln, Y. S. 'Competing paradigms in qualitative research' in Denzig, N. K.& Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London: SAGE, 1994), pp. 105- 117

76. Hara, H. *Josei to shokugyo ni kansuru yobiteki kenkyu- Tokyo-nai no chusho kigyo ni okeru josei keiei sankasha ni tsuite no jirei kenkyu* [Preliminary study on women and work] (Tokyo: Toyota Zaidan, 1981)

77. Hara, K. 'Jugyo keikaku to jugo hyouka' [Class planning and class evaluation] *IDE* 332, pp. 5-13

78. Hagreaves, D. H., Hester, S. K.& Mellor, F. J. 'A theory of typing' in *Deviance in Classrooms* (London: Routlege& Keegan Paul, 1975), pp. 140-170

79. Harvey, L. *Critical Social Research* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990)

80. Haywwode, T. I.& Scanlon, L. P. 'World of our mothers: college for neighborhood women' *Women's Studies Quartrly* 15, pp. 101-109

81. Hikabe, K. 'Danjo Byodo Kyoiku kakuritu no tameni' [Establishing education equally for men and women] *Kyoiku Hyouron* 340, 1976. 9

82. Hino R. 'Onna wo kangaeru – joshikosei to tomoni (II) – ' [Thinking about women together with female high school students, part II] *Annual Reports of Women's Studies Society of Japan* 7, pp. 94-103 (1986)

83. Hirose, Y. 'Sengo Gakusei Kaikaku ni Okeru Danjo Kyogaku-ka ni kansuru Ichi kosatsu' [A study of co-education in post-war Japan] *Kyoikugaku Kenkyu* 49, 3, 1972

84. Hopper, E. *Readings in the theory of educational systems* (London: Hutchison and Co. Ltd, 1971)

85. – *Adult students: education, selection, and social control* (London: Frances Pinter Limited, 1975)

86. – *Social mobility: a study of social control and insatiability* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981)

87. Horio, T. *Educational Thought and Ideology in Modern Japan: state authority and intellectual freedom* S. Plaztzer (ed.& trans.) (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1986)

88. How, A. 'That's classic! A Gadamerian defence of the classic text in sociology' *The Sociological Review* 46: 4, pp. 828-848

89. Ichibangase, Y.& Yamamoto, K. 'Joshidaigaku sotsuyousei no sekatsu ishiki chosa' [Survey on the life perception of female university students] in *Joshi no Shogai Kyouiku* [Life-long education of women] (ed.) Nihon Joshidaigaku *Joshi Kyouiku Kenkyu-jo* (Tokyo: Kokudosha, 1986)

90. Inoue, T. 'Sengo Joseishi Ryakunenpyo' [The post-war history of Japanese women] *Julist* no. 39, pp. 284- 303 (1985)

91. Institute for Demogratic Education 'Josei to koto Kyoiku' [Women and higher education] *Gendai no Koto Kyouiku* [Modern higher education] (Tokyo: IDE, 1992)

92. Iwai, H. 'Josei no Lifecourse to Gakureki' [Women's life-course and educational background] in Kikuchi, S. (ed.) *Gendai Nihon no Kaiso Kozo Series 3: Kyoiku to Shakai ido* [Stratification& Structure of modern Japan series 3: education and social mobility] (Tokyo: Nikkei Research, 1990)

93. Japan Economic Newspaper 'A survey for working women' *The Nikkei Weekly* (Tokyo: Nikkei Research, 1990)

94. Institute of Labour *The report for career consciousness of femal workers and support system* (Tokyo: Japan Institute of Labour, 1992)

95. Japan NHK (Nihon Hoso Kyoukai) *Nihonjin no ishiki chosa* [National survey on the mentality of the Japanese] (1973- 1988)

96. – (Hoso Yoron Chosajo ed.) *Gendai Nihonjin no ishiki kozo* [Sturcuture of Japanese mentality] (Tokyo: Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 1979)

97. Japan Recruting Center *Rikuruto Chosa Geppo* [Monthly Report on Recruiting Survey] (1984- )

98. – *Shingaku Doki Chosa* [Survey on the determinant factor for college] (1976, 1978, 1982)

99. – *Joshi no saiyo to katusyo wo kangaeru* [On the female employment and their utilization] (1982)

100. – *Joshi sha'inn ni taisuru kigyo no iken chosa* [Survey on female employees] (1980)

101. – *Joshigakusei* [Female students] (1982)

102. – *Joshigakusei no shushoku doki chosa* [Survey on the determinant factors for colleges (female)]

103. Japan Seisansei Honbu (ed.) *korekara no Joshi Rodo* (Tokyo: Nihon Seisansei Hombu, Rodo Shiryou Senta, 1982)

104. Japan Women's Group Federation (eds.) *Women's White Paper* (Horupu Shuppan, 1985-1990)

105. Japan, Ministry of Education *Wagakuni no Bunkyo Seisaku* [Educational Policies in Japan]

(Tokyo: Ministry of Finance Press, 1991-1999)

106. – Agency for Universities and Colleges 'Showa gojuuichinenndo gakusei sekatsu chosa kokoku' [Students' life report 1976] *IDE* no. 134 & 135 (August- September 1977)

107. Japan, Ministry of Labour, Agency for Women *Hataraku josei no jitsujo* [The presenta status of working women] (Tokyo: Ministry of Finance Press, 1994)

108. – Women's and Minor's Bureau *Fujin Rodo no Jitsujo* [Report on the actuality of female work] (1982)

109. – *Joshi rodosha no koyo kanri ni kansuru chosa* [Report on the management of female labour force in Japan] (Tokyo, 1981)

110. Japan, Ministry of Welfare *Zenkoku Nihonjin jiko no saisensan ni kansuru shiryo* [National data on the population of Japan] (Tokyo: Ministry of Finance Press, 1991-1999)

111. Japan, Prime Minister's Office (eds.) *Fujin ni Knasuru ishiki chosa hokokusho* [Report of the survey on female perception] (1973)

112. – *Fujin ni kansuru yoron chosa hokokusho* [Report of the national survey on female issues] (1976)

113. – *Fujin no Genjo to Taisaku* [Actuality and policies of female issues] (Tokyo: Gyosei, 1983)

114. – *Josei no genjo to seisaku* [Present status of women and our policy] (Tokyo: Ministry of Finance Press, 1994)

115. – *Kokusei chosa* [National Survey] (1945-1999)

116. – *Kyoiku ni kansuru yoron chosa* [National Survey on education] (1968-1999)

117. Japan, Publich Relations (eds.) *The monthly journal of national survey* (April 1990-July 1992)

118. Joseigaku Kenkyukai (eds.) *Gender and sex discrimination* (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1990)

119. Joseishi Sogo Kenkyukai (eds.) *Nihon Josei Seikatsu Shi:* No. 5 Gendai [The history of Japanese women's life: No. 5 Contemporary Era] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1990)

120. Kanashiro, K. 'Danjo Byodo Kyoiku to Nippon no Kyoiku Kenkyu' [Education and equality between men and women] *Tsudajuku Daigaku Kenkyu*

121. Kanda, M. *Gendai ni okeru Fujin no Chii to Yakuwari* [Female status and roles in the contemporary era] (Koseikan, 1974)

122. Karasawa, T. *Joshi Gakusei no Rekishi* [History of female students] (Mokujisha, 1979)

123. Kawashigashi, H. 'Nihon Shionshugi to Joshi Rodo' [Japanese Capitalism and Women's Work] in Takenaka, E. (ed.) *Joshi roudou ron: Kikaino Byodo kara Kekkano Byodo he* [Equality between men and women] (Tokyo: Yuhikaku Sensho, 1983)

124. Kawashima, H. Y. *Joshirodo to Rodoshijo Kozo no Bunseki* [Analysis of female workplace and labour market sturucture] (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyouronsha, 1985)

125. Kida, H. 'Educational Administration in Japan' *Comparative Edcuation* vol. 22, No. 1, 1986, pp. 7-12

126. Kitamura, K. 'Gakusei ni yoru jugyou hyouka' [Class evaluation by students] *IDE* 332, pp. 18-26

127. – 'The decline and reform of education in Japan: a comparative perspective' in Cummings, W. K., Beauchamps, E. R., Ichikawa, S. Kobayashi, V. N.& Ushiogi, M. (eds.) *Educational Policies in Crisis* (NY: Prager Publishers, 1986)

128. – & Cummings, K. '"The Big Bang" Theory and Japanese University Reform' *Comparative Education Review* (June 1972), pp. 303- 324

129. Klein, R. D. 'The dynamics of the women's studies classroom: a review essay of the teaching

practive of women's studies in higher education' *Women's Studies International Forum* 10, pp. 187- 206 (1987)

130. Kokuritsu Fujin Kyoiku Kaikan [National Women's Education Centre] *Koto Kyouiku kikan ni okeru joseigaku kanrenkamoku no genjo – heisei gonenn chos houkoku –* [Status of women's studies and related courses in institutions of higher education – report of the 1993 survey] July (Saitama-ken, Kokuritsu Fujin kyoiku kaikan, 1994)

131. Kondo, H.& Watanabe, H. 'Kekkon to Kaiso Ketsugo' [Marriage and Merger of Social Stratification] in Okamoto, H.& Naoi, M. (eds.) *Gendai Nihon no Kaiso Kozo Series 4: Josei to Shakaikaiso* [Social Stratification Structure of Modern Japan Series 4: Social Stratification and the Women] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan-kai, 1990)

132. Kuninobu, J. 'Joseigaku ga mezasu mono to sono khyouiku ni tsuite' [On the goals of women's studies] *Joseigaku Kenkyu* [Women's Studies Review – Journal of the Women's Studies Resource Centre at Osaka Women's Univesrity] 2, pp. 80-92 (1994)

133. – 'Joseigaku kyoiku no genzai to mirai' [Women's Studeis Education; Present& future] (CP) (1994)

134. Lafrance, M. 'School for scandal: different educational experiences for female and males' *Gender and Education* 3, pp. 3-13 (1991)

135. Levin, H. M. *Equal Opportunity in Western Europe: a contradictory relation* (CP) (1976)

136. Levinson, D., Sadovnik, A.& Cookson, J. (eds.) *Education and Sociology: An Encyclopedia* (Garl& Publishing: New York)

137. Lewis, M.& Simon, R. I. 'A discourse not intended for her: learning and teaching within partriarchy' *Harvard Educational Review* 56, pp. 457-472

138. Lincicome, M. 'Nationalism, Internationalzation, and the Dilemma of Educational Reform in Japan' *Comparative Education Review* (May 1993), pp. 123-151

139. Mahoney, P. *School for the Boys?* (London: Hutchison, 1985a)

140. – 'Classroom pedagogy and the new scholarship on women' in Culley, M.& Portuges, C. *Gender Subjects: the dynamics of feminist teaching* (Boston, MA: Routledge& Keegan Paul, 1985b)

141. – 'Oppressive pedagogy: the importance of process in women's studies' *Women's Studies International Forum* 11, pp. 103-108 (1988)

142. Mallea, J. R. 'The Public Purse and the Private Pockets: The Fiscal Crisis in Japanese Universities' *Canadian and International Education* 4, no. 1 (June 1975), pp. 89-98

143. May, T. *Social Research – Issues, Methods and Process –* (Open University Press, 1993)

144. McNeil, J. D. *Curriculum: Comprehensive introduction* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown& Co., 1990)

145. Miles, M. B.& Huberman, A. M. 'Focussing and bouding the collection of data' *Qualitative data analysis: an expanded sourcebook, 2ne ed.* (London: SAGE, 1994), pp. 19-39

146. Miner, M. M. 'You're going to be the only guy in there: men's minority experience in introduction to women's studies' *NWSA Journal* 6, pp. 452- 467 (1994)

147. Mishima, S. S. *My Narrow Isle: The Story of a Modern Woman in Japan* (New York: Day, 1941)

148. Mitsui, T. (ed.) *Nihon Fujin Mondai Shiryo Sakusei: Kyouiku* [Japanese Women's problems: education] (Tokyo: Domes Shuppan, 1977)

149. Morley, L. *'Women's studies, difference and internalized oppression' Women's Studies International Forum* 15, pp. 517-525 (1992)

150. Murakami, N. *Meiji josei shi* [Women's history in Meiji era] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1977)

151. Murata, R. *Wagakuni no Joshi Koto Kyouiku Seiritsu no Kenkyu* [Research on the development of women's higher education in our country] (Fuma Shobo, 1980)

152. Murata, S. *kyouiku Jeseigaku Nyumon* [Guide for women's educational studies] (Tokyo: Shinzansha, 1990)

153. Nagai, M. *Higher Education in Japan: Its Take-off and Crash* (trans. Dusenbury, J.) (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1971)

154. Narumiya, C. 'Opportunities for girls and women in Japanese education' *Comparative Edcuation* vol. 22, no. 1: 86, pp. 47-52

155. Nicolson, R. I., Fawcette, A. J., Moss, H., Nicolson, M.& Reason, R. 'Early reading intervention can be effective and cost-effective' *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 69, pp. 47-62

156. Nishihara, H. 'Private colleges and universities in Japan: glittering prizes' *Higher Education Policy* Vol. 3, no. 2: Jun 90, pp. 26- 29

157. OECD *Review of National Politics for Education: Japan* (Paris: OECD, 1971)

158. Ogata, K. *Shiritsu daigaku* [Private Universities] (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1977)

159. Okada, M., Hagiwara, Y. & Okifuji, N. *Senmon shoku no jeseitachi* [Women at specialized work] (Tokyo: Aki Shobo, 1976)

160. Okamoto, H. 'Josei to Shakai kaiso Kenkyu no Tenkai' [Studies for women and social strativication] in Okamoto, H.& Naoi, M. (eds.) Gendai *Nihon no Kaiso Series 4: Josei to Shakaikaiso* [Social Stratification of Modern Japan Series 4: Social Stratification and Women] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1990)

161. Oki, A. *Nihon Gendai Kyouiku-shi* [Educational history of modern Japan] (Daiichi Hoki, 1969)

162. Omolade, B. 'A black feminist pedagogy' *Women's Studies Quarterly* 21, pp. 57-62 (1987)

163. Orenstein, P. *School Girls* (NY: Doubleday, 1994)

164. Orr, D. J. 'Toward a critical rethinking of feminist pedagogical praxis and resistant male students' *Canadian Journal of Education* 18, pp. 239-254 (1993)

165. Osawa, M. *et al. Nippon no daigaku kaikaku* [Reform of Japanese Universities] (Aoki Shoten, 1982)

166. Parsons, T.& Platte, G. M. *The American University* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973)

167. Passin, H. *Society and Education in Japan* (NY: Teachers College Press, 1965)

168. Pempel, T. J. *Patterns of Japanese Policymaking: Experience from Higher Education* (Boulder, Colo: Wstview, 1978)

169. - 'The Politics of Enrollment Expansion in Japanese Universities' *Journal of Asian Studies* 33, no. 1 (November 1973), pp. 67- 86

170. Pharr, S. J. *Political Women in Japan* (Berkeley & Los Angels: University of California Press, 1981)

171. - *The Status of Women in Japan: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (October, 1973)

172. - 'The Japanese Women: Evolving Views of Life and Role' in Austin, L. (ed.) *Japan: The Paradox of Progress* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1976)

173. Porter, N. M. 'Degrees of difference: teaching zami and sister Gin to white, middle-class, heterosexual students' *Women's Studies Quarterly* 21, pp. 57-62 (1993)

174. Pring, R. 'Education Persons: Putting "Education" Back into Educational Research' (The 1995 SERA Lecture) *Scottish Educational Review* 27 (2), pp. 101-112

175. Reid, I. *Sociological Perspectives on School and Education* (Open Books, 1978)

176. Robby, P. 'Structural and Internationalized Barriers to Women in Higher Education' in Salilio-Rothchild, C. (ed.) *Toward a Sociology of Women* (NY: Wiley, 1972), pp. 121-140

177. Sadker, M.& Sadker, D. *Falling at Fairness: how American schools cheat girls* (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994)

178. Sagara, I. (ed.) *Seikai Gakko Roppo* [Six laws on schools] (Kyodo Shuppan)

179. Schneidewind, N.& Maher, F. 'Editorial' *Women's Studies Quarterly* 15, p. 4 (1987)

180. Schoppa, L. J. *Education Reform in Japan – A Case of Immobilisti Politics –* (Loutredge, London& New York, 1991)

181. Sethna, C. 'Camarade or _____? Women graduate students look at the presence of men graduate students in feminist academic' *Gender and Education* 5, pp. 139-155 (1993)

182. Shiina, A. 'Joseini okeru Gakko Riyoso no Bunseki' [Analysis of women's group entering higher education] in Kikuchi, S. (ed.) *Gendai Nihon no Kaiso Kozo Series 3: Kyouiku to Shakai Ido* [Social Strutification of Modern Japan Series 3: Edcuation and Social Mobility] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppan-kai, 1990)

183. Shimada, H. '"Nooto mondai" ni kansuru kenkyu' [Research on the "issue of lecture note"] (CP) (1994) *Naigai Kyouiku* [Domestic and International Education] no. 4569 (18 October), pp. 2-4 (1994)

184. Shimizu, H. 'Gakureki, Kekkon, Kaiso Saiseisan' [Educational background, marriage, and the reproduction of social stratification] in Kikuchi, S. (ed.) *Gendai Nihon no Kaiso Kozo Series 3: Kyoiku to Shakai Ido* [Social Stratification of Modern Japan Series 3: Education and Social Mobility] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan-kai, 1990)

185. Shimizu, Y. *Nippon no koto kyouiku* [Higher Education in Japan] (Daiichi Hoki, 1968)

186. Shinbori, M. *Shigo kenku josetsu* [An Introduction to Research on Taking in the classroom] (Tokyo: Tamagawa Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1992)

187. Shokugo Kenkyu Jo *Daigaku sotsugyo joshi no shokugyo keireki to shokugyou ishiki ni kansuru kenkyu* [Survey on female university graduates' career and professionalism] (Tokyo: Koyo Suishin Jigyo Dantai Shokugyou Kenkyuujo, 1976)

188. Sodei, T.& Yano, M. (eds.) *Gendai no josei no chii* [The position of modern Japanese women] (Tokyo: Keiso shobo, 1987)

189. Somekh, B.& Meux, M. O. *A Study of Logic of Teaching* (Urbana: University of Illinoi Press, 1970), pp. 1-55

190. Spender, D.& Sarah, E. (eds.) *Learning to Lose: Sexism and Education* (London: Women's Press, 1980)

191. Stacy, J., Bereaud, S& Daniels, J. (eds.) *And Fill Carne Tumbling After: Sexism in American Education* (NY: Dell Publishing, 1974)

192. Stronach, I.& Malcure, M. 'Opening' in *Educational Research Undone: The Postmodern Embrace* (Open University Press, 1997), pp. 1-13

193. Sumikata, M. 'Joshi daigaku no genjo' [Actuality of female university students] *IDE* no. 225 (November, 1981)

194. Tachi, K. 'Nihon no joshi daigaku no gaikyo to josei gaku kanren koza' [Overviews of the Japanese female university students and related course in women's studies] *Ochanomizu Joshidaigaku Josei Bunka Shiryokan-Hou* 4 (1982)

195. Tagawa, K. 'Daigaku ni okeru joseigaku no jugyou – Osaka joshidaigaku ni okeru jissenrei'

[Women's studies classes in universities- the examples of Osaka Women's Studies Resource Center at Osaka Women's University] 1, pp. 41-61 (1992)

196. Takahasi, H. *Shinjidaino Joshi Rodo: Danjo Koyo Kikai Kintoho no Kiseki* [Women's Labour in new era: After Equal Employment Opportunity Act] (Tokyo: Gakuyoshobo, 1990)

197. Takatori, M.& Tachi, A. *Tandai First-Stage ron* [Junior colleges as the first stage] (Tokyo: Toshindo, 1998)

198. Terashima, H. 'Kazoku- kojin ga ite "kazoku" ga aru tameni' [The Family- so that individuals make up the basic unit of a family] *Women's Studies Quarterly* 15, pp. 81-89

199. *The 46th Conference of the Sociology of Education Association* (August 1994)

200. *The Annual Fall Conference of the Women's Studies Association of Japan* (Nagoya, 20 November 1994)

201. *The Annual Spring Conference of the Women's Studies Association of Japan* (Tokyo, 18 June 1995)

202. *The Annual Conference of the National Council on Family Relations, 1987*

203. *The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association 1976*

204. *The twelfth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations* (Kyoto, September-October 1954)

205. Thomas, K. *Gender and Subject in Higher Education* (The Society for Research into Higher Education& Open University Press, 1990)

206. Thompson, M. 'Diversity in the classroom: creating opportunities for learning feminist theory' *Women's Studies Quarterly* 15, pp. 81- 89 (1987)

207. Tominaga, K. *Nihon no kaiso-kozo* [Social Stratification of Japan] (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1979)

208. Tomoda, Y. 'Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Female Senior High School Students' *Bulletin of Hiroshima Agricultural College* 4, no. 3 (December 1972), pp. 247-262

209. Torres, C. A.& Mitchell, T. R. (eds.) *Sociology of Education – Emerging Perspectives –* (State University of New York Press, 1995)

210. Turner, R. H. et al. (eds.) *Social psychology: the study of human interaction* (London: Routledge& Keegan Paul, 1966)

211. – *The Social Context of Ambition: A Study of High School* (San Francisco: California; Chandler, 1964)

212. Ueno, C, *Kafucho-sei to Shihonsei* [Patriarchy and Capitalism] (Tokyo; Iwanami,1990)

213. – *Shihonsei to Kaji Roudou* [Capitalism and Women's Domestic Duties] (Tokyo; Keiso-shobo, 1985)

214. UNESCO, Office of Statistics *Trends and Projections of Enrollment by Level of Education and by Age* (Paris: UNESCO, 1978; 1983)

215. Vogel, E. F. *Japan's New Middle Class* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1965)

216. Weiler, K. *Women Teaching for Change* (NY: Bergin& Garvery, 1988)

217. *Women's Studies Quarterly* Special Issues on 'Feminist Pedagogy: an update' 21 (1993)

218. *Women's Studies Quarterly* Special Issue on 'Feminist Pedagogy' 15 (1987)

219. *Woods, P. 'Having a laugh' in The Divided School* (London: Routledge& Keegan Paul, 1979)

220. Wray, H. 'Change and Continuity in Modern Japanese Educational History: Allied Occupational Reforms Forty Years Later' *Comparative Education Review* August 1991, pp. 447-475

221. Yamada, R. *The Gender roles of Japanese women: an assessment of gender roles of Japanese*

*housewives living in the United States* (Phd. Dissertation at the University of California, 1993)

222. – 'Higher education and gender roles in Japanese society: an assessment of disparity' *Prospects* vol. 25, no. 4: Dec. 95, pp. 791-802

223. Yamamura, T.& Amano, I. (eds.) Seinenki no shinro sentaku [Choice of courses in youth] (Yuhikaku, 1980)

224. Yasukawa, J. 'Danjo Byodo Kyouiku to Nippon no Kyouiku Kenkyu' [Equality between men and women in educational studies in Japan] *Kyoiku Kenkyu* 49, 3, 1982

225. Yoshida, K. 'Onna no ikikata wo kangaeru - koko kokugo de nojugyo jissen' [Thinking about women's lives – based on teaching a Japanese languages arts course in high school] *Joseigaku nenpo* [Annual Report of Women's Studies Society of Japan] 9, pp. 74-83 (1988)

226. Yoshida, N.& Kanda, M. (eds.) *Gendai josei no ishiki to seikatsu* [Life and thinking of the contemporary women] (Tokyo: Nhihnon Hoso Shuppan Kyouikukai, 1975)

227. 'Sokuho 80's daigaku gokakusha shusshin kokobetu ichiran' [Flash 80's List of the name of university entrance] *Shukan Asahi* (April 4, 1980- ), pp. 22- 29, p. 179

## (Endnotes)

1)　Three basic points of this reform, presented by the concerned committee in 1997 were: 1) the principle of putting emphasis on individuality; 2) transition to a lifelong learning system; and 3) coping with various changes in our society, including internationalization and the spread of information technology.

2)　As is often the case with Japan's major social and structural reforms, reforms on its educational front have always been discussed, or even initiated, in their connections with Japan's international surroundings, specifically, increased pressure from foreign countries such as the United States. The term 'Big Bang' is often used to describe these drastic changes in social structure, which is normally accompanied by the necessary change in social paradigm (Kitamura& Cummings 1972). This sort of requirement usually comes from abroad, with either implicit or explicit commitment of foreign powers who think of the Japanese 'uniqueness' as an obstacle to be settled out for the purpose of "global standardization" as opposed to the insularity of Japan. Any of the major reforms planned in Modern Japan has always involved such problems as the dilemma between nationalism and internationalism (Lincolme 1993). Moreover, since such arousal of nationalism as a result of foreign pressure towards domestic reform also give rise to the revisionist movement within the Japanese traditional norm such as gender roles and the like, the discussion of educational reform has been always accompanied by parallel discussions of the cultural and attitudinal change in Japanese society over the years of reform.

3)　The Ministry of Education of Japan (MOE) suggested that educational reform, including higher education, was necessary in its 1996 White Paper entitled 'Educational Policy in Japan' and cited the following changes in the Japanese social climate: 1) the arrival of an internationalize or informationalized society; 2) the growing higher education enrollment and the subsequent diversification of students' needs; and 3) the national demand for reform if the nation's educational system, including the fulfillment of life-long learning, following the arrival of an aging society (MOE, 1996).

4)　Justification for concentrating on the private sector rather than national sector including both state and municipal universities can be discussed as follows: Firstly, following the decreasing gap

between national and private universities in terms of both financial and academic advantages to the students may reasonably change the traditional notion among the Japanese that national universities are superior to private universities. The expected roles played by the private sector with regard to the educational reform of this time are thus now relatively more important both qualitatively and quantitatively, compared to the previous two major reforms (Nishihara 1990). Secondly, the administrative deregulation and the paralleled introduction of market principles into the educational industry have been leaving less room for governmental interference in the management of private schools, including curriculum revision etc. From a financial perspective, the share of governmental subsidy in the private sector has declined over the decades to as little as slightly over 10% in the late 90's, compared with its peak of 29% in 1980 (Arimoto 1997). Thirdly, the ever increased ratio of higher education enrollment of both men and women, which is now reaching over 40% on average, has been mainly achieved by the continuous development in private sector. This figure can be said to have been achieved mainly through the accommodation by private universities, given that the number of newly established national universities after the war was relatively limited. In fact, the proportion of students in the private sector has grown from 59.7% in 1965 to 73.2% in 1996 (MOE 1996).

5)　Incentives to look primarily at female education in the context of the 1990's educational reform can be verified as follows. Firstly, Japanese post-war achievement of high enrollment ratio, which is one of key factors of the current reform, can be partly attributed to the promotion of female status in this field over the half century. The growth of female enrollment, in either universities or junior colleges, increased by nearly sevenfold between 1955 and 1981, compared with that of male enrollment which increased only threefold (Fujimura- Fanselow 1985). Secondly, unprecedented economic growth by post-war Japan, which made it possible for the average annual growth rate of national income to attain a level of nearly 10% between the years of 1959 and 1968, resulted equally in change in their family constitution. If the overall improvement in living standards can be discussed coupled with reduction in the number of children per family, the growing prosperity of the Japanese in general have contributed to the realization of equal opportunities for girls and women in education in particular. For example, Japanese women, who had to raise 5.14 children in 1940, have in 1981 as few as 1.74 children (Fujmura- Fanselow 1985). This means that family restriction on female penetration in both academic and vocational scenes is now largely reduced and thus, at least logically, 'a growing acceptance of the idea of sexual equality and the desirability of providing higher education to women' can be recognized with relative ease (Fujimura- Fanselow 1985). The third social factor which favors our discussion of educational reform in its specific context of female education can be found in the changing employers' attitude towards women university graduates as a labor force and an expansion in employment opportunities for such women (Fujimura- Fanslow 1985). The increased participation by women, particularly married women with and without children, in paid employment has already become a de-facto tendency. Although 'the pattern favored most widely by college women today is to work until they have children and then retire to the home but to reenter the work force either on a full- or part- time basis once their children are older', a growing number of university- education women expressed 'a desire to continue working even after they have children and to make work a lifelong pursuit' (Fujimura- Fanslow 1985). A mature industrial structure in Japan which requires an already-trained work force might well affect this tendency even more positively.

6)　Against these social backdrops, I propose to carry out this study with much more focus on the

private sector, as opposed to national and public ones. In this pursuit, I will also pay full attention to female education within the private sectors with a view to reconsider the traditional, and contemporary if any, roles of such institutions as female junior colleges.

7)　These figures show how female enrollment into higher education has increased substantially since 1955. In 40 years, it has risen from approximately 5% to 43%. By 1990 female enrollment have surpassed male enrollment, even though both sexes had increased their enrollment. This is closely associated with female participation in single sex junior college. Also, western researchers point out same phenomena found in western countries. Specifically in terms of western female higher education, Thomas (1990), for example, looks at the two distinctions in the context of British higher institutions, to be identified as masculinity/ femininity and arts/ science, and examines the interaction between these two sets of distinctions (ibid, p. 1).

8)　In addition, as Ohinata argues in her discussion of the various social, political, and economic functions have been bestowed on motherhood over the last one hundred years. The continued emphasis on motherhood, particularly the idea that mothers posses an innate aptitude for child rearing and that they should devote themselves exclusively to their children until the children reach a certain age, restricts women from fully participating in society and securing equality with men (Fujimura& Kameda 1995, xxxiv).

9)　These rather 'romantic' roots (Denzin& Lincoln 1998), however, are the very characteristics that they inherited from functionalists.

10)　Contemporary theoretical descendants of these interepretivist founders have addressed this paradox in several ways. See Hammersley (1992a, 1992b), LeCompte and Preissle (1993) and Kirl Miller (1989) etc. (Denzin& Lincoln 1998).

11)　In summery and upon analysis of the above-mentioned development of sociology, one may well say that the qualitative development of sociology was done in such a way that it became more critical. If we remember that functionalism, established by Durkheim and Parsons, was at first criticized by the followers to be politically conservative, as well as empirically and logically problematic, this transformation of sociology, namely from functionalism to interpretivism, can be termed as their self effort to be consciously critical. While interpretivism gave birth to some totally new approaches within an existing framework of sociology, such as ethnography and symbolic interactionism, the limitations of those methodologies were also revealed. The problem of securing subjectivity, as opposed to the objectivity, which is an all-time required nature of any science, has emerged, and these approaches, most notably hermeneutics, were exposed to this criticism. Interestingly enough, Marxism has a common stance with functionalism in that both deal with the relationship of education to the wider society including industry, family and other institutional functions. This common attention to macro social processes by both Marxist and functionalist well contrasts that of interpretivist, who focuses on micro social processes of classroom interaction. This complementary triangular relation between these approaches finally results in the formation of one circulative articulation of the methodologies. There should be no surprise thus that Hagreaves, a leading figure among the "modern Durkhemians" has been deeply influenced by Marxism, most distinguishably in his account on the schooling theory of 'resistance' in Marxist context (Denzin& Lincoln 1998, pp. 210- 212).

12)　Using the governmental data on the status of women in Japan over the decades, together with interviews with both male and female samples, as evidence, she suggests that 'women's higher education is a social way of maintaining a sub-culture and traditional gender norms' (Yamada

1993). Areas covered by her recent publications also includes the desired partnership between higher institutions and industries and the survey on Japanese housewives in comparison with their American counterparts (ibid). Similarly, Kameda (1995) argues that the achievement of the promotion of gender equality and women's participation in all spheres of public life and concludes as follows: This achievement has been hampered by the fact that, while the legal and structural bases for equality have been achieved, sexism and gender stereotyping continue to be reproduced and perpetuated both through family socialization and through the knowledge values, and expectations transmitted through the formal as well as the hidden curriculum- textbook, teaching practices, tracking, counseling and guidance programs, male dominance in the teaching profession, teacher- students interactions, and school rituals (Fujimura et al. 1995).

13) They could be 'harmful' partly because they obstruct the further representation of female academic, thus professional, promotion at most, or partly because they 'dazzle' the recent achievement of high female enrollment into higher institutions at least. These are voices, mainly from the academic world, against these institutions catering solely for the female students in general, and those offering only two-year programmes in particular. On the other hand, at the same time, there is another voice which supports such institutions as continuing to be helpful and thus worth being maintained for the future. This kind of opinion is heard mainly from within the industry and family (Fujimura& Kameda 1995).

14) Earlier works of such people as, Pauloson and Powers (1976), Lebra (1984) and Sievers (1983) have much concentration on women's vocational participation. Important monograph in which the working life plays a focal part have been published by writers such as Kidd (1978); Cook& Hayashi (1980); Smith& Wiswell (1982); Bernstein (1983); Tsurumi (1990); Saso (1990); Kondo (1990); and Lo (1990) (Hunter 1993).

15) Major compilations of historical source material of Japanese women comprise such works as Nihon Fujin Mondai Shiryo Shuei [Collected Materials on the Women's Problems in Japan] (Domesu Shuppan 1976- 1981), which have made it easier to study the position of Japanese women without engaging in primary research. Bibliographical guides for female issues in Japan, on the other hand, includes such volumes as Nihon Jopseishi Kenkyu Bunken Mokuroku [Bibliography of Research on the History of Japanese Women] (Joseishi Sogo Kenkyu-kai 1988), which have revealed 'the wealth of materials which can be used by researchers wanting to explore the subject further' (Hunter 1993). Useful compilations of authoritative articles include the multi-volume Nihon Joseishi [History of Japanese Women] (Joseishi Sogo Kenkyu-kai 1982) and Nihon Josei Seikatsu-shi [History of the Life of Japanese Women] (Joseishi Sogo Kenkyu-kai 1990) (ibid.). These compilations of the history of Japanese women have sought to 'remedy the long-standing gender bias in historical interpretation, and arouse interest in the activities and lives of Japanese women, many of which have not been the subject of conventional historiography' (ibid.). Especially on the economic issues of Japanese women, Kobayashi (1978), as a reformist, views on '[W]omen who have been the foundation of Japan's rapid economic growth, their constant efforts to adapt to the ever-changing external conditions of Japanese societies in the last hundred years' (ibid.). Lastly, as for the history of feminism in Japan, Fujieda (1995) 'profiles some of the key figures in Japan's first phase of feminism, which flourished in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many of whom were inspired and encouraged by the struggle and achievements of early feminist in the West' (Fujimura& Kameda 1995, xxxvi). Tanaka (1995) 'looks at the second phases of feminism in Japan, tracing its growth and changes in terms of direction,

goals, strategies, and main actors, from the women's liberation movement of the early 1970's to the current decade', including the UN convention on "Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" (ibid. xxxvi).

16) Hunter (1993) further continues: '[T]he multidisciplinary approach contained in this volume has (...) highlighted the existence of common issues, notwithstanding the wide range of subject matter covered in the contributions'.

17) As for this direction, I now feel, albeit somewhat instinctively, that Beck's discussion of post-industrialized society in his Risk Society (1992) might be of substantial help, rather than those of the so-called "established" post-structuralist such as Foucault and the like, given the strange, and intriguing "parallelism" between Beck's term usage and that of above cited governmental statement in 1985 (The Ad Hoc Council on Education 1985).