

WHY JAPANESE WOMEN LEARN ENGLISH IN VANCOUVER

by

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Abstract

Many young women from Japan learn English in Vancouver, and they outnumber their male counterparts. Why is this phenomenon occurring? As is often said, are they holidaymakers? However, considering that the annual tuition fee of an ELI downtown is \$9,000, a monthly homestay fee is \$650, and the total minimum cost would be \$16,800 a year, those women might not be mere vacationers. They might need to obtain English skills for a certain purpose. Peitchinis (1989) writes that one of the responses of women to discrimination in employment is that they acquire more education and training than required of the non-discriminated group. Japanese women's attending ELIs in Vancouver might fall into this case.

To investigate why so many Japanese women attend ELIs in Vancouver, I conducted a survey and interviews with Japanese students who learn English at the English Language Institute of the University of British Columbia. The research period was from May, 1997 to August 1997. The number of the survey participants was 80, and the interviewees, 14.

The research findings indicate that the demographic characteristics of the subjects and their reasons for attending the ELI differed by gender and work experience. The women outnumbered their male counterparts, and 60% of the women were former working women with strong work-orientation. Their job satisfaction with their previous jobs was lower, and they were attending the ELI, hoping that they could get a better job which requires English skills.

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To my parents

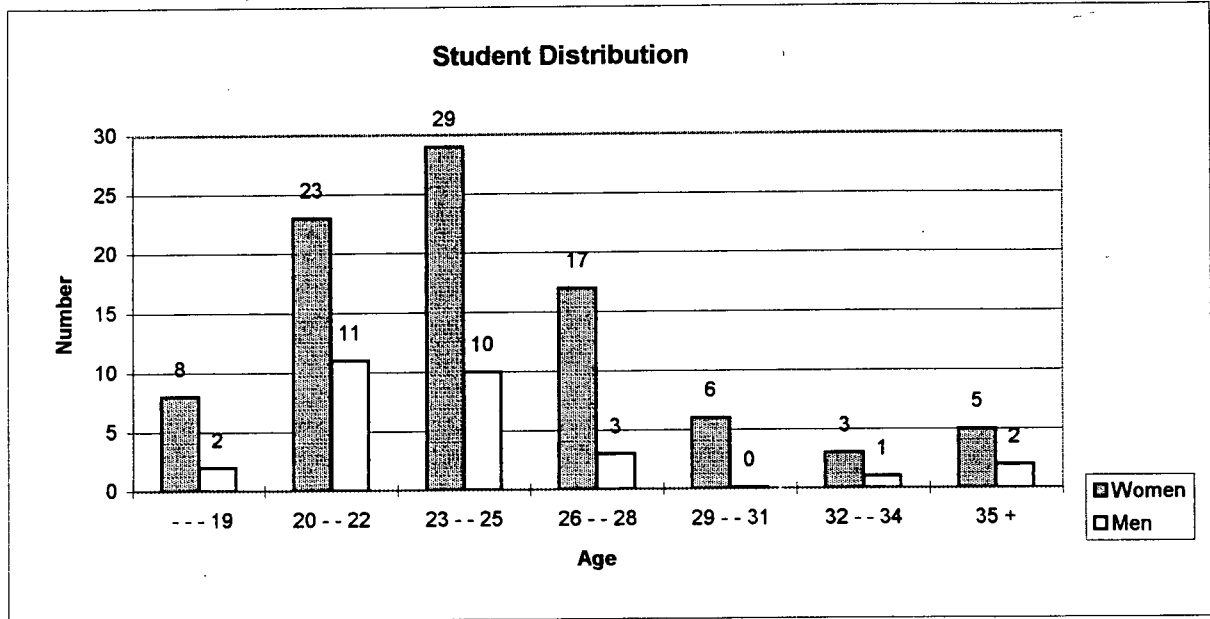
Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

What shapes people's behaviour? Durkheim argues that society has an impact on how people think and behave in certain ways (Durkheim, 1985). Although individual psychology or biology should not be ignored, when a group of people behave in a certain way, we must also take into account the influence of social facts over their behaviour. Social facts "consist of ways of acting, thinking and feeling that are external to the individual and are endowed with a coercive power" (Durkheim, [1985]: 69). In what follows, I will take Durkheim's notion of "social facts", and explain how certain social facts affect some contemporary Japanese women's behaviour.

A considerable number of young women from Japan have been attending English language institutes (ELI) in Vancouver. Among young Japanese people who come to Vancouver to study or to work, approximately 80% are reported to be women (Vancouver Sun, November 16, 1996). In the English Language Institute of UBC, 75% of Japanese students were female in the winter session 1996-97, and the majority of them were in their twenties (see Figures 1 and 2). In addition, 66% of the female Japanese students were over the age of 22, suggesting that a high percentage of these female students might have worked in Japan before they came to Vancouver. Why do so many Japanese women want to learn English in Vancouver? They might be mere holiday makers who enjoy staying in a foreign country. But if learning English in a foreign country is a vacation for Japanese people, there should be more male Japanese students or female Japanese students in their 30s or 40s in ELIs. However, female students in their 20s overwhelmingly outnumber their male counterparts, and especially female students aged over 30. Are there any factors in Japan which facilitate young women's going abroad to learn English, which restrict Japanese men and older women from doing the same? The purpose of my thesis is to investigate why so many young women from Japan learn English in Vancouver, and to do so I look at social factors in Japan that might influence these women's behaviour.

Figure 1 Student Distribution in UBC Language Institute

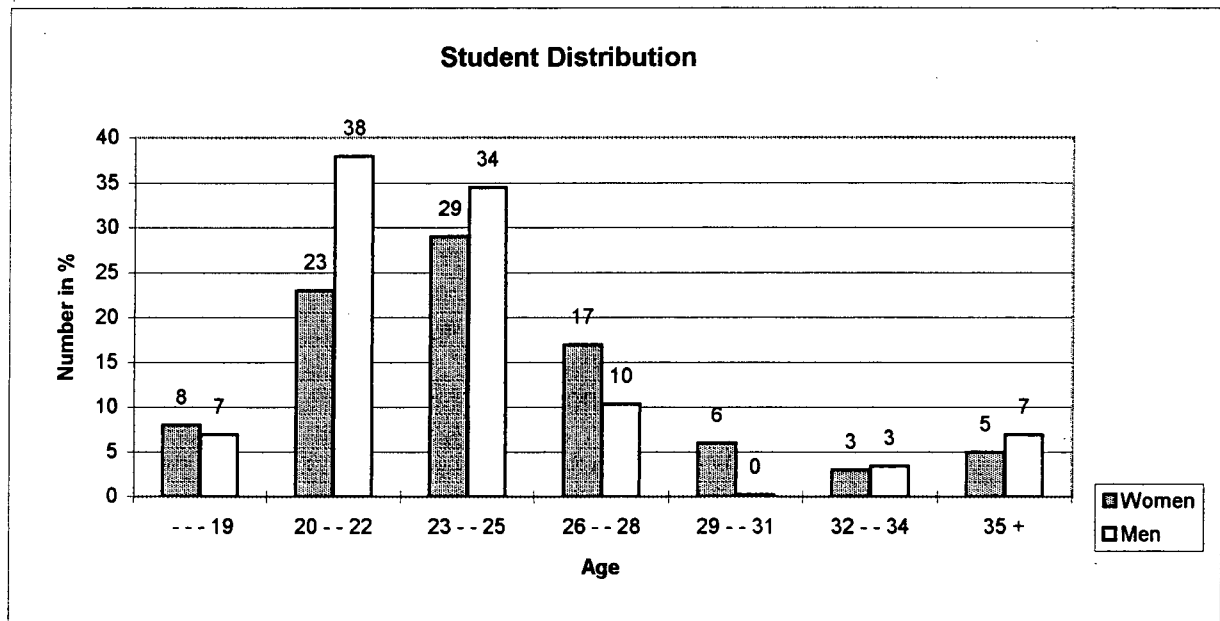
Female N = 91, Male N = 29



Source: English Language Institute of UBC, April 1997.

Figure 2 Student Distribution by Age Group as a Percentage of All Students, by Sex

The total numbers of the female or male students each add up to 100%.



Source: English Language Institute of UBC, April 1997.

Women who attend ELI in Vancouver might not be fun-seekers; they might seriously want to obtain English language skills for certain purposes. If so, why young Japanese women want to acquire English language skills for what purpose needs to be explained. "Because they like English," is a possible explanation. However, there are several points which raise questions with regard to this explanation. First, studying abroad is too costly as a hobby although prices in Vancouver are lower than in Japan. As it is illegal for international students to work in Canada¹, they cannot earn their living, and have to depend on their savings (or their parents' financial support) during their stay in Canada. According to the brochures of English language institutes (as of 1997), the tuition fee for a full time student is, in general, more than \$800 per month. In addition to the tuition fee, students have to pay accommodation, usually a home-stay fee which costs them more than \$650 a month, transportation, and miscellaneous expenses such as clothes, travel and entertainment costs. These students tend to stay in Canada for a year, so the total amount of money they need is at least CAN \$20,000. Second, there are Japanese men who like English, but fewer of them seem to dare to learn English abroad. Third, some women have just graduated from school, and are financially supported by their parents to attend ELI in Vancouver. It is unlikely that those parents would gladly pay \$20,000 for their daughters simply because their daughters love English. Considering these aspects, Japanese women want to learn English because they *like* it seems a monolithic explanation, ignoring factors which may *necessitate* these women's learning English. When they decide to come over to Vancouver to learn English for a year or so in spite of the huge expenses, they may have other reasons, reasons which Japanese men might not share.

¹I am referring people who have a student authorization visa. Japanese people who enter Canada under a working holiday visa can work for a maximum of one year. They can study continuously for three months, but have to quit after the three months. After one year, they cannot renew the working holiday visa, but can obtain a student authorization visa if they attend school.

The fact that female Japanese students far outnumber their male counterparts indicates that gender related social factors, such as a gendered-division of labour in Japan, could have some relation to Japanese women's learning English in Vancouver. Japan has maintained a traditional division of labour in which women are homemakers and men are breadwinners (see Kumagai, 1996). The reverse side of this social norm implies that women do not have to take financial responsibility for family and are allowed to financially depend on their husband after they get married. In other words, the gender division of labour frees women from obligations of participating in full time life-long paid employment and lets them have more free time for fun than men. This is especially true for women who have not participated in unpaid labour. Gendered division of labour, on the other hand, restricts men from leaving their paid labour, and does not allow married women to take a break from their families during their unpaid labour. Thus, it may be more possible for single women to leave for a foreign country and stay there for a while, not much caring about using up their savings, losing their jobs or having difficulties getting a full time job; they will get married soon after they return to Japan. If this is the case, female Japanese ELI students would be likely to be more like fun-seekers who are having a good time before marriage than serious language learners.

But it is questionable whether all female Japanese ELI students in Vancouver are vacationers conforming to a gender norm. Although it should not be denied that many Japanese women follow the gender-norm, there are a considerable number of Japanese women who do not or do not want to. Today, in Japan, as more women advance to higher education² and the cultural models³ change, more women are attracted to business careers and are looking for occupations at higher levels in the paid

²Japanese women's advance rate to two-year junior colleges and four-year universities doubled from 17.7% in 1970, to 37.4% in 1990 (Lam, 1992).

³For example, in women's magazines such as *Nikkei Woman* and *With*, career women's success stories are often introduced.

labour market so that they can utilize the abilities they have obtained from their education. Marriage has become merely one choice among several options, and women are no longer in as much of a hurry to get married (Imamura, 1996). Studies show that the number of single women in their late twenties is increasing (The Japan Times, April 21, 1995; Naoi, 1994) and the percentage of married women between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-nine significantly decreased from 80.3% (1975) to 57.5% (1990) (Rosenberger, 1996)⁴. Another survey of Japanese people aged 20 and over, which was conducted in 1994 by the Japanese government, shows that 38% of women want to get a managerial position, and 43%, to become professionals, compared with 39% and 32% for men (Rodoshio Fujinkyoku, 1995). These numbers suggest that more Japanese women have become ambitious about their careers. It may be that a high probability of female ESL students from Japan do not agree with the idea of a gendered-division of labour, and instead, they are concerned about paid labour force participation, which will not only help them achieve financial independence but also give them options other than marriage. If this is the case, they might come to Vancouver to acquire English language skills for getting a job. Then, again a question is raised - why do more women than men need English language skills for getting a job? I argue that women have more difficulties than men in getting a job with satisfying rewards. The business world in Japan has traditionally been male dominated and its culture has been male-centered. To be accepted and find a secure full-time job, women may need extra skills such as a foreign language. Some career-oriented women might learn English abroad to remain in a career track, hoping that English skills will lead them to career success.

Prior to the start of my research on Japanese women's learning English in Vancouver, I have met Japanese women in Vancouver, aged between 23 and 30 years old, many of whom had quit their jobs after working for several years in Japan. I introduce here interviews with two women about their

⁴Rosenbereger cited these numbers from *Seishonen Hakusho* (White paper on youth) (1991: 145) by Somucho Seishonen Taisaku Honbu.

process of coming to Vancouver. Sakura, 28, quit a famous department store in Japan because her male coworkers and supervisor's behaviour toward her and her female colleagues became intolerable to her. For example, when her sales dropped, her male colleague criticized her, "I'm fed up with female employees. They lack effort". One of her supervisors angrily told her, "I'm going to rape you in the fitting room." The man was frustrated by the significant sales drop, and he took it out on her. "Isn't it rude?", she said. "Do you tell other people or friends, 'I'm going to rape you'? How come he thought that he could make such remarks?" The male workers in her department often made sexually humiliating remarks to their female colleagues or subordinates, and they thought little of it. After quitting the department store, Sakura worked for a travel agency in Japan, believing that she would be treated better in the new workplace because many women work in travel industries, and therefore, sexual and sexist remarks and attitudes toward women would be less. Sakura came to Canada to improve her English so that she could work as a tour guide in Canada. Asked why she wanted to work in Canada, she replied, "I found that in Japan, male tour guides are preferred to and evaluated higher than female guides by customers. But in Canada, I heard it does not happen." She learns English so that she can work in Canada where, she believes, female workers are treated better than in Japan.

Another woman told me a totally different story. She used to work for a bridal service company in Japan. She said, "Just another story of former OLs (office lady). After quitting her job after a few years, a woman enjoys staying overseas for a year and gets married. So did I. Once I get married, I can hardly achieve my dream of living in a foreign country." She liked her job, and did not have specific reasons for quitting her job other than living in Canada. Although she admitted that in her workplace, women's opportunities for promotion were limited, it did not bother her at all.

In Japan, quantitative research to uncover what makes so many women learn English abroad does not yet seem to have been conducted, probably due to difficulties in locating subjects. However, if the research is conducted in a country where the study subjects attend English language institutes

(ELIs), this problem would be easily solved by means of selecting ELIs as the sample frame. Taking advantage of my location, Vancouver, I decided to conduct exploratory research on Japanese women who learn English in Vancouver. I obtained data from both female and male Japanese students in the ELI of the University of British Columbia, to see whether there are any differences between the two groups in terms of their reasons for, or purposes of, learning English in Canada. The students come from various areas in Japan, and have various educational and/or occupational backgrounds. The first part of the research is a survey of these Japanese students, to find out what types of persons attend the ELI. The data would be useful to obtain several characteristics of the students. The second part of the research consists of in-depth interviews with fourteen students who participated in the survey and agreed to be interviewed. In chapter 2, I present data on Japanese working women in general and review the previous research done in this area. In chapters 3 and 4 respectively, the theories, and summary of the research method I applied to this research are discussed. The survey data analysis and the findings from the interviews are presented in chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 2 YOUNG WOMEN IN JAPAN - LITERATURE REVIEW

In the previous chapter, I proposed two possible answers to the question why so many young women from Japan learn English in Vancouver: 1) they might be mere holiday makers who enjoy staying in a foreign country, 2) they might need to learn English. These possibilities raise further questions: why more young Japanese women than their male counterparts or older women can take a long vacation in a foreign country, and why more Japanese women than Japanese men might need to learn English. In this chapter, I review previous studies and data on young women in Japan. In the first part of this chapter, I discuss what might facilitate young women in Japan having long expensive vacations. In the second part of this chapter, I explore what factors in Japan might necessitate more women than men learning English.

Young Women - Vacationers before entering lifelong employment

Young unmarried women in Japan seem vigorous fun-seekers. Whereas married Japanese women are busy taking care of their family members and homemaking, unmarried women are not, and therefore their lives can be entertainment-centred. In an article of *Japan Times Weekly International Edition* (July 13-19, 1992), Asahi Ito of Pacific Asia Resources Center describes modern Japanese women: "They live independently, self-sufficiently, take on lovers, and have relationships based on equality. . . . [S]uddenly, at age 27 or 28, they can marry into a traditional, oppressive family environment." These women eventually follow the traditional women's life style, but before that, they make the best use of their free time - having fun. The premarriage period is the period when women do not have the responsibilities of taking care of their husbands and children as married women do, and they can spend their money and spare time freely for themselves. In a survey which was conducted in 1992 by Naikaku Souridaijin Kanbo Kohoshitsu (the Prime Minister's Secretariat Public Relations),

to a question about reasons for the recent tendency of women delaying marriage, 52% of unmarried women chose the answer, "Single women have more freedom than married women." In the same survey, 62.5% of female single respondents replied that they worked so that they could earn the money for their allowance, whereas only 25.2% of female married respondents answered the same. White (1992) argues that Japanese women wait "until the age of 27 to marry, and those young working women say they want to have fun" (p.72). Single women who are called *oyaji gyaru* (young women who behave like middle-aged men) drink a lot and play golf,⁵ and "free spending 'office ladies' travel abroad in search of adventure (even sex!)" (Imamura, 1996: 4). Thus, unmarried working women spend their free time seeking fun, and they can pay for it.

The average annual income of Japanese working women in their twenties is CAN \$22,111⁶ (20 - 24 years old) or CAN \$24,444 (25 - 29 years old) (Sano, 1986). With that amount of money, especially those who live with their parents and do not have to pay for rent or for food, they can enjoy a variety of activities, such as taking golf lessons, skiing, purchasing brand name clothes, travelling abroad, and staying in a foreign country. Staying in a foreign country costs a fair amount of money compared with playing golf, but some Japanese women would not hesitate to spend their savings on it. First, they want to do whatever they want before they enter the "real business" (Fujimura-Fanslow, 1996: 135) which would not allow them to take a long vacation, and second, Japanese women have "an idealizing, unrealistic longing for the West" which includes progressive life in the Western world and romance with Western men (Kelsky, 1996: 33). The super-idealized images of the West which attract Japanese women are transmitted through the media; Caucasian models such as Kate Moss, actors and actresses such as Jodie Foster often appear in advertisements; Hollywood movies

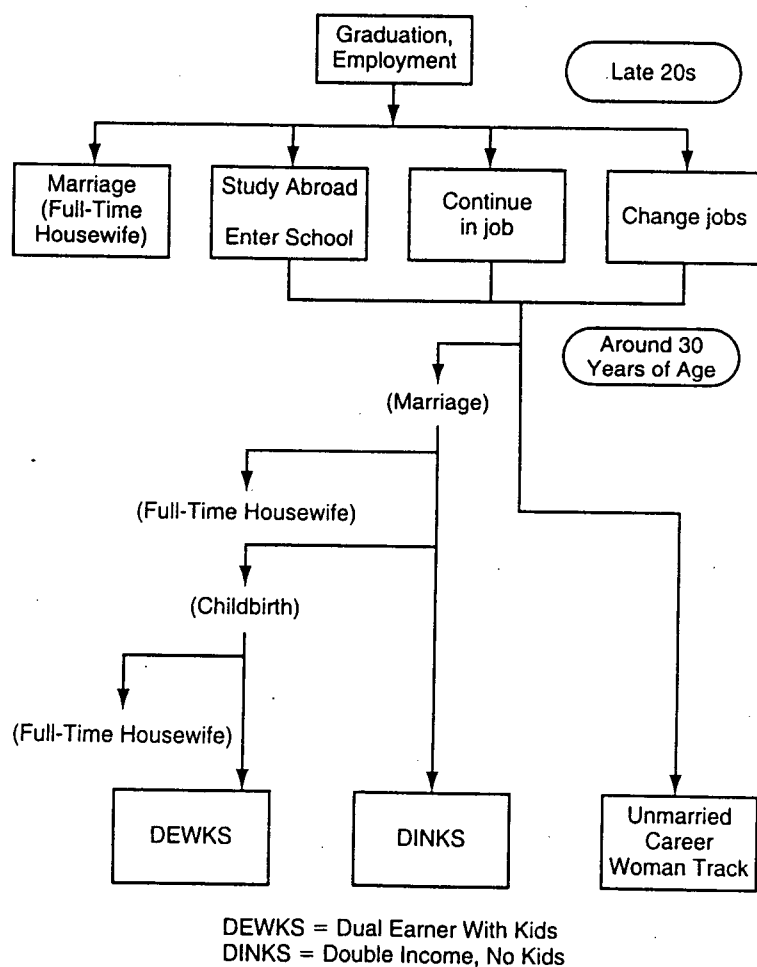
⁵In Japan, golf is an expensive sport. It costs you CAN \$200 per one round.

⁶I equated Canadian 1 dollar to Japanese 90 yen.

distribute glamorous images of the Western world to Japanese audience, and many young Japanese women have fallen in love with Brad Pitt and Leonardo DeCaprio. Thus, it is not surprising that Japanese women dream of living in Western countries.

For these female vacationers, attending language school in Canada could be either simply fun - making friends, and going sightseeing in a group, or alternatively a means of obtaining a student visa

Figure 3. New Women's Life Course



Source: Anne Imamura (1996), *Re-Imaging Japanese Women* (p.5).

Imamura translated the diagram in an article in Nihon Keizai Shinbun, January 4, 1993.

which allows them to stay in Canada for a longer period as long as they keep paying tuition fees. Another advantage of attending ELI, Becker (1990) argues, is that they can say they have studied English in an English speaking country, which would give people a better impression of themselves, though English language acquisition might be their secondary concern.

Thus, various elements facilitate young unmarried Japanese women to staying in a foreign country for a year or so, even if they lose a full-time job and income, and spend their entire savings. After returning to Japan from a foreign country, they get married and devote themselves to homemaking, and may work part time. However, some scholars argue that this portrait of Japanese women should not be over-generalized. Bonney, Stockman and Xuewen (1994) argue that their picture of Japanese women overemphasizes women's primary life concerns in the domestic life and "[w]hile this general characterisation has a considerable basis in fact, insufficient attention has been given to differentiation among Japanese women with respect to their patterns of involvement in paid work." As figure 3 shows, Japanese women have several choices other than marriage (Imamura, 1996; Hirano, 1984), and many women seriously participate in paid employment with the intent of making a successful in their business career.

Benefits of Learning English

Japanese women who attend ELI in Vancouver might not be vacationers. They might come to Vancouver in need of English skills. Why do Japanese women have more necessity than men to learn English? Usually, people obtain skills in order to use them for a certain purpose; they would not pay high tuition fees simply because they want to have the skills. Some women from Japan would study English in Vancouver so that they can use the skill in paid employment.

Matsubara's study (1989) shows several advantages of having English skills in a paid employment setting. If a woman has English skill, she may be able to work for a foreign affiliate

company in Japan, such as IBM. Foreign affiliate companies attract Japanese women in various ways. Matsubara's interviews with Japanese women who worked for foreign affiliate companies are useful for knowing what characteristics of foreign affiliate companies attract female Japanese job seekers. First, these companies set generous age limitations for female job applicants, whereas many Japanese organizations, especially large companies, only recruit the newly graduated for permanent jobs, and their doors are closed to many of women who want to re-enter the labour market. The mid-career entrants would end up working part-time in a small firm which offers less pay (Lam, 1990: 53, Saito, 1986). Secondly, supposedly better promotion prospects for women as well as higher wages attract female job applicants (Saso, 1990). One of Matsubara's interviewees said that her current wage has been doubled since she was employed by a foreign affiliate company. Thirdly, woman working for a foreign affiliate company might experience higher self-esteem because they use English skills. Saito (1986) argues there is a tendency that strongly career-oriented women want to work at foreign affiliate companies, and she calls it women's brain drain within a nation. If Japanese companies rejected women's abilities, women would sell their abilities to Japanese branches of foreign companies.

Another career benefit is more indirect. If a person's English level becomes high enough to get 580 points in TOEFL⁷, she can attend a prestigious foreign university for an MBA⁸, which might qualify her for a higher status job in Japan or other countries. If a woman has a good command of both English and Japanese, the available jobs are not limited to those in companies. Independent translator and interpreter positions are recently attracting women; they are, unlike clerical workers,

⁷An English skill test for those whose first language is not English. The required score to international applicants for a university in the United States is generally 550, in Canada, 580.

⁸Some employees of prestigious companies are sent to a foreign university to enrol in MBA program at their companies' expenses (Matsubara, 1994).

professional and get paid highly. In Matsubara's study, one interpreter said that her annual income is more than US\$100,000. Acquiring English skills may be one of the best ways to get a better job in terms of both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards (Takagi, 1995). By obtaining English skills, women can apply for foreign affiliate companies, work overseas, or become independent translators. One of Matsubara's interviewees said, "I have English skills. This confidence is the core of myself. If you can speak English, . . . you can make enough money to live alone" (1994, p.28).

There are English language institutes in Japan, but the most efficient way to obtain useful English skills is said to attend an English language school in an English speaking country where they are immersed in an English speaking environment. In Japan, people who attend English language classes may only have the chance to speak a few English sentences in a class once a week, and the tuition fees of some language schools are reported to be as high as fees for full time students in language institutes in Vancouver.

It should be noted that without having English skills, men can get a position with promotion prospects and high pay. Even if they cannot speak English, they make enough money to live alone; average annual income of Japanese men in their late twenties is CAN\$33,778 whereas women's is \$24,444 (Sano, 1986). In Japanese organizations, women do not seem to receive intrinsic and extrinsic rewards as much as men. What are Japanese women experiencing in organizations, and what are they feeling about it? First, it is necessary to know what Japanese women expect of their jobs in order to see whether there is a gap between their expectations and their actual experience in organizations.

Japanese Women's Experiences in Japanese Organizations

Bonney *et al.* (1994), who conducted research on work motives, found that 31 percent of the working mothers who graduated from university answered that their motive for working was "to make best use of my abilities". In Yamauchi's research (1993) on what work values are important to

workers, both groups of women in their 20s and in their 30s ranked job interest⁹, personal growth, and achievement within the top five values. Their male counterpart groups also ranked job interest and achievement within the top five values. Some young women want to work to be financially independent so that they do not follow the traditional "woman's life" (Tanaka, 1995)¹⁰. They do not want a dead-end job that involves just routine clerical or support-level work because they anticipate working on a long-term career basis (Fujimura-Fanselow, 1996). Thus, Japanese women look forward to both intrinsically and extrinsically rewarding jobs as men do. These women represent "an emerging group of extremely able and ambitious young women . . . who aspire to professional careers demanding a high level of both skills and commitment" (Fujimura-Fanselow, 1996: 136). Nevertheless, when they enter the labour market and work at organizations, young women find that not only company policies are discriminatory against women, but also individual workers are sexist. Various studies have found the harsh reality female workers have been confronting.

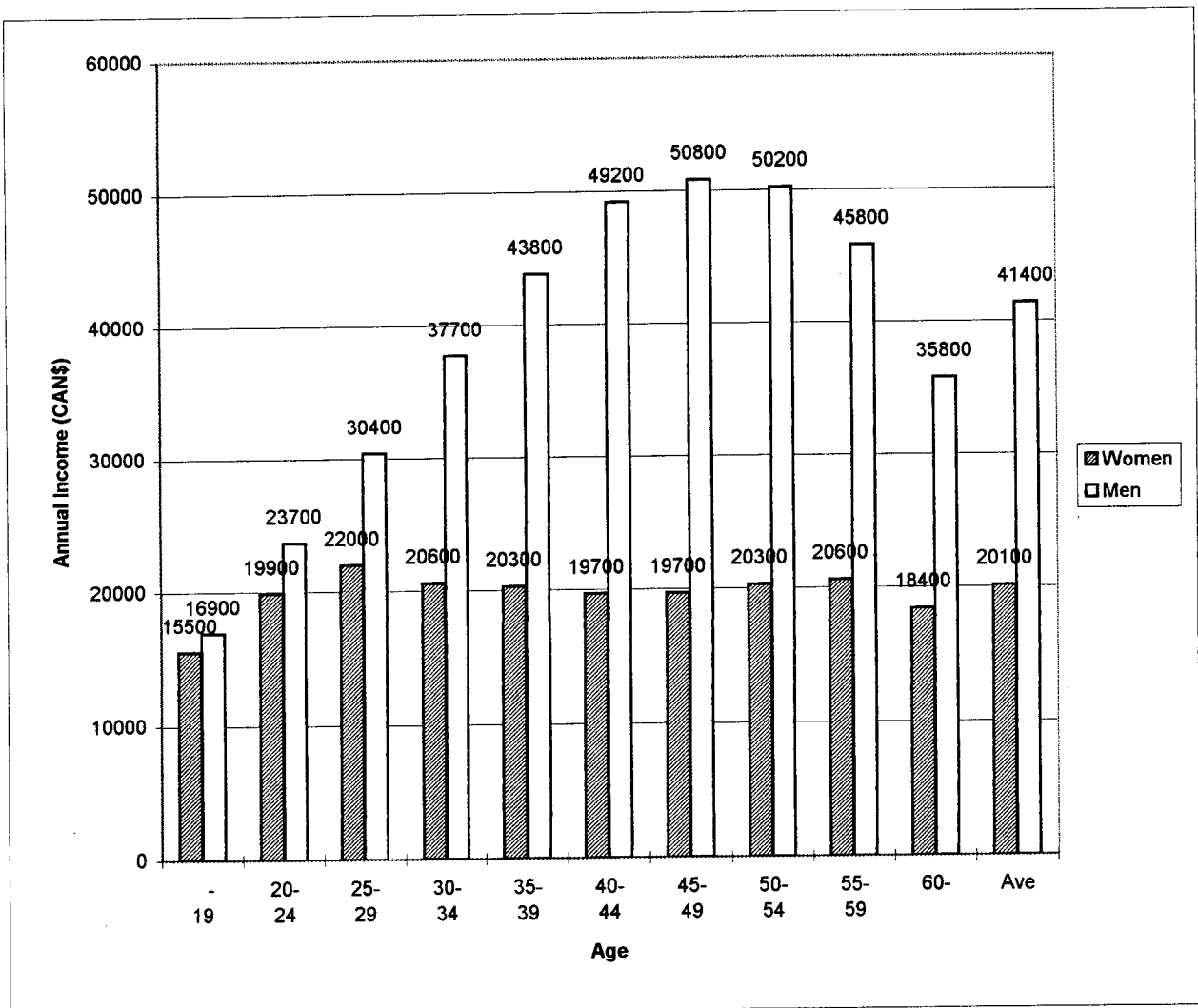
The studies of gender-discriminatory policies of Japanese organizations (e.g. Kawashima, 1996; Koderu, 1994; Lam, 1992; Saso, 1990; Yashiro, 1986) point out pay inequality, gender segregation, and lack of promotion and training. Kawashima (1996) argues that female workers are less likely to be promoted, citing the Japanese Ministry of Labour's statistical data of 1992, which show that women occupied only 1.2 percent of total office director positions, and 2.3 percent of division chief positions. She argues that this low percentage results from the lack of opportunities offered to women in which they can get necessary knowledge about the general operations of the firm to become a candidate for chief positions. Women's lack of opportunities for promotion affects wages.

⁹Yamauchi defines job interest as "to do work which is interesting to you" (p.252).

¹⁰This phenomenon was named by the media as "*kekkon shitakunai shokogun* (don't-want-to-get-married syndrome)". A survey shows that the number of single women in their 30s are increasing (The Japan Times, April 21, 1995).

It is disappointing for women to see their male coworkers who entered the companies with them being promoted, and their wage gap widening year after year (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Annual Income by Age (in 1984)



Source: Sano (1986) based on the data from Kokuzeicho Somuka (the National Tax Administration Agency, the General Affairs Department).

Kodera (1994) argues that men and women are not only concentrated in different occupations, but also that women are often allocated different tasks from men, even when women occupy the same

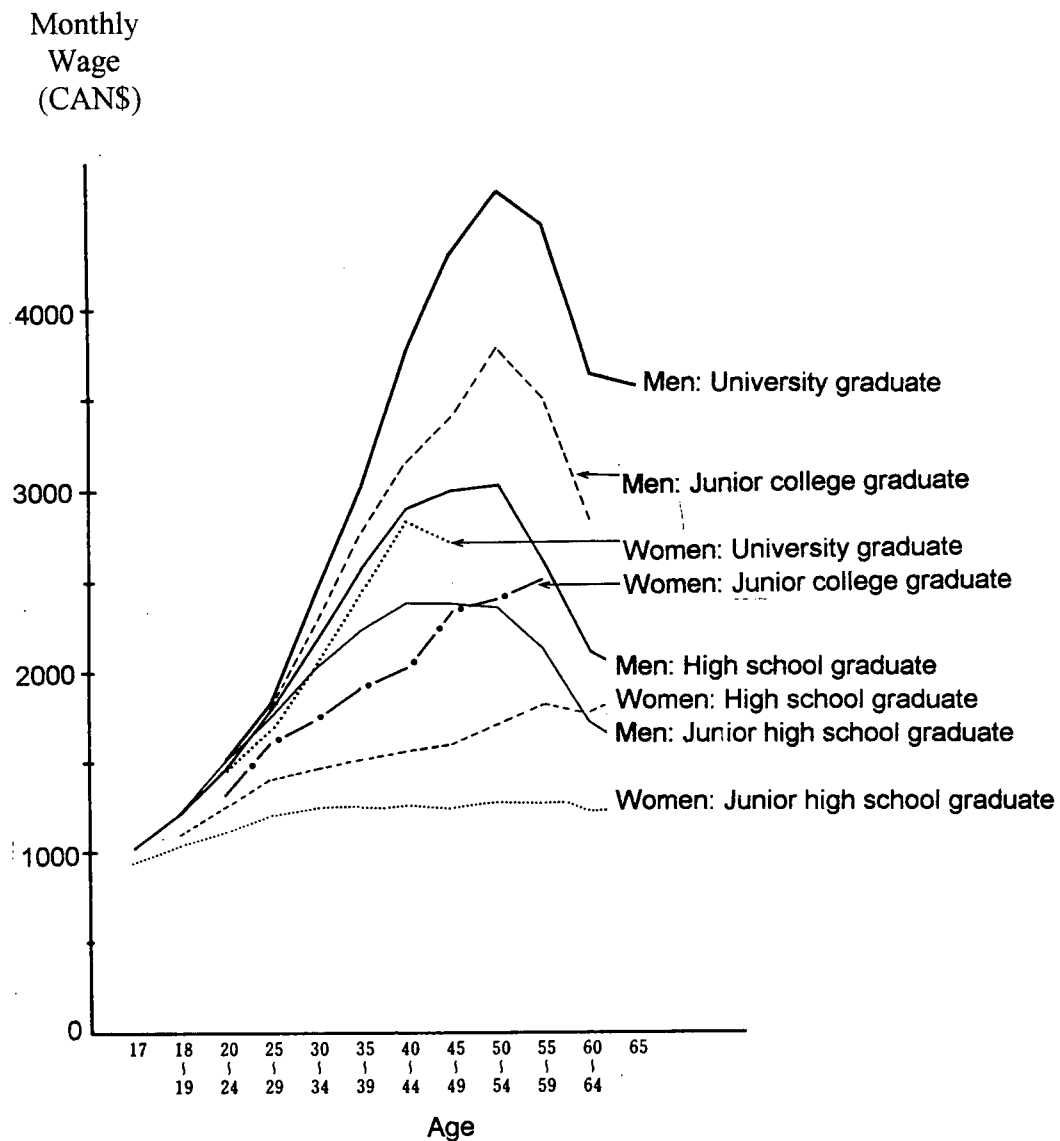
occupations as men. She compared the distribution of male and female employees by career track¹¹, and points out that 34.9 percent of women were in clerical positions (men, 15.3%), but only 1.0 percent of them were in managerial positions (men, 7.2%). This does not imply that women's educational background is not high enough to enable them to acquire managerial positions. In Japan, educational background is one of the most important criteria for determining status. Nevertheless, "in the case of women, this criterion is entirely irrelevant" (Kodera, 1994: 141) (see Figure 5). In other words, regardless of whether a woman has a higher educational background or not, she tends to be assigned to a less challenging position due to her gender. Indeed, many Japanese women in the administrative support category (they are named "office ladies") are said to work as receptionists, Xeroxers, tea servers, and messengers within offices - non career track positions (Brinton *et al.*, 1993). Women's disappointment at gender discriminatory company policies is large. "I watched men advance whom I knew weren't as good as me. . . . I began to hate them and hate the company," said one woman (The Japan Times Weekly International Edition, July 13-19, 1992).

Gender discriminatory practices combine with ageism against senior female workers. Female workers in their late twenties are sometimes pressured to retire. There are two types of benefits from pushing senior female workers out of organizations. First, it reduces labour costs. Women are often assigned auxiliary jobs that do not require much skill, experience and training. Instead of letting senior female workers do the menial job with higher wages¹², the employers can cut the labour cost by replacing senior female workers with the young, newly graduated ones whose starting salary and benefits are lower than their seniors' (Saso, 1990). Another benefit of hiring the newly graduated is that without much work experience, they are controllable more easily than experienced female

¹¹The source is Survey Report on *Career Tracking* (Women's Vocational Institute, 1990).

¹²In Japanese organizations where the seniority system often determines individuals' wages; the longer she/he serves for her/his company, the higher the person's wage.

Figure 5: Wage Comparison by Gender and Education (in 1984)



Source: Sano (1986: 15), based on the data from Rodosho (the Ministry of Labour), "*Chingin Sensasu*" (Wage Census).

workers; the newcomers are usually naïve and would not argue against their seniors (Nohara, 1986).

A method of easing older women out the company door without a written rule is called *katatataki* (shoulder-tapping) (Tanaka, 1995:102). Some women who have just passed the *kekkon tekireiki* (marriageable age) but are still single would be "shoulder-tapped" by their supervisors to quit. A

woman's coworkers and supervisors would encourage her to marry by telling her "women's happiness is marriage, not a career" (Saito, 1986). Some organizations in Japan have a rule that female employees must quit when they get married. For example, Sumitomo Metal Industries, a blue chip company in Japan, circulates a newsletter that advises female workers to "[s]ubmit a letter of resignation one month before the wedding." (*New York Times*, August 27, 1995). Women's early retirement to their family life is also profitable to both organizations and male employees. Their husbands are maintained well by their housewives so that they can function without fail in the organizations. By emphasizing marriage as women's happiness, corporations encourage women to quit, and make them work for the corporations without pay (Hale, 1990). In foreign affiliate companies in Japan, such rules for eliminating experienced senior female workers do not seem to exist, and therefore, women can work without being worried about being pressured to quit.

In addition to gender discriminatory policies in the workplace, everyday interactions between male and female workers have negative impacts on women and lower their self-esteem. Even in the companies whose policies have changed towards gender equality, many individual male workers' attitudes towards their female counterparts have not changed yet. Women are made to realize their status in the "male enterprise culture" (Lam, 1992: 64) is as a woman, the second sex, as well as an employee; irrespective of whatever abilities they have, they have to serve their male counterparts. Female Japanese workers complain about the sex roles they are forced to perform and the sexist remarks and behaviour of their male colleagues and supervisors as much as about gender-discriminatory company policies. The gender specific services they are expected to perform are often irrelevant to their occupations, but are those of a private housemaid or a wife. Women are generally expected to serve tea and clean the office in organizations as well as their home. In *Yomiuri Shinbun* (May, 11, 1998, p.23; May 18, 1998, p.23), a widely subscribed newspaper among the Japanese, letters from female employees/former employees described their experiences:

- Why am I ordered to clean the bathroom and the dining room in the clinic? (38, nurse)
- During the lunch time, only the female workers were forced to crawl on our hands and knees and wipe the office floor. (48, sales)
- When I worked as a dental assistant, I had to do grocery shopping and do laundry for the director of the dental clinic. When I was putting up the underwear of his family members, I pitied myself. (34, former dental assistant)
- The manager of my section is going bald. One of my 'jobs' since I started to work six years ago is to tapping the head of the manager with a hair brush for fifteen minutes (to increase his hairs). Of course I hate this job. (26, clerical worker)
- I had to wash the chairman's dentures every day, holding my breath and putting on rubber gloves. (27, secretary)

I worked for six years in a company in Japan, and sometimes I had to babysit the manager's child in the office when his wife was ill. The female workers in the company were not allowed to attend every Monday's employers and employees' meeting because we had to clean the offices (with cloth and brooms or vacuum cleaners) like housewives, and answer the phones. The female workers were separated from the employees' group, and put into a women's group to perpetuate the gendered division of labour.

Male workers' sexist attitudes are embarrassing for women, too. A Japanese woman was hit by her male colleague (that means hierarchically equal status) after she had argued against him in a meeting because, according to him, in spite of her gender, she had impudently disagreed with him (Kanegae and Hirose, 1994). In *Kibataraki OL Joshikishu* (A book of Common Sense for Thoughtful Office Ladies) (1984), which is written by one of the most prestigious companies in Japan, the author advises that if a male employee took his anger out on a woman in his office when his job did not go well, she should understand his suffering. Instead of criticizing him, the woman should, for instance, serve him a cup of tea to ease his "pain in his heart". The author "educates" women that if they are women, they should care for their male coworkers. Such service is always unilateral. The author advises female workers that at least they should exchange a salutation with a smile with other workers

even when they are irritated. In the workplace, a workers' role is to get the assigned job done efficiently, and gender norms - women should do this or women should not do that - should be irrelevant. Nevertheless, men impose patriarchal gender norms on female workers. Women who experienced this sexism might not want to work in organizations again; they want to be independent entrepreneurs, such as independent translators or interpreters.

Male workers' sexual remarks and/or sexually humiliating behaviour make female workers upset. For example, some women were told by their male colleagues or senior workers, "Let me fuck you", "You will go to bed with me by the time you resign", "You don't have to be worried about it (getting pregnant?). I had a vasectomy operation." These women said that such blatant sexual remarks made them sick and felt like quitting their company, and some of them did quit (see Shimizu and Furuya, 1993). Such sexual harassment happens not only in companies, but also in academic institutions. Kyoto University, Japan's second best university, conducted a mail survey regarding sexual harassment in 1996. The questionnaires were mailed to 1994 women who graduated from the same university. Five hundred and eighty-nine women responded to the survey, and 47% of the respondents reported they had been sexually harassed by professors, and some of them gave up continuing their study and pursuing their career in academia.¹³

We should not ignore women who cannot get a job due to gender discrimination and sexual harassment at the time of recruitment. Obstacles include rejection of older women, rejection of women with higher education, an unreasonable requirement for women to live with their parents, expectation of women's retirement at the time of marriage, and sexual questions during job interviews. Table 1 shows that many companies simply do not offer jobs to women with higher

¹³Other universities in Japan do sexual harassment research individually. One of them is "Network of Researching Sexual Harassment at Nagoya University". Its web site is <http://www.eds.ecip.nagoya-u.ac.jp/others/nsnw/>.

Table 1: The Number of Newly Employed by Selected Companies in Japan (1997)

Company	University Graduate				College, Vocational School Graduate	
	Non-Technical Job Men	Women	Technical Job Men	Women	Men	Women
Department Stores						
Mitsukoshi	57	36	----	----	0	12
Seven-Eleven Japan	158	34	6	0	12	6
Trading						
Marubeni	48	12	13	0	0	0
Mitsubishi Shoji	98	8	23	1	0	0
Bank						
Fuji Bank	186	14	----	----	0	380
Sumitomo Bank	173	62	----	----	0	564
Insurance						
Tokyo Kaijo	109	3	----	----	0	378
Nihon Seimei	92	22	----	----	0	0
Construction						
Oobayashigumi	37	0	138	8	0	0
Daiwa Hausu	807	7	302	66	11	3
Electronics						
Hitachi	90	10	460	40	----	----
Toshiba	82	18	451	49	----	----
Manufacturing						
Honda	51	18	245	7	34	0
Toyota	45	60	181	2	15	211

Source: *Asahi Shinbun*, June 2, 1997: 12-13

education, whereas they do to their male counterparts and to women with lower educational levels who are a younger and cheaper labour force than women with bachelor's degrees. A number of cases have been reported in which female job applicants were told during job interviews that they were expected to quit after marrying, or would have to accept part-time work after having a child (The Japan Times, November 29, 1995). Women who want to remain in the workplace after their marriage could

not apply to companies with such a regulation. Women who could not get a job due to gender discrimination might decide to learn English abroad for a year, expecting obtained English skills might enable them to become English teachers in private institutes in Japan or Japanese teachers in foreign countries and Japan.

Thus, there are many rules and norms which restrict women entering paid employment and climbing the job ladder in Japanese organizations. Some women might think English skills are the key to entering the paid employment which does not exploit women. Obtaining English skills would make them more marketable in the labour market (Fukazawa, 1995). There are other marketable skills such as computer programming and accounting. However, these could be totally new to them, and some women are reluctant to learn such skills from the beginning. On the other hand, English is a part of compulsory education in Japan, and people learn it at least for three years. Thus, women might think improving their English skill seems easier than exploring unfamiliar skills.

Conclusion

The reasons why many Japanese women learn English abroad do not seem to have been studied yet. Becker (1990) refers briefly to students from Japan attending English language courses in the United States which are often provided by universities. He divides Japanese people studying abroad into two groups; 1) those who study at university or college to get a degree, 2) those who take English language courses so that they can say that they have studied English at an American university. Students in the second group, Becker argues, "have neither the drive nor the competence to enter a real college program" (p.444). If I adopted Becker's explanation, the answer to my research question, "Why do many Japanese women learn English in Vancouver?" would be "They are not competent enough to be accepted by Canadian universities, but they want to say they have learned English at a Canadian university." Becker's analysis is overgeneralized. Those who attend ELI would be lower in

English competency, but not necessarily incompetent in other areas. Those students would not pay high tuition fees only to boast that they studied at an American university. Becker failed to address why Japanese people want to learn English in the United States, and to look at gender composition of the students.

White (1992) argues that unmarried Japanese women are fun-seekers, and Kelsky's article (1996) indicates their strong longing for the West. By combining these arguments, it can be said that Japanese women go to the West to have fun. But are Japanese men not so attracted to the West as Japanese women are? If this is the case, the question is why Japanese women only are attracted to the West. If Japanese men are attracted to the West as Japanese women are, why are they less represented in the ELIs in Vancouver? These issues are discussed in the next chapter.

Many studies on working women in Japan, and women's employment have been done (i.e. Kumagai, 1996; Tanaka, 1995; Naoi, 1994; Saso, 1990). The research findings indicate female workers are often unfairly treated, but female workers' responses to the discriminatory treatment have seldom been explored. Also, the researchers ignore "wife", "house maid" roles imposed on women in the workplace, and how women respond or feel about being forced to perform such roles. My research aims to explore why so many Japanese women learn English in Vancouver, and not to study gender discriminatory practices against working women. However, this issue should not be omitted from my research if Japanese women need to obtain English language skills in order to get a job which provides them with enough pay to live and with self-esteem, whereas men can get these items without English language skills. In the next section, I will discuss theories which have become the basis of my research.

Chapter 3 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

To explain the phenomenon of many Japanese women learning English in Vancouver, two theoretical approaches are used. One is a functionalist approach which argues that people's behaviour is shaped by cultural values and norms, and the majority of societal members conform to them. The other is a feminist approach which rejects the assumption that social values and norms are neutral, and argues particularly that gender norms work in men's favour and keep women in a subordinate position to men. Women's gender norm violations are, from the feminist point of view, not deviant behaviour, but rather natural reactions against oppression by men. In the first part of this chapter I relate the functionalist approach to my research, and in the latter part of this chapter, I explore the feminist approach.

Functionalist Approach of Gendered-Division of Labour

Emile Durkheim argues that "collective ways of acting or thinking possess a reality outside the individuals who . . . conform to it" (Durkheim, 1985: 67). A collective way of thinking is not mere habit which controls our behaviour from within, but is a cultural belief system which we have learned from outside so that we behave appropriately. A member of society "is obliged to take account of [cultural values and norms] and it is so much more difficult . . . for him to change them, since, in varying degrees, they share in the material and moral supremacy that society exercises over its members" (Durkheim, 1985: 67), and if s/he tries to violate them, the public conscience restricts the person's behaviour "by the surveillance it exercises over the behaviour of [the person] and the special penalties at its disposal" (p.68). Societal norms and values are something the societal members should internalize, and those who do not are deviant and deserve to be punished. A gender norm such as those pertaining to the gendered division of labour is not an exception.

One would question whether the gendered division of labour is that important to the extent it has become a social norm. Parsons (1971) argues that in highly differentiated society, "we can unequivocally designate the husband-father as the 'instrumental leader' of the family as the system" (p.53), whereas the wife-mother plays the 'expressive leader' whose role includes teaching their children to become good members of society. In industrial society, a nuclear family with a single primary breadwinner is ideal because it is geographically and economically mobile, as an industrial economy demands (see Bilton, 1996). Since nuclear family life satisfies the needs of an industrial economy, in other words, benefits society, society also encourages and gives support to the nuclear families

Japan is one of the highly industrialized societies, and gendered division of labour - women are homemakers, men are bread winners - has been practiced and maintained for the same reasons mentioned above. Many women and men have accepted this gender norm. Some conform to it because they are afraid of the penalty of not conforming, or as Durkheim argues, because it is much more difficult to change the norm. Many of them conform to it because they have internalized it through socialization with other members of society, by way of institutions such as school, and by way of the media.

Gendered division of labour might be strongly influential concerning why many Japanese women learn English abroad as opposed to the smaller number of their male counterparts. Let us say Japanese people who learn English in Vancouver are vacationers. Vacationers who can spend a year or so in a foreign country have to have money, probably \$20,000¹⁴ in Canadian dollars. Working women could have this amount of money after a few years of working, but men should have more because men's wages are usually higher than women's (Saso, 1990). This implies that when solely

¹⁴See the previous chapter for the breakdown of this expenditure.

looking at the budget, men are more eligible than women to go to Vancouver to learn English. However, in reality, women more likely than men do it, in spite of their obvious financial disadvantages - lower wages, loss of income source, and difficulties in getting another full-time job once they quit the first full-time job¹⁵.

Women's role is seen as homemaking, not money making for their family; after they get married, women can financially depend on their husband, and instead, women have to offer unpaid labour to their families. Since they are not required to do these duties before they get married, they have time to spend for themselves, and they can *choose* to earn money by participating in paid employment (see Armstrong and Armstrong, 1989). Their labour force participation after completion of education is more likely to be a stepping stone to marriage than a start of long-term business career (see Lo, 1990). The participation in paid labour provides them with chances to encounter their future husband in their workplace, to make money for living and entertainment, and to make friends (Kimura, 1984).¹⁶ Before they engage in the "lifetime employment (*shushin koyo*)" (Brinton, 1992: 93) which demands their everyday commitment to family and homemaking, these young working women want to have fun.

Gender norms in Japan facilitate young single women's carefree life style and lavishing money before marriage, with the assumption that they will get married and can financially depend on their husband. Once they get married, the same gender norm restricts women's behaviour; wives are expected to pursue their duties of homemaking. In a census conducted by the Prime Minister's Office, as many as 65.2% of female respondents and 69% of male respondents think that once married,

¹⁵Why it is difficult for women to get a second full-time job is discussed later.

¹⁶Even the term *koshikake shushoku* was invented to express the short career pattern of female workers who would leave a job after a few years of service to get married (Tanaka, 1995:100).

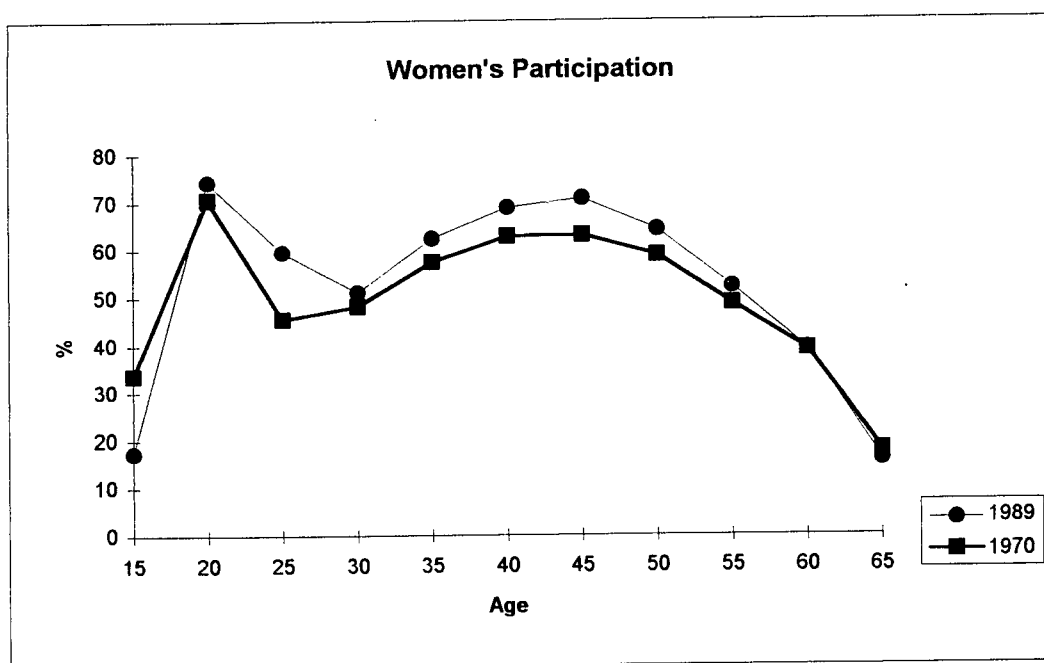
women should live for their husbands and children rather than for themselves. If wives failed to do so, "the watchful presence of the neighbourhood, enforcing cultural norms would not forgive her" (White, 1992: 72). "The watchful presence of the neighbourhood" is, by Durkheim's words, "the public conscience" (Durkheim, 1985) which restricts the person's behaviour by such surveillance. A wife would not go abroad to learn English, simply conforming to the norm of her own accord, or being afraid of "the neighbourhood" criticizing her. "The neighbourhood" includes not only her neighbours but also her own and her husband's parents, and relatives as well. The pressure to conform is not small for married women.

The normative gendered division of labour also makes it difficult for Japanese working men, regardless of whether they are single or married, to quit their workplace and go to foreign countries. As breadwinners, men are expected to "work to eat" (Hirano, 1984: 164) or work to feed their families and climb the corporate ladder in the seniority system where continuous service without an intermission is critical for promotion and associated pay scales. Leaving their workplace for a personal reason such as living in a foreign country and learning English violates the gender norm. Not only "the watchful presence of the neighbourhood" but also their employers would not let them do it because their employers have invested money and time to train them, expecting them to become their reliable workforce, and if a man quits his job, the investment would go down the drain. Thus, the gender norm makes it difficult for working men to quit their jobs and learn English abroad, although they can afford it. Japanese men would be more likely to go abroad while they are students, for instance having one year leave from their university, or before they start their business career.

One may question that in this period when feminism and gender equality have become more widely accepted, Japanese women are still marriage-centered, easily quit their jobs, and financially depend on their husbands, instead of achieving financial autonomy. Fifteen years ago, a survey revealed that, in contrast to 34% and 26% in the United States and the United Kingdom respectively,

71% of women in Japan still agreed with the statement that 'men's sphere is at work and women's sphere is at home' (Law, 1992). Six years ago, White argued that Japanese women were not encouraged to attend a prestigious four-year university by parents who thought four-year college "will price them out of the marriage market" (White, 1992:73). In other words, instead of attending university for better job opportunities which would provide them financial security and chances to utilize their abilities, women are more likely to choose lesser educational institutions for better marriage. In a census which was conducted in Japan in 1993, still as many as 55.6% of female respondents agreed with the comment, "Men should work outside, and women should take care of homemaking" (Sorifu, 1993). Brinton's study (1992) shows that Japanese women are generally marriage-oriented and think their primary role is the traditional one of housewife and mother. Naoi

Figure 6: Women's Labour Force Participation Rate by Age Group



Source: Naoi, Michiko. 1994. "Women's Changing Status and Status Identification " in Kosaka, Kenji (ed). *Social Stratification in Contemporary Japan*. London: Kegan Paul International (p. 151).

(1994) shows that many women quit their jobs around 25 years of age to take care of their children (see Figure 6). White (1992) argues that many young Japanese women are short term feminists while they are single, but shift "at around the age of 27, to the idea of marriage on their parents' and society's terms, for children, and the security of family". Their conversion from independent women to dependent housewives could be explained in terms of rational choice as well; government pension policy allows unemployed wives to collect their pensions through automatic deduction from their husbands' pay cheques (Rosenberger, 1996). Some women might think it would be financially wise to quit their jobs, marry to a man with better conditions (e.g. an employee of a big name company with a good prospect for promotion) by the time the women's sales values decrease, and collect pensions by letting their husbands work harder for companies that pay higher wages and family allowance. Thus, it would not make sense for some women to delay their marriage for their career¹⁷.

While the gender norm restricts married women's behaviour, it liberates unmarried young women from obligation of money making for their family, and enables them to spend the money they earn for their hobbies and entertainment. However, not all women want to accept this gender norm. Some try to adopt different patterns.

Feminist Approach to Gender Norm

Unlike the functionalist approach which sees shared norms and values in society as having a positive function, the feminist approach is like that of conflict theorists who "emphasize the dominance of some social groups by others, and see social order as based on manipulation and control by dominant groups" (see Ritzer, 1992: 231). Miller explains how a dominant group manipulates the

¹⁷Usually female workers are expected to leave companies when they get married or get pregnant. Marriage practically terminates their career in the workplace, and accumulated seniority. This is discussed later.

social order: "[T]he dominant group is the model for 'normal human relationships.' It then becomes 'normal to treat others destructively and to derogate them, to obscure the truth of what you are doing, by creating false explanation" (1976: 8). The dominant group for feminists is men who legitimize gender inequality in culture. Feminists argue that culture is patriarchal ideology; culture is not "a neutral set of beliefs unifying society", but "a system of ideas that justified male power and that were imposed on women by men" (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1990: 41). From a feminist point of view, gender norms facilitate control of women by men. For example, the gendered division of labour confines women to a private sphere by confirming to them that they are only biologically suitable for domestic jobs, and forces them to depend on men financially. Although many Japanese people still practice gendered division of labour, fewer women today consider women's participation in paid work as deviant behaviour, and more women want to work outside;

... because work promises a level of self-development women can't get elsewhere. There's a limit to the personal growth you can experience as you slave over hot stove and crappy nappies. . . . Women are conscious of their own spare capacity, skills going begging, and a deep curiosity knows how far they can get. They are experts at adding value to what they do at home. But there's potential for excitement, involvement, creativity on a bigger scale outside (Dixon, 1993: 93).

Women insist that they are as competent as men are, claim positions which have traditionally occupied by men, and equivalent wages (Takagi, 1986).

Nevertheless, the culture which feminists see as shaped by patriarchal ideology has not diminished in organizations where men have traditionally dominated over women in terms of both numbers and status (Itzin, 1995). The male-centred culture has been invented and reproduced in organizations (Acker, 1990) because men who have enjoyed their power do not want to change the patriarchal culture which justifies and protects their superiority (Cockburn, 1991). Itzin (1995) calls such culture as "gender culture in organizations", separating it from culture in society as a whole, and defines its several characteristics.

Itzin's concept of gender culture in organization

Itzin conducted research in three departments of an organization to explore the culture and the practices. She interviewed employees and management, conducted a mail survey, and did participant observation. From her research Itzin developed the concept of gender culture, and defined the characteristics of gender culture in organizations. Those characteristics are "hierarchical and patriarchal", "sex-segregated", "sexual division of labour", "sex-stereotyped", "sex-discriminatory", "a sexualized environment", "sexual harassment", "sexist", "misogynist", "resistant to change", and "power is gendered". In organizations women are concentrated in "women's jobs" which are less valued than men's jobs (Krahn and Lowe, 1993); women's promotion is limited, and their pay is usually lower than men; inappropriate femininity is imposed on female workers to make them behave like a wife or a housemaid (or even a lover!) who takes care of men. These "family games" (Pringle, 1988: 50) in the workplace establishes a personally hierarchical relationship between the two (usually a female employee and her male senior worker or supervisor, and possibly, his family) over and above the business relationships among workers in the workplace. This extra relationship is considerably disturbing and humiliating for women because it is a 'master-slave' one in which women are forced to serve (Pringle, 1989).

All these characteristics of gender culture in organizations operate negatively for many women. They are not newly found by Itzin; they have been discussed by feminists over and over. For example, Reskin and Hartman (1986: 9) write, "Although gender affects what jobs are available to persons of both sexes, segregation is more harmful to women primarily because the occupations held predominantly by women are less desirable on various dimensions than those held predominantly by men." They argue that women's jobs are less desirable because they are offered lower wages, and less on-the-job training. MacKinnon (1979) argues that women are expected to tolerate sexual harassment as a part of their jobs. But an important point of Itzin's argument is that she defines gender

discrimination, sexism, and even sexual harassment as part of the culture of organizations.

Culture is "organized set of normative values governing behaviour which is common to members of a designated society or group" (Merton, 1968: 218), and "a number of understandings and expectations [which] guide people in the appropriate or relevant behaviour, help them know how things are done, what is expected of them, how to achieve certain things, etc." (Mills, 1988: 360). We have been taught and learned that gender discrimination and sexism are as pervasive features, and sexual harassments are pathological behaviour. However, if gender discrimination, sexism, and sexual harassment are culture in organizations, they are difficult to challenge; women are expected to accept that they "are denied access to and prevented from achieving parity with men in positions of power and influence in the organizations", and that they would be rejected "at points of recruitment, in selection for training and the provision of appropriate training, and in career progression" (Itzin, 1995: 50). If they experienced "repeated, unwanted and unreciprocated sexual contact, which can take the form of leering, ridicule, embarrassing remarks or jokes, unwelcome comments about dress or appearance, deliberate abuse, demands for sexual favours or physical assaults"(Hadjifoutiou, 1983: 9), they should not misinterpret such sexual contact as "pathological aberration" (Cockburn, 1991: 147) because they are normative behaviour in organizations. Though sexual harassment is often regarded as personal, Gutek argues it is "a response to organizational contingencies and constraints" (Gutek, 1989: 67). In organizations where each worker is given a hierarchical position, a person in a position of power targets those who are in lower or weaker positions, knowing that they feel uncomfortable to say "No" to the harasser, and or they are powerless to protest against the harasser.

Norm conformists might even try to make sense of the sexual division of labour, sex-discriminatory practice, a sexualized environment, and sexual harassment. They would tell themselves that the centre of their lives is marriage and family, and they should not take responsible jobs which might not allow them to spend time for their families. Women's nude pinups in their offices, and their

coworkers' sexual conversation or touching should not be taken seriously because these are part of male nature, even though they make women uncomfortable. They might feel guilty if they resented them. But many women today do not feel guilty for not conforming to male-centered norms. They turn critical eyes to the culture, and some of those who suffer from it take actions, but it seems difficult for them to voice their discontent as Dorothy Smith (1990) advocates. Their responses to gender culture in organization are more likely to change their lives so that they are less affected by the male-centred culture, rather than to change the culture itself.

Women's Responses to Gender Culture in Organization

Peitchinis (1989) presents three responses of women to discrimination in employment; 1) they enter those areas of work left open to them; 2) they acquire more education and training than required of the non-discriminated groups; 3) they will go into work in which they are independent of others in the evaluative process. Some women try to move to occupations and employment in which they would be treated in less discriminatory way, instead of choosing to tolerate gender discrimination. An example Peitchinis cited is that in Canada, the number of self-employed women increased over eleven years (from 1975 to 1986) by 117% whereas their male counterpart increased only by 39%. These three responses of women are to change themselves rather than to try to get rid of gender discrimination from organizations. The last two responses are "attempts to use education and entrepreneurship to offset discriminatory practices. . . . When equals in education are perceived to be unequal in performance, then one way to equalize the performance is to make education unequal in an offsetting way" (Peitchinis, 1989: 31). For example, women would get a university degree plus additional diplomas so that they get to levels of the occupational hierarchy held with men with BA degrees only. One may wonder why women are more likely to choose to change themselves rather than to fight for eliminating gender culture. But one of the characteristics of gender culture in organizations, as Itzin

argues, is that it is "resistant to change". The first reason for this is that it is difficult for men who generate culture to understand that their subordinates (women) want the cultural change. Men think that women want men to organize women's lives, so men did and believe that everything is all right. When women express dissatisfaction with it, men are surprised, and they justify themselves or reject their dissatisfaction as atypical (Miller, 1976). Second, it is difficult for women to protest against the gender culture because, in everyday interaction, men educate and punish women who protest against values and norms constructed by men (Schur, 1984). For example, in the organizations in Japan, men have a fixed image of how working women should be; female workers should be attentive to their male colleagues so that they can work without being bothered by chores, women should serve them tea with a smile, pay due respect to them, never point out their mistakes under any circumstances, and encourage them when they are in low spirits (Kanegae and Hirose, 1994). If a woman fails to do any of these, men punish her by labelling her "hysterical", "unfeminine" or "old-maiden" (Schur, 1984).

Japanese women's learning English in Vancouver might result from the last two responses to the gender culture in organizations. By obtaining English skills, they can become English language or Japanese language teachers. They can be independent translators who do not belong to an organization, and therefore, will not need to follow gender norms in organizations. Women with English skills can be employed by foreign companies. Even so, as Itzin argues that it "is most unlikely that an organization exists without a gender culture characterized to a greater or lesser extent by the features" (1995: 52), foreign companies do not necessarily treat female employees nicely. Pringle's research on secretaries in Australia (1988) shows secretaries sometimes have to work overtime without pay, and are asked to do personal chores for their bosses. Pierce's research on paralegals in the United States (1996) revealed that paralegals, who are generally women, must take care of the attorneys, like a mother or wife.

Most attorneys who receive caretaking and support are men, and the majority of legal assistants who provide these emotional services are women. In this way, the emotional labor required of paralegals serves to reproduce the gendered structure of the law firm.

(Pieces, 1996: 186)

Nevertheless, Japanese women might consider foreign affiliate companies as gender equality oriented. Probably this comes from the perception that "Japanese society is sexist and feudal, [and] the West is egalitarian and democratic that Japanese women find emancipation in the West" (see Kelsky, 1996). In the previous chapter, I introduced Matsubara's research on women who work for foreign affiliate organizations in Japan. In terms of wages and promotion, these women were treated better than women in Japanese organizations. At least they were not shoulder-tapped when they reach the marriageable age.

The feminist approach suggests that Japanese women learning English in Vancouver is a non-conforming response to the gender culture in organization, and can also explain the smaller number of male Japanese students in ELI in Vancouver. The men can work comfortably in the gender culture, and do not have specific reasons for leaving their workplace. However, this approach is not able to explain the smaller number of married or elderly women in ELI.

Conclusion

Many Japanese women learning English in Vancouver can be explained using two different approaches. From a functionalist viewpoint, they are gender norm conformist who accept their role as homemakers. Their paid work participation is more likely to be a waiting period for marriage, and before entering lifetime employment, they have fun, such as living in a foreign country for a year. A feminist approach interprets Japanese women learning English in Vancouver as a countermeasure against gender culture in organizations. Unlike norm conformists in this functionalists' analysis, women would not simply internalize patriarchal "gender culture in organizations"; they would not feel

obligation to conform to the culture; they take actions seeking occupations and a workplace where gender culture does not exist, or the force of gender culture is less. They can be independent professionals such as translators or Japanese language teachers. They can be employed by foreign affiliate companies which pay more and provide more opportunities for promotion. Recently, Japanese women have been voicing their experience of discriminatory policies and men's sexist attitude in their workplace, and their discontent with them in the media. Therefore, there is a probability that Japanese women's learning English abroad is a rebellion against gender discriminatory culture in organizations. The research I conducted examines both functionalist and feminist approaches to see which approach is more appropriate than the other to explain this phenomenon. I conducted a survey and interviews with fourteen people. In the next chapter, my research method is described.

Chapter 4. METHOD

A survey and face-to-face interviews were combined in my research. The first part of the research was a survey of Japanese students in the UBC Language Institute enrolled in the sessions beginning May 1997. I also interviewed fourteen students who participated in the survey. In this chapter, I discuss the purpose of using these mixed methods in my research, the sampling frame, the data-gathering methods, and the advantages and shortcomings of my methods.

Rationale for using a mixed-method approach

It is sometimes said, "paradigms and methods should not be mixed" (see Greene, Caracelli, and Graham, 1989:257): exploratory research should be paired with qualitative methods, and theory-driven research with quantitative methods. Since my research is exploratory, the appropriate method would be in-depth interviews, but there were several advantages of including a survey in my research.

A face-to-face interview is useful when the purpose of research is to understand process and meaning - "how people make sense of their lives, experiences, and their structures of the world" (Creswell, 1994: 145). Since my research includes the decision-making process and experience of the subjects' coming to Vancouver to learn English, a face-to-face interview is an appropriate method. A self-administered survey supplemented the face-to-face interviews, and allowed me to get data from a larger number of subjects. The survey allowed me to systematically compare relationships between variables, such as the respondents' gender and the purposes of learning English in Vancouver (Gray and Guppy, 1994). Of course, a shortcoming of a survey is that it is hard to get detailed data on, for example, individuals' history and experiences. For example, in my survey the respondents were asked to pick from multiple choice answers their reasons for coming to Vancouver. The answers were 1) I want to learn English, 2) I want to live in a foreign country, 3) I want to leave Japan, 4) others. Those

who chose 1 were asked to choose their reason why they want to learn English. The choices are 1) having a good command of English gives me qualifications for better job applications, 2) I want to study abroad, 3) my self-esteem will be raised, if I can acquire a command of English, 4) it leads to personal growth, 5) speaking English is stylish, 6) other reasons. From these questions, I would know, for example, that a person came to Vancouver to learn English because by acquiring English skills, s/he thought that s/he would be able to get a better job. But why she wants to get a better job, and her definition of a better job, remained unknown.

The advantages of a two-part research design is that the two components cover each other's disadvantages and have their own strong points. Greene et al. argues when mixed methods are used for complementarity¹⁸, this provides "an enriched, elaborated understanding of that phenomenon" (1989: 258). Mathison positively evaluates a mixed-method as a strategy which "provides a rich and complex picture of some social phenomenon being studied" (1988: 15). In my study, the survey was used to get data on important but simpler characteristics of the study population as much as possible in a limited time. The Japanese students' sex, work orientation, and reasons for coming to Vancouver were easily obtained from eighty students without meeting individual students. Interviews were useful for a detailed exploration of the interviewees' coming to and learning English in Vancouver, which a survey could not examine in much detail.

Sampling Frame

English language institutes are the most suitable and available sample frame for my study. My study population regularly goes and gathers at these institutes. My initial sampling plan was multistage

¹⁸The purpose of complementarity is to "seek elaboration, enhancement, illustration, clarification of the results from one method with the results from the other method" (Greene, et al., 1989:259).

cluster sampling because the data from cluster samples can be more generalizable to the entire study population. First, from the telephone directory, I created a list of all language institutes, and randomly phoned to ask for permission to conduct the survey. All but one of the contacted institutes rejected my request, citing "protection of the students' privacy". A representative of one school told me that there were few Japanese students, although, according to my friend who attended the same school, 50% of students in a class were Japanese students. A representative of another institute declined to participate in this study, saying, "Why do we have to spend our time for your master's thesis?" When I asked the representatives of each institute the number of Japanese students, many institutes (not all of them) declined revealing the number of their students in order to ensure "protection of the students' privacy".

I told the ELIs that the research report which would show their students' reasons for learning English would be sent to them; the report would help the institutes to decide on the courses which would meet the students' needs. However, this reward seemed too weak to encourage the institutes to participate in my research. Only one institute was interested in the results of my research. How to encourage people to participate in research is a serious issue. Researchers cannot force them to do it; attractive rewards or benefits for the participants should be offered as an incentive. However, determining what will be attractive benefit for the participants is quite a difficult question. Modest monetary incentives would be effective for individual participants, but for organizations, they would not be.

Only the UBC Continuing Studies Language Institute agreed to participate in my study. One reason for this is that I have a slight relation with this institute. I am a student of UBC, and former student of this institute. Second, the representative and the instructors thought that my research was interesting and profitable for them; by learning what the Japanese students expect, they can provide the students with programs which meet more of their needs. The several instructors of this institute

told me that they were already aware of the imbalance of male and female Japanese students in number, and their different learning attitudes by gender. One concern in designating one language institute as the sample frame was the generalizability of data. However, my research is exploratory, and generalizability is not an important issue at this stage.

Survey Methodology

The survey was conducted from May to August in 1997 at the English Language Institute of the University of British Columbia. First, I received permission to do survey research from the UBC Language Institute. The institute's coordinator then sent an E-mail about my research project, including my telephone number, to all instructors in the institute. I submitted a copy of the questionnaire to the coordinator so that the instructors could read it. The instructors who decided to cooperate in this research contacted me. I explained to them the procedures for providing and collecting the questionnaire, and they handed the survey to their Japanese students. Some instructors allowed me to go to their classes and speak about the research to their students. Expecting that some instructors would refuse to participate in the study, I also used the snowballing method in order to obtain more subjects. I asked the students, who had completed the questionnaire and wrote their telephone numbers for the interview, to provide the questionnaires to their friends who attended different classes. As expected, not all of the instructors responded to my request. Instead of depending on the E-mail sent from the coordinator to each instructor, I should have met them to pursue their participation. But in reality, it was hard to make an appointment with them, because they worked different times and days, and could not get a telephone number list of those instructors.

In order to enlist cooperation of the students, I described the purposes of this study in the cover letter of the questionnaire, and detailed how their participation would be useful to help learn why so many Japanese people learn English abroad. Anonymity was ensured. The questionnaire was

written in English to attract those who might want to try their English ability, and was partially written in both English and Japanese so that students with a lower English level would not misunderstand and/or have trouble understanding the questions. My anticipation turned out to be right. Some subjects told me they participated in the survey because answering questions written in English was challenging, and at the same time, part of their practice learning English. The students in the beginners' class said that even though the questionnaire was partly translated, it was still difficult for them. For the students in a beginner's class, I stayed with them in the classroom, and translated each question to Japanese, and the students answered the questions on the spot.

I should have prepared a Japanese language version as well, allowing the subjects to choose whichever version they like. When survey questionnaires are provided to populations which include people whose first language is not English, the researchers should be sensitive enough to prepare a questionnaire in their languages in order to get their responses, if time and budget allowed. Otherwise, only those who can understand English would answer the questionnaire, and as a result, the collected data would have a systematic bias. However, this method is costly. First, computer software such as Japanese language word processor and Japanese language environment software cost approximately CAN \$1,000. Also, the number of the copies of the questionnaire would be doubled. With a limited budget, making two versions of the questionnaire is too much.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire consists of six parts: A. personal data, B. career orientation and the important factors of work, C. job satisfaction, D. gender related issues in the workplace, E. reasons for quitting their workplace, and F. reasons for coming to Vancouver (anticipating some of the subjects came to Vancouver for reasons other than learning English). The subjects who do not have work experience in Japan skipped sections C, D, and E, and men skipped section D because the questions in section D

are about women's experience. In section B, C, and D, I used scales developed by previous researchers.

In the first half of section B, the degree to which subjects are career-oriented is measured. If a respondent did not show a strong career orientation, their attending ELI in Vancouver might be a part of their vacation before marriage. The correlation between work orientation and the reason for attending ELI in Vancouver was calculated using an SPSS data analysis program. In the second half of section B, the subjects were asked which aspects of their work were most important to them. In section C, they were asked about their actual experiences at work. Combining these two sections allowed me to examine whether their jobs allowed the subjects to achieve job satisfaction concerning the qualities or aspects of the job that were most important to them. For example, lack of prospects for promotion does not necessarily cause the respondent job dissatisfaction unless the person thinks being promoted is very important for her/him.

The work orientation was measured by using Warr, Cook and Wall's scale (1978: 145) with a six-point Likert scale (1= strongly disagree, 6=Strongly agree). The importance of various aspects of the job were measured by using the modified version of the Work Values Questionnaire (WVQ). The modified version was used by Yamauchi to measure work values of Japanese, Korean and Chinese workers (1993). As substantial differences between Japanese and North American work values were expected, Yamauchi's scale was quite useful in terms of selecting appropriate work values to be measured for Japanese people. From Yamauchi's 24 items, I selected eight items which, in Yamauchi's research, ranked among top six job values - co-workers, supervisors, job interest, pay, achievement in work, personal growth. The two exceptional ones in my items were advancement and autonomy, both of which were valued relatively highly in other research in North America, but were relatively lowly ranked in Yamauchi's study. I included these two items to test how Japanese people today conceive these values. Eight work values were measured with a five-point format (1=Not important at all,

2=Not important, 3= Neutral, 4= Important, 5=Very important).

In section C, I asked the subjects to evaluate their own experience in the workplace. I chose the same work values measured in section B in order to measure the gap between their expectations and their experiences regarding these values. All of the items can result from gender culture which Itzin (1994) defined. The questions used in section C were more specific and concrete than the questions used in section B so that, for example, which aspect of their supervisor the subjects were satisfied/dissatisfied with could be revealed. I used modified scales of job satisfaction, which were developed and used by Weiss, Dawis, England, Lofquist, and Lofquist (1967), Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman (1959), Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley (1990), and Alderfer (1969). In addition to these scales, I added my original questions based on the previous studies regarding Japanese working women because the scales developed by the above-mentioned researchers do not cover specifically work-related factors in Japan. I could not use a single source for the scales¹⁹ because, for instance, although the majority of these scales were from the Weiss, Dawis, England, Lofquist, and Lofquist study, some were not appropriate for female Japanese subjects. Some questions were male-centred (i.e. "The way my boss backs his men up.", "The way my boss provides help on hard problems."), and did not fit into a Japanese organization where female workers seldom have the chance to handle hard problems (see Kumagai, 1996). I used a Likert scale with a six-point format (1=Strongly disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Slightly disagree, 4=Slightly agree, 5= Agree, 6=Strongly agree).

In section D, I created the scales based on the characteristics of gender culture which were developed by Itzin (1995) and on the articles (i.e. Yomiuri Shinbun, Waakingu Wuman Kenkyu Sho, 1993) about Japanese women in the workplace. Also, I used some questions from Ishida's study on Japanese women (1995). These items are to measure the existence of gender culture in their

¹⁹ For example, Weeks and Nantel (1995) use scales from multiple sources to measure job satisfaction and performance behavior.

workplace, and not necessarily to measure their satisfaction or dissatisfaction regarding these issues. By connecting the answers in the section B, C, and D, relations between gender culture and the women's dissatisfaction in the workplace were studied. A Likert scale was used for most of the questions except the scales for sexual harassment, sexual environment, and sex stereotype, which asked whether the subjects were bothered by these aspects in the workplace, rather than just measuring whether they experienced them or not. These elements which occur in everyday interactions among workers are not asked in section B (important job-related values) or section C (the respondents' experiences in the workplace) in which questions are addressed concerning gender discriminatory company policies.

In section E, I assessed the main reasons for quitting their workplace. Among seven items, five items were not only work-related, but also would be influenced by gender culture. One item was related to marriage. Each question consisted of an open-ended and a close-ended component. If the strongly career-oriented woman P, who wanted to have an interesting job but could not due to gender segregation in the workplace, quit her job because the job was boring, her purpose for learning English in Vancouver might be to get English skills so that she could work for a foreign affiliate company where women were not necessarily assigned to be a tea-serving job.

In section F, I simply asked the subjects their reasons for coming to Canada because even though all subjects are ELI students, they did not necessarily come to Canada to learn English. As I mentioned in chapter 2, they might attend the ELI to obtain a student visa, and their main purpose for coming to Canada might be different. If the question was instead about their reasons for attending the ELI, their answer would be "to learn English" and they would not answer "to have fun" even though it would be a more appropriate answer for them. In the latter part of this section, I asked their plan after returning to Japan to discover whether their learning English in Vancouver is to utilize their English abilities in jobs, or just for fun.

Interview Methodology

The second part of the research consisted of interviews with fourteen Japanese students who indicated on their surveys that they were willing to be interviewed. I attempted to get a diverse sample by gender, and sought a range of ages to get at the potentially different effects of gender at different ages. My target population was Japanese women in Vancouver who have paid-work experiences in Japan. In order to investigate the possible relationship between gender culture in organizations and their decision to come to Vancouver, seven interviews out of fourteen were done with female students who had paid-work experiences. I needed male interviewees, but as only four men who wrote in the questionnaire that they could be interviewed, I interviewed all of them. The other three interviews were done with female students who did not have paid-work experiences.

The interviews were one-on-one at a mutually agreed upon place (usually in a cafe, such as the Grind on Main Street), and they took about one hour to one and a half hours each. The interviews were done in Japanese. Consent forms were signed before the interviews, and students were informed that they could refuse to answer any questions and could turn the tape recorder off if they wished. Before I started each interview, I talked about myself; I used to be an former ELI student just like them, and could not speak English well when I came to Canada. I also told them that I had worked in a small company in Japan. Oakley writes, "in most cases, the goal of finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved . . . when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her personal identity in the relationship" (1981: 41), so I presented to them who I was. This pre-interview small talk was similar to a physician's talking about him/herself (i.e. the sport they like, etc.) to a new patient before the physician examines him/her, in order to relax the patient and let him/her open up. But in case of interviews in sociological research, the interviewer should be more careful to avoid words or body language which might establish a power relation between the interviewer and the interviewees. Otherwise, the interviewees would be afraid of being judged by an "authority", or would feel their

life history was being reduced to a mere study "object", and would end up talking superficially, or trying to meet the researcher's needs or expectation. They are informants who generously told me their various life experiences, and should not be treated as "objects" to be controlled and judged like patients are.

Actually, their "stage fright" was more than I had imagined it would be. First, they told that they had felt "threatened" by the UBC letter head printed on the cover letter of the questionnaire. Secondly, they felt uneasy about my status as a graduate student. The respondents frequently asked, "I am a mere ELI student. Are you sure you want to talk to me?", although they were interested in being interviewed, and seeing a Japanese UBC student. Usually researchers, especially graduate students like myself, would not have the slightest thought that they would be perceived as an authority figure by their subjects, but researchers should know that sometimes they are seen as such.

Interviews were tape-recorded with the students' permission. Three students refused to be tape-recorded. In these cases, I listened to them carefully and took notes. Although some data were lost when I depended solely on hand recorded interviews, the subjects talked more naturally and eloquently. Even in the tape-recorded interviews, the subjects became more talkative after I told them the interview was finished, and turned off the tape recorder. One interviewee said "When the tape-recorder was on, I was nervous; I tried to choose appropriate words, and control my voice. You and your professor will listen to this tape later, right? I don't want to sound stupid." Although I told them that I would record the interview only so that I would not miss anything, several subjects were concerned about their interviews being heard by other people. Tape-recording interviews is convenient for an interviewer, but if interviewees felt uneasy being tape-recorded, a researcher should not insist on tape-recording, especially when subjects talk about something which they do not want to be heard by a stranger.

When a few interviewees talked about very sensitive issues such as their experiences of sexual

harassment, I expressed my sympathy, and confirmed that if they did not want to talk about it, they did not have to. Also, I asked them whether or not they wanted me to stop the taperecorder. I was concerned that recalling their unpleasant memories might cause unexpected, negative after effects for them, just as it happened to me. Before I started this research, I was advised to write about my own experiences in the workplace. During writing and even after finishing writing, I often had dreams of the man who sexually harassed me. Also, the idea that people who might not know what it was like to be sexually harassed might read my story made me nervous. Through sharing our experiences, the interviewees became more open and talkative. Perhaps, they thought that I could understand their feelings, and their fear of being observed and judged by an unknown researcher was reduced. I did not talk about my experience of being sexually harassed when I interviewed the male interviewees because it was less likely the case of "sharing experience". Instead, I talked about how hard it was for me to improve my English. Thus, talking about myself and sharing experiences was a good approach for encouraging subjects to talk. One problem is that this might have influenced the responses of the subjects. They might have given me information which they perceived the researcher wanted to hear, and withheld other information. In order to minimize this risk, some researchers emphasize objectivity, and keeping distance from the subjects, and avoiding questions from interviewees by telling them, "Here we are interested in what you think; what I think doesn't matter" (see Neuman, 1997:255). Such an approach seems researcher-centered; a researcher gets the benefit at the participants' costs - exposing their privacy and time. Interviewees as well should get some benefits from the interview. My subjects gave me information, and in return, I gave them information about myself and things they wanted to know. In that way, my interviewees obtained some benefit from participating in the interview. I answered the questions from interviewees. Most of the interviewees asked similar questions; 1) how to improve their English, 2) how to be accepted by Canadian universities, and 3) how I live in Vancouver, and my future.

Overall, the interviews were very animated. One of the reasons for this was because it was those who became interested in my research through the questionnaire, and who wanted to talk that participated in the interview. But it should be added that several interviewees (three men and two women) told me they had decided to participate in the interview simply because they were interested in a Japanese UBC student. After the interview I asked them whether they felt all right, and many respondents told me they enjoyed talking about themselves and analysing their own behaviour. I asked them for their permission to use the data gathered during post-interview "chatting". Several days after the interview, some interviewees phoned me for advice, and four people asked me to tutor them in English.

The interviews were animating and exhausting. Unlike a field interview in which an interviewer "begins by building rapport and steering conversation away from evaluative or highly sensitive topics, and he or she avoids proving inner feelings until intimacy is established" (Neuman: 372), I had to obtain the trust of my interviewees in the first ten minutes, and had to let them talk about sensitive issues in a single interview. Once those interviewees became relaxed, the interviews went smoothly. After the crucial moment of icebreaking, the Japanese students were all polite, cooperative, and some of them even encouraged me. After the interviews I always confirmed with the interviewees whether there was any part of the interviews they did not want me to write. Three female interviewees who were not happy with their jobs said, "Please write everything so that other people know how badly we were treated."

Chapter 5. SURVEY DATA ANALYSIS

The number of the Japanese students who participated in this survey was eighty. Since the total number of students who were asked to participate could not be obtained, response rate was not culculated. I was asked to submit ten copies of the questionnaire to each instructor who agreed to distribute them to the Japanese students in his/her class, and several copies to the students who had participated in the survey and agreed to submit the questionnaires to their friends. As a result, 80 out of 114 copies of questionnaires were completed and returned (70%).

Demographic Characteristics

Demographic characteristics of the sample of 80 Japanese students are shown in Table2. As expected, the women (84%) far outnumbered their male counterparts (16%). Although the mean age of the female students (25) and the male students (24) were almost the same, the women had a much wider age distribution than the men, whose age distribution was concentrated in the early 20's. None of the women were currently married. The men, except two, were either students or those who had just graduated from school, and had not started their business careers yet. These demographic characteristics support the functionalist approach: both married women and businessmen would not come to Vancouver to learn English because of their duties as homemakers or breadwinners. Once their business careers started, breadwinners would not quit their job for fear of losing seniority and chances for promotion, which would affect their income. This can also explain the small number of the male students. Staying for a year in a foreign country to learn English delays their graduation from school, and therefore, the entry of their business career as well. This would delay promotion under the seniority system in organizations. Of the two men who were neither students nor just graduated,

TABLE 2 Demographic Characteristics of Sample (N = 80)

	Women		Men	
	N	%	N	%
Age				
18 - 20	10	14.9	3	23.1
21 - 23	21	31.3	6	46.2
24 - 26	13	19.4	2	15.4
27 - 29	10	14.9	1	7.7
30 - 32	8	11.9	0	0.0
33 - 35	2	3.0	0	0.0
36 - 38	0	0.0	0	0.0
39 - 41	0	0.0	1	7.7
50	1	1.5	0	0.0
Missing	2	3.0	0	0.0
Total	67	100.0	13	100.0
Mean	25.0		23.8	
Education				
High school graduate	6	9.0	1	7.7
College student	2	3.0	0	0.0
College graduate	24	35.8	1	7.7
University student	17	25.4	7	53.8
University graduate	16	23.9	3	23.1
Master or doctorate degree	0	0.0	1	7.7
Other	2	3.0	0	0.0
Total	67	100.0	13	100.0
Marital Status				
Never married	63	94.0	12	92.3
Married	0	0.0	1	7.7
Separated/divorced	4	6.0	0	0.0
Total	67	100.0	13	100.0
Full Time Work Experience				
Yes	41	61.2	2	15.4
No	26	38.8	11	84.6
Total	67	100.0	13	100.0
Previous Occupation(s) (Multiple responses)				
Clerical	23	39.0	0	0.0
Sales	7	11.9	1	50.0
Services	12	20.3	0	0.0
Education	5	8.5	0	0.0
Health Care	2	3.4	0	0.0
Technical	2	3.4	0	0.0
Professional*	5	8.5	1	50.0
Others	3	5.1	0	0.0
Total	59	100.0	2	100.0

one was sent to Vancouver by his company in Japan. Attending the ELI and a university in Canada was a part of his job training, and his company funded his tuition fee and accommodation. Thus, he does not neglect his duty as a breadwinner.

Sixty-one percent of the women had worked in Japan before they came to Vancouver, and they made up 51% of the entire sample. Whether those former working women were vacationers who quit their jobs to have fun before they got married or those who needed to obtain English language skills for a future job could not be inferred from their age and marital status. For example, a single woman aged 25 would quit her job for either reason. The women who did not have work experience in Japan consisted of thirty-nine percent of the entire female subjects, and most of them were students (28% of the female subjects). Regarding work orientation, to the statement, "Even if I have saved a great deal of money, I would continue

TABLE 3 Work Orientation

Six-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3 = slightly disagree, 4 = slightly agree, 5 = agree, 6 = Strongly agree)

N of Women = 67, N of Men = 13

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mean
1. Even if I have saved a great deal of money, I would continue to work.							
Women	6.0%	9.0%	10.4%	25.4%	29.9%	19.4%	4.22
Men	30.8%	0.0%	7.7%	15.4%	23.1%	23.1%	3.69
2. Having a job is very important to me.							
Women	4.5%	3.0%	4.5%	23.9%	34.3%	29.9%	4.70
Men	15.4%	0.0%	7.7%	7.7%	46.2%	23.1%	4.36
3. I want to work	Women Men						
Until retirement age.	32.8%	92.3%					
To stop while the children are small, but then start again.	40.3%	0.0%					
Until I have children.	10.4%	0.0%					
Until I get married.	3.0%	0.0%					
Others.	13.5%	7.7%					

to work", 49% of the women chose "agree" or "strongly agree". To the statement, "Having a job is very important to me", 64% of the women chose "agree" or "strongly agree" (see Table 3). The women who chose "disagree" or "strongly disagree" to the former statement were only 15%, and to the latter statement, 8%. It could be concluded that overall the female subjects were career-oriented, though as many as 40% of the women chose the intermittent career - stop working until their children get older and start working again.

Reasons for Coming to Vancouver

In the questionnaire, I directly asked the subjects why they came to Vancouver, assuming that career-oriented subjects would choose the answers such as "I wanted to learn English to get a better job" and non-career oriented subjects would choose "I wanted to live in a foreign country because living in a foreign country seemed like it would be fun". I did not ask why they attended the ELI because I was afraid this form of question would invite the answer "to learn English", and would make the subject avoid choosing answers such as "to have fun".

Eighty-five percent of the subjects chose "to learn English" as a reason for coming to Canada (see Table 4), and 51% of the women and the 46% of the men answered that the reason for learning English was to obtain a better job. Six women and two men respondents answered that they came to Vancouver because they thought living in a foreign country would be fun, but they also chose other reasons as well such as "to learn English for getting a better job". Thus, the number of those whose purpose of coming to Canada was purely to have fun was small.

When asked what they would do after returning to Japan, 34% of the women answered they would look for a job in which they could use their English skills, but only 23% of men chose the same. In contrast to this choice, 31% of the men answered they would look for any job, whereas only 15% of the women chose the same. That is, the women were more likely than

TABLE 4 Purpose of Coming to Canada (multiple responses) and Future Goal (N = 80)

	Women(%)	Men (%)
A. Purpose of coming to Canada		
To learn English	85.1	84.6
To live in a foreign country	35.8	30.7
To leave Japan	16.4	23.1
Others	5.9	30.7
B. Purpose of learning English		
To get a better job	50.7	46.2
To attend a school in a foreign country	28.4	53.8
For self-esteem	26.9	46.2
For personal growth	44.8	46.2
To be stylish	13.4	23.0
Others	11.9	0.0
C. Purpose of living in Canada		
For better job	16.4	15.4
Try ability	22.4	15.4
For fun	8.9	15.4
Others	4.5	30.7
D. Future Goal		
Look for job in which I can use my English skill	34.4	23.1
Look for any job	14.9	30.8
Get married	0.0	0.0
Do not know	11.9	0.0
Others*	19.4	30.8
N/A**	14.9	15.3
Missing case	4.5	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

* Most of them go back to their school in Japan. ** N/A = People who will not return to Japan.

the men to want to have a job in which they would use their English skills. In addition, 47% of the women who chose "to get a better job" as a purpose of learning English chose "look for job in which I can use my English skill" when they return to Japan. This implies that these

women associated a better job with English skills.²¹ The men did not seem to have that strong attachment to a job which requires English skills as the women did. As many as 54% of the men answered that they were learning English at the ELI to enter foreign universities or colleges in future, whereas only 28% of the women chose the same. The men who chose this purpose might think that getting a degree from a school in a foreign country would help them to get a better job which does not necessarily require English skills. The men simply wanted a "better" job; the women want an English related job which they perceived would be a better job. Why did they perceive an English related job to be a better job? First, let us see what they thought a better job should be. In the questionnaire, I asked the respondents what features in a job they perceived as important.

An Ideal Job

In the questionnaire, the subjects were asked to evaluate how important eight work-related factors were. As the table 5 indicates, both the women and the men perceived doing work which is interesting to them, achievement in work, and opportunity for personal growth were important, and the chance to work alone was not important. The differences between the male group and the female group were the female group thought having pleasant co-workers and fair and considerate supervisors were more important, whereas the male group rated them 0.4 and 0.5 points lower than the female group. These data imply that a good job perceived by both the men and the women is an interesting job which gives them a sense of achievement and personal growth. For women, co-workers and good supervisors are also determining factors of a good/bad job. Could the women who used to work in Japan not get a sense of achievement or

²¹The men who belong to this same category was two out of six who answered the purpose of learning English is to get a better job. The number was too small to compare with their female counterparts.

personal growth? Was their job not interesting?

TABLE 5 The Importance of Work Related Factors

Five point Likert scale (1 = Not important at all, 2= Not important, 3= neutral, 4= important, 5 = Very important). N of F = 67, N of M = 13.

Factors	Percentage of Those Who Chose						Mean		Difference
	1 or 2		3		4 or 5		Women	Men	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men			
1. Pleasant co-workers	0.0	7.7	9.0	23.1	91.0	69.2	4.433	4.000	0.433
2. Fair and considerate supervisor	0.0	15.4	7.5	7.7	92.5	77.0	4.448	3.923	0.525
3. Interesting job	0.0	0.0	6.0	7.7	94.0	92.4	4.716	4.692	0.024
4. Autonomy	35.9	38.5	47.8	30.8	16.3	30.8	2.806	2.923	-0.117
5. Advancement	14.8	7.7	28.4	23.1	56.8	69.3	3.507	3.846	-0.339
6. Pay	1.5	7.7	25.4	23.1	73.1	69.3	3.955	3.816	0.139
7. Achievement in work	1.5	0.0	7.5	15.4	91.0	84.6	4.493	4.305	0.188
8. Opportunity for personal growth	0.0	0.0	3.0	23.1	97.0	76.9	4.627	4.462	0.165

Forty-nine percent (twenty women) of the former working women chose "disagree" or "strongly disagree" to the question, "Do you think that if you had been satisfied with your job, you would not have quit the job and would not have come to Vancouver?". Only 24% (ten women) of the former working women chose "agree" or "strongly agree" for the question. However, when the respondents were asked to choose the reasons (multiple responses) why they quit, the proportion of women who clearly stated they quit their job for positive reasons such as "want to study abroad" was 20% (eight women). Many of the respondents quit their workplaces because they did not like some aspects of their workplace such as job itself (20%), work environment (19%), and supervisors (17%) (see Table 6). These results indicate that, although many former working women quit their jobs and came to Vancouver because they wanted to come, they might not have quit their jobs without the existence of these negative factors in the workplace. Before deciding whether the explanation based on a feminist approach is inappropriate, let us see what these former working women experienced in their workplace.

TABLE 6 The Reasons for Quitting Jobs
N = 40 (former working women) (multiple responses)

Reason	N	%
1. Did not like my co-workers.	5	7.7
2. Did not like my supervisor.	11	16.9
3. Did not like the job.	13	20.0
4. Could not expect promotion.	6	9.2
5. Did not like the work environment.	12	18.5
6. My age.	2	3.1
7. Other reasons.	16	24.6
Total	65	100.0

The women's Experiences in the Workplace

The previous occupations of the women in my study were heavily concentrated in clerical (39%) and service jobs (20%) (see Table 2), both of which are female job ghettos²². Krahn and Lowe (1993: 161) define female job ghettos as follows, "Female job ghettos typically offer little economic security and little opportunity for advancement; furthermore, the work is often unpleasant, boring and sometimes physically taxing. Women in job ghettos lack ready access to the more challenging and lucrative occupations dominated by men". Did the former working women in my research see these aspects in their jobs? In the questionnaire, these women were asked to answer "agree" or "disagree" (a six-point format Likert scales, 1=strongly disagree, 6=strongly agree) about their experience regarding nine work-related dimensions: co-worker, supervisor, use of ability, job variety, activity, creativity, promotion, achievement, personal growth. All of these factors cause either job satisfaction or job dissatisfaction (see Yamauchi, 1993; Herzberg, 1973). After these questions, how they were satisfied with the jobs and their achievement in their career were asked.

²²Krahn and Lowe (1993) (p.161). Krahn and Lowe list clerical jobs, nursing, teaching, service (for example, jobs in hotels, tourism) as female job ghettos.

TABLE 7 Women's Assessments of Their Previous Jobs

Six-point Likert scale (1= Strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = slightly disagree, 4 = slightly agree, 5 = agree, 6 = Strongly agree). N = 41 (former working women).

Question	Percentage of those who chose						Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Co-worker							
1. My colleagues were pleasant.	2.4	7.3	7.3	19.5	41.5	22.0	4.561
2. My senior co-workers were respectful.	9.8	14.6	2.4	34.1	29.3	9.8	3.878
Supervisor							
3. My supervisor gave me appropriate job training.	7.3	17.1	17.1	7.3	39.0	12.2	3.902
4. My supervisor was willing to listen to me.	7.3	14.6	9.8	34.1	22.0	12.2	3.854
5. My supervisor did not ask me to do his/her private tasks (i.e. buying cigarettes).	7.5	2.5	7.5	17.5	30.0	35.0	4.650
6. My supervisor assigned me to the tasks which were suited to my abilities.	4.9	17.1	7.3	14.6	41.5	14.6	4.146
Use of Ability							
7. I could use my abilities and skills in my job.	7.3	12.2	7.3	36.6	22.0	14.6	3.976
8. I did work that was well suited to my abilities.	9.8	17.1	9.8	24.4	29.3	9.8	3.756
Variety							
9. I did many different things on the jobs which required skills.	7.3	9.8	9.8	39.0	19.5	14.6	3.976
10. Most of my jobs were not routine.	14.6	7.3	14.6	26.8	29.3	7.3	3.707
Activity							
11. I was busy all the time doing a meaningful job.	2.4	17.1	12.2	22.0	19.5	26.8	4.195
12. I did not have time to kill.	4.9	4.9	14.6	12.2	22.0	41.5	4.659
Creativity							
13. I could try out some of my ideas.	4.9	12.2	12.2	31.7	31.7	7.3	3.951
14. I was given chances to develop new ways to do the job.	4.9	9.8	22.0	19.5	29.3	14.6	4.024
Promotion							
15. I had a very good prospects for promotion.	10.0	25.0	22.5	25.0	12.5	5.0	3.200
16. I could expect to advance in the company as far as my abilities permitted.	14.6	22.0	17.1	31.7	9.8	4.9	3.146
Achievement							
17. I was able to take pride in a job well done.	2.4	2.4	19.5	29.3	24.4	22.0	4.366
18. I was able to do something worthwhile.	2.4	4.9	17.1	22.0	36.6	17.1	4.366
Personal Growth							
19. I developed new skills and abilities at work.	2.4	7.3	7.3	24.4	43.9	14.6	4.439
20. I got the feeling of having learned new things at work.	7.3	9.8	22.0	7.3	34.1	19.5	4.096
Job satisfaction							
21. I was satisfied with the job as a whole.	7.3	14.6	26.8	24.4	22.0	4.9	3.537
Satisfaction in One's Career							
22. I am satisfied with the success I have achieved in my career.	7.3	17.1	31.7	19.5	19.5	4.9	3.415
23. I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward achieving my overall career goals.	4.9	14.6	36.6	34.1	7.3	2.4	3.317

The mean score of job satisfaction was 3.5 (see Table 7). To the statement, "I was satisfied with the job as a whole", 51% of the subjects answered "slightly disagree" or "slightly agree". Although 26% of the subjects answered "agree" or "strongly agree", 22% of the subjects chose "disagree" or "strongly disagree". Also, the questions about their degree of satisfaction with their careers so far, produced mean as low as 3.3. Especially to the question, "I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward achieving my overall career goals", 71% of the subjects chose "slightly disagree" or "slightly agree". These data indicate that the majority of the respondents were not that dissatisfied with their jobs and career, but not that happy with them either. Which aspects they were satisfied, and which aspects they did not like, were measured with Likert scales.

The items for which mean scores were relatively lower were "My senior co-workers were respectful" (3.9), "My supervisor was willing to listen to me" (3.9), "I did the work that was well suited to my abilities" (3.8), "Most of my jobs were not routine" (3.7), "I had a very good prospect for promotion" (3.2) and "I could expect to advance in the company as far as my abilities permitted" (3.1). Especially regarding promotion, 35% of the subjects chose "disagree" or "strongly disagree". Considering the subjects rated highly 'supervisor' and 'interesting job' and 'opportunity for personal growth' as important work-related factors (see Table5), supervisors who did not listen to them, their routine jobs in which their abilities were not utilized, not using their abilities must have caused job dissatisfaction among the respondents who chose "disagree" or "strongly disagree" to the above statements. Those who quit because they did not like their supervisors wrote in the questionnaire as follows.

"My supervisor was selfish." (a 25 year old clerical worker)

"My opinion was not accepted." (a sales cleak)

"He was lazy and was not reliable. He did not have ability for management." (a 31 year old clerical worker)

"He didn't know who had more ability for some tasks, how much I did work for the

company." (a clerical worker)
"They were so selfish and incompetent." (a 23 years old woman)

Those who quit the job because they did not like their jobs wrote the following comments;

"It was boring." (a clerical worker)
"I couldn't have a goal with this job, without a chance of promotion" (a 22 years old, service)
"It did not seem to me that my job was meaningful for both the company and me." (a 27 years old clerical worker)
"The job was not what I wanted. (It was very difficult to get a job, and I had to [make] money)." (a 27 year old clerical worker)
"Too much overtime work without pay. Paid vacation was only two days a year." (a 26 year old clerical worker)
"Too busy. I had to do clerical job for forty sales persons." (a 32 year old clerical worker)

Is this job dissatisfaction gender-specific? Are women more likely than men to be assigned to routine jobs or jobs in which their abilities are not utilized? Are women more likely than men to perceive their senior workers were not respectful? Since the number of the male subjects who used to work in Japan is only two, the comparison between the female and male former workers' experience was not meaningful in this research. However, if the organization where the women used to work had a "gender culture", the responses indicating that their abilities were not utilized, they were assigned to routine jobs, and there were disrespectful senior workers might be gender-specific. For example, a senior worker who is seen as respectful by the male workers might not be seen as such by the female workers because he is sexist, or tells sexual jokes or makes sexual remarks to the women. In the next section the relations between gender culture in the workplace and women's job dissatisfaction are explored.

Gender culture in the workplace

Table 8 (p. 61) shows the result of the survey on eight items (patriarchy and hierarchy, sex-segregation, sex-stereotype, sex discrimination, a sexualized environment, sexual

harassment, sexist) of gender culture defined by Itzin. Among those items, responses to "Female workers were not expected to be in the position of power and influence" (patriarchy), "My educational background and abilities were not taken into consideration for assigning me to jobs, whereas male workers' educational backgrounds were" (sex-segregation). Responses like "I was not asked to participate in making decisions about such things as the products or services delivered because such a decision making was usually done by men in my workplace" (sex discrimination) show relatively higher means (3.6, 3.5, 3.4 respectively). Those who chose "agree" or "strongly agree" to these three questions were 41%, 37% and 33% respectively. Thus, the respondents were more likely to be assigned to routine, boring jobs due to sex-segregation.

The correlations between gender discrimination and personal growth ($-.5504$, $p=0.000$) and gender discrimination and promotion ($-.6328$, $p=0.000$) (see Appendix 5) were strong and statistically significant. In the questions about the importance of work related factors, 95% of the former working women answered "important" or "very important" about personal growth. If gender discrimination in the workplace prevented women workers from improving themselves, more women than men would be disappointed from lack of personal growth. Though the correlation between personal growth and job satisfaction was not strong ($.4281$, $p=0.005$), it was statistically significant. Sex-segregation and use of ability showed a slight correlation ($-.4423$, $p = .004$). This implies that the women were assigned to jobs which were not well suited to their ability because of their gender, and therefore, more women than men would be disappointed from not being assigned to jobs well suited to their abilities. In other words, regardless of whether they have abilities or not, they were assigned to certain types of jobs. It should be reminded that 90% of the respondents answered that having an interesting job was important or very important. A job in which their abilities are not utilized would not be interesting, and if they could not get an interesting job because of their gender, not their lack

of abilities, would be very disappointing.

TABLE 8 Gender Culture as Perceived by the Respondents

Six-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = slightly disagree, 4 = slightly agree, 5 = agree, 6 = strongly agree), N = 41 (former working women)

Question	1	2	3 (%)	4	5	6	Mean
Patriarchy							
1. Female workers were not expected in the position of power and influence.	17.1	14.6	9.8	17.1	29.3	12.2	3.634
Sex-segregation							
2. My educational background and abilities were not taken into consideration for assigning me to jobs whereas men's educational background were.	17.1	19.5	14.6	12.2	22.0	14.6	3.463
3. Male workers were assigned to various, valued jobs.	19.5	22.0	14.6	17.1	12.2	14.6	3.244
Discrimination							
4. I was not given chances to learn new things at work because female workers were assigned to certain types of jobs only.	34.1	17.1	14.6	14.6	19.5	0.0	2.683
5. I was not asked to participate in making decisions which were done by men.	23.1	5.1	23.1	15.4	20.5	12.8	3.436
6. I do not think that I had a chance of promotion because women usually did not promoted.	15.0	15.0	30.0	7.5	20.0	12.5	3.400
Stereotype							
7. What male workers expected from me was mainly feminine roles such as "wife"role.	22.5	22.5	20.0	10.0	5.0	20.0	3.125
8. Most of my jobs were "women's tasks".	40.0	17.5	7.5	10.0	10.0	15.0	2.775
	1*	2*	3* (%)				
Sexist							
9. Men at my workplace made remarks about my being single.	12.2	31.7	56.1				
10. Men at my workplace criticized me for not being feminine.	22.0	--	78.0				
Sexual Environment							
11. I heard sexual jokes at my workplace.	31.7	31.7	36.6				
Sexual Harassment							
12. Male workers made remarks about my physical appearance.	15.0	30.0	55.0				
13. Uninvited sexual advances by male workers or clients.	17.1	22.0	61.0				

*1="Yes, and it bothered me", 2= "Yes, but it did not bother me", 3="No".

Regarding interpersonal aspects of the workplace, 22% of the respondents were

criticized by their male co-workers for not being feminine; 39% experienced uninvited sexual advances by male workers or their clients. Sixty-three percent of the women heard sexual jokes in the workplace. As most of the female respondents (90%) considered pleasant co-workers and considerate supervisors to be a very important factor, the existence of such sexist remarks and/or sexual harassers in their offices may have caused considerable job dissatisfaction for them. In this survey, what the women were told by their male co-workers was not explored, but in the interviews, several women articulated what their male co-worker(s) did or said, and their personal reactions to them. However, it should be noted that a relatively high percentage of the women did not mind sexual jokes or sexual remarks about them. Thirty percent of the women who heard sexual jokes and/or who were told by male co-workers of their physical appearances replied that such remarks and jokes did not bother them. Twenty-two percent of the women replied that they were not annoyed with uninvited sexual advances by male workers or clients.

Conclusion

In this survey, the participants' demographic background, and their purpose for coming to Vancouver were quite different by gender. Fifty percent of the men were students in Japan at that time of the survey, whereas 61% of the female subjects had worked full time in Japan. The female respondents' answers indicate that they were not vacationers who intended to get married and become housewives. Some women expected that by obtaining English language skills they would get a better job when they returned to Japan; others expected their personal growth through learning English in a foreign country. The female participants showed a strong career-orientation. The former working women's reasons for quitting their jobs were that they wanted to learn English, and they did not like their jobs, work environment, and/or their

supervisors. They thought that their jobs had not been well suited to their abilities, and had been boring and had not give them a sense of achievement or personal growth; their supervisors automatically assigned them to such jobs because they were women. Some of the women were sexually harassed. These problems were not personal; they were rooted in gender culture in their workplace. They had those problems not because of their abilities or luck, but because of their gender in patriarchal gender culture in organizations. Twenty-four percent of my subjects answered they had decided to come to Vancouver to learn English because of these problems.

Why those women stick to English skills was not clear from this survey. We might speculate that they are good at English, and want to improve their English skills to the acceptable level for business, but not all of them had an advanced level of English. I visited several classes and tutored some of them in English, and found that the level of English among individuals varied from a beginners level to a fairly advanced level; some demonstrated good grammar, whereas other students' vocabularies were quite limited. Nevertheless, they want to have a job in which they can use whatever level of English skills they have achieved. Does this imply that they believe that a job which requires English skills gives them a sense of achievement and personal growth, or that if they had English skills, they could work in a sexual harassment-free organization? In the next chapter, the interview data reveal in more detail the process of the interviewees' decisions to learn English in Vancouver.

Chapter 6. CASE STUDIES

Here I present my interviews with fourteen subjects. The purpose of the interviews were to explore details of the individual interviewees' reasons and decision making processes for learning English in Vancouver. Comparisons between groups by gender and work experience may reveal certain patterns in their reasons for learning English in Vancouver, though the number of the interviewees is too small to generalize the data to the entire study population. First, I begin with the story of Eiko. This is a long story, but it gives you one Japanese woman's entire decision making process for coming to Vancouver. In her story, you will find several push factors which encouraged her to leave Japan and pull factors which attracted her to learning English in Vancouver.

Eiko's Story

Eiko, now 27 years old, started job hunting when she was a fourth year student in a good university in Tokyo. She was ambitious about her business career in the media industry. She wanted to be a "career woman", who worked energetically using her ability and skill, and was gradually promoted. However, while job-hunting, she found that many companies set strict rules only applicable to women. For example, companies announced that a female job applicant should live with her family (parents). Some companies simply did not offer jobs for female university graduates. She attended a briefing session held by a media company for the job applicants, and found that all the attendants were male students. She was told that the briefing session was for male applicants only, and was dismissed without obtaining any information. Eiko had thought that there would be more job opportunities in the cosmopolitan city than her home town Oita (a much smaller city than Tokyo), but due to such restrictions on female job

applicants, job offers available to Eiko were so limited in number and variety even in Tokyo that she felt that she had to take any available job. In the end, she accepted a job offer from an import and retail company, although the job was not what she wanted. Gender discrimination in recruitment forced her to accept a job she was not interested in.

In the company, Eiko's job was a shopping adviser, a sales clerk with a sophisticated name. The role of a shopping adviser was to visit department stores where she described goods such as cheese and wine to customers.

I was not interested in the job, but in the company *all female university graduates* had to accept the position of a shopping adviser. The shopping advisors were not given an opportunity for promotion²³. None of the male university graduates was assigned to be a shopping adviser. They worked in the import department, to which I wanted to be assigned.

In her office and work site, Eiko was annoyed by sexual comments made by senior male workers and her clients. For example, when she asked an employee of a department store for more space on a shelf for her company's product, he replied, "If you let me touch your body, you can use more space." She was very angry, but, as he was an employee of her company's client, she could not express her anger. "What if he were upset with me? It may affect our sales to the department." Instead, she calmly asked him, "If you said such things in the United States, you would be sued, wouldn't you?" Her senior worker who was with her at that scene gently "educated" her, "In the United States, he would. But *in Japan, it is culture*." His remark was shocking to Eiko, "I had liked and respected him. But even he thought that such a sexual remark was acceptable, and that my reaction to that man was overreacting." This example was just one of many sexual remarks made to her. Physical sexual advances upset her more. When Eiko was serving *omanju*, soft round cake, to the individual workers in her office, a male coworker

²³Women are more likely to be in jobs that offer little economic security and little opportunity for advancement. The work is generally boring, not stimulating and sometimes exhausting (Krahn and Lowe, 1993).

picked up his *omanju* and touched her breast with it, saying "titty". Eiko was furious with the man. Later her female coworker consoled her, "I taught him not to do such a thing to you. I told him that you are different from us. He can do that to us, but you are not a woman who can accept such jokes." Her remark disappointed Eiko. "It sounded as if I were haughty. It was his behaviour that should be blamed, not my behaviour." A year-end company party was another occasion for male workers to practise sexual "jokes" and to increase "intimacy". The women in Eiko's company had to serve alcohol to the men, and sometimes male workers touched the women's bodies. The women had to elaborately dodge physical contact. Once Eiko was chased by a drunken male colleague at a party, and had to hide in a bathroom. "For him, it was a fun, but it was seriously scary to me. He was drunken, and you would never know what he would do to you." A blind eye was turned to such behaviour by male employees at parties.

Eiko did not see a positive future for her in this company, and quit. The job was dull, and female employees were expected to flirt with some male employees, cheerfully responding to their sexual "jokes". Eiko wanted to be promoted, but found that it was impossible. In this company, although there were a few women in managerial positions, Eiko learned that all of them had had sexual relationships with the president, "A male worker can be promoted so long as he stays in this company, but a female worker has to have a personal relationship with the president to get promoted". In addition, Eiko's hope of personal growth through work was vanishing. She did not feel that she had learned anything except knowledge about their sales products, cheese and wine.

After Eiko quit the company, she got a part-time clerical job at a public organization in her home town. In the workplace, physical and verbal sexual harassment were worse. She complained to the sexual harassers, but they responded jokingly, "Don't give me the cold shoulder." One day one male worker told her, "I feel sorry for you being sexually harassed every

day." He had known that she was sexually harassed *every day*, but he did not bother stopping his male colleagues. "For him, the sexual harassment was a problem I had to manage", Eiko said. He did not want to tell his male colleagues to stop touching her because such advice might negatively influence his relationships with them, and he did not want to take the risk.

Spending days in such a work environment, Eiko started to think about learning English abroad. Three women in her workplace had quit their jobs and had gone abroad to learn English, and it had been her dream since she was a high school student. Eiko thought that getting a good command of the English language might enable her to have better job opportunities; she could probably become a translator, a high income occupation. She could have attended a language institute in Japan once a week after work, but felt it would be more efficient if she stayed in an English speaking country and became a full time ELI student. Savings from several years of working would cover the cost.

In Vancouver, Eiko currently attends ESL classes from 9 am to 3 pm. Her goal is to become a freelance interpreter or translator so that "I will not have to work in an organization." Eiko is thinking of applying to a community college in Canada, "By completion of college courses, I can improve my English, and receive a certificate, which may facilitate me to get a job here" (Emphasis added).

Eiko was an ambitious career-oriented woman. She wanted to work hard and be promoted, but what Itzin termed "gender culture in organizations" which disadvantages women was a barrier to her pursuit of her career. Eiko was especially annoyed by sexual harassment which was, according to her supervisor, just part of the culture. Eiko does not want work in such an environment any more, and this is why she studies English seriously here - to get a job in an environment where she can work comfortably. Eiko's case shows one of the three responses of

women to discrimination in employment described by Peitchinis (1989) - seeking independent employment as professionals. She is not thinking of becoming a housewife yet, and thus her spending a year in Vancouver is not a vacation before getting married.

Eiko's story is not necessarily representative of all the other interviewees' processes of coming to Vancouver. When I asked why she quit her job and why she wanted to learn English in Vancouver, Tomoko, a 26 year old former clerical worker, had to take time to find her answers. She did not seem to have a specific reason for quitting her job or strong motives of learning English. Tomoko said she wanted to do something else other than work before she would marry at 30. Learning English abroad seemed adventurous, and she had admired those who did it, and she finally did it. Asked about her job, she answered that her work environment and the work conditions had not been bad: no overtime work, surrounded by pleasant fellow workers. Tomoko knew that it would be very difficult to get another full time job when she would return to Japan, but losing a full-time job now did not seem to make a big difference since she was going to quit working anyway when she had a baby. Her savings from three and a half years of working enabled her to spend one year in a foreign country without making money. During the first four months in Vancouver, Tomoko studied hard, but she admitted that she is not so enthusiastic in learning English anymore and she currently attends morning classes only. During weekdays, she goes to a movie twice a week, and does volunteer work that does not require her to speak English. During weekends, she goes downtown to see her friends. She said that she did not know how to spend her free time. She is bored.

Compared with Eiko, Tomoko is more a vacationer trying to enjoy her free time before getting married than someone who wants to learn English in order to get a better job. Although she said she came to Vancouver to learn English, her purpose for learning English is unclear, and as her daily life in Vancouver indicates, she does not seriously study English.

Now, I will present the other interviewees' reasons for attending the ELI in Vancouver, and examine their everyday life in Vancouver. As the survey data show, most of my research subjects answered that they had come to Vancouver to learn English, but this could be an excuse for having fun in a foreign country as Tomoko's case showed. To probe whether they are attending ELI to learn English or for an excuse to have fun in a foreign country, I asked for their everyday time schedule.

Table 9 The Characteristics of the Interviewees

Women with Work Experience

Name	Age	Previous job(s)	Education completed
Eiko	27	shopping adviser, clerical worker	university
Kuruyo	27	clerical worker	university
Satsuki	29	medical adviser	university
Yumiko	27	customer service at a travel agency	university
Aiko	50	sales woman	junior college graduate
Yoshie	25	kindergarten teacher	junior college graduate
Tomoko	26	clerical worker	university
Chisato	25	clerical worker	university

Women without Work Experience

Status in Japan			
Mami	21	third year student	university
Yuko	21	unemployed (just graduated)	junior college
Eri	19	unemployed (just graduated)	high school

Men

Ken	20	cramming school student	high school
Jiro	24	unemployed (just graduated)	college
Yasuo	21	third year student	university
Masao	41	manager	university

I interviewed fourteen subjects, including Eiko and Tomoko, who wrote their telephone numbers on the completed questionnaire for the interviews. The male interviewees were in their early twenties except one, and women who were former workers were in their late twenties except one woman. Except for one man, all interviewees were single. The characteristics of

the interviewees are summarized in Table 9. The names of the subjects have been changed for confidentiality.

Men: Motives for Learning English and Their Lives in Vancouver

I interviewed four men. First I introduce three unmarried young men's cases, and later a middle aged married man's process of coming to Vancouver is presented. After he failed the entrance examination for university, Ken, 20, came to Canada to enjoy snowboarding. Jiro, 24, came to Canada two years ago to make lifelong friends in a different culture. Yasuo, a 21 year old university student, initially did not really like English at all, and was not interested in learning the language, but when his elder sister in Canada encouraged him to learn English abroad, Yasuo decided to leave his university for a year and learn English in Canada. All three men financially depend on their parents for ESL tuition fees and necessary expenses in Vancouver. They told me that it would be the only chance for them to learn English and stay abroad. Jiro said, "Once I get a job, I cannot quit a job and go abroad and stay for a year learning English. Quitting a job affects promotion." "It is man's responsibility to obtain an income for his family. I should take care of my wife and children," was Ken's explanation. Yasuo said, "I don't think my wife (in future) would allow me to quit my job. Especially, my wife's parents would not allow me to do it, though my parents would not care."

Before these three men start business careers, they want to learn English in a foreign country, but whether they learn English seriously is a different story. From Monday to Thursday, Ken attends classes from 1 pm to 3 pm because "I cannot get up early." When Ken returns from school, he makes several phone calls to his friends to make plans for the night. Most of his friends are Canadians whom Ken met at snowboarding shops. They visit Ken with beer, and sometimes Ken plays pool and goes bowling with them. Occasionally he smokes

marijuana with them. "As one of my friends is a (marijuana) dealer, it is easy to get pot," Ken explained. By communicating with his Canadian friends Ken has learned English. However, Ken thinks that the English they have taught him is useless in business because most of it is slang. When Ken has nothing to do, he rents Japanese video tapes, or reads Japanese magazines.

Jiro attends school from 9 am to noon, and spends afternoon doing his homework. During weekends, he plays baseball, goes to Japanese restaurants and pubs. He has just bought a brand-new Lexus. He has many Japanese friends with whom he plays golf, baseball, and pool. During the last winter he enjoyed snowboarding and skiing at Whistler, and now he plans to go to Los Angeles with Ken this summer.

During weekdays, Yasuo takes morning and afternoon classes at ELI. After the class finishes at 3:00 pm, he goes to the bus loop to look for friends to talk with, and make play plans for the next day. Weekends, Yasuo goes to school to meet his friends. Then, he goes swimming, and visits his Japanese friends. With them he talks about their mutual friends (i.e. who is in love with whom), what happened to them, the place they visited, and ESL classes. He often enjoys a party at his friends' or his own house. On weekends he seldom stays home. Sometimes he runs out of money and has to ask his parents to send him money.

All of the three men conform to the norms of gendered division of labour, and seriously accept their future role as a breadwinner. Even "a bad boy" (his description about himself), Ken, is very serious about getting a job in Japan and he showed very traditional views about family. "A man is responsible for his family. I want my wife (in future) to be a housewife, and take care of our children, and homemaking. I will make enough money for my family". He shyly smiled at his girl friend sitting next to him. These three men's motives in attending ELI in Vancouver were not as definite as Eiko who expressed strong needs for obtaining English skills. The functionalist approach fits these three men's cases. For them, learning English in Vancouver

is a part of their holiday, before these future-breadwinners start running on the career track from which they are not allowed to retire. However, compared with men who usually immediately start their business career after graduation, Ken and Jiro are in the minority who delay the participation in paid employment.

Another interviewee, Masao, demonstrated quite a different reason for learning English in Vancouver.

A Man with Work Experience

Masao, 41, came to Canada to enter a graduate program, and eventually to immigrate to Canada. Masao who worked in a prestigious company for seventeen years in Japan, insisted on the difficulty of deciding to quit his job. Finance and gendered division of labour norm (a man is a breadwinner) prolonged his indecision. Masao was afraid of losing income (he made annually more than \$120,000), and he has two children and a wife to support. Like the other three male interviewees, he has internalized the gendered division of labour, and was concerned about his temporary neglect of man's duty as a breadwinner, "In Japan where one of the strong social norms is "a man should work", if a man quit his company (especially a prestigious company), he would be seen as a dropout. Especially, like my case, if the man of my age went abroad just to learn English, what would other people think?" He was concerned about the negative reactions which his wife, her parents, and his parents (in Durkheim's words, the public conscience; in White's words, the watchful presence of the neighbourhood; see chapter 3) might have to his decision. But luckily his "neighbourhood" understood his decision. His wife's parents agreed to his decision without a terrible skirmish.

Masao's reasons for quitting his workplace were (1) the job was not interesting to him, (2) the company's business ethics were not acceptable, and (3) his life had become less balanced

due to the heavy workload. Masao was a sales person of computers, and later he was promoted to management.

When Masao worked as a sales person, he liked his job for its creative aspects. He liked to promote new interesting products and to discuss with his colleagues how the products would meet the customers' needs. In order to sell the products, he developed his strategy to ensure the customers that the product was valuable. He had a feeling of achievement when he made a contract with his clients. But after he was promoted to the managerial position, the job became boring to him. "What I did was dealing with the numbers - how to make profit for the company."

The longer he worked for his company, the more he questioned the company's ethic. "It was so capitalism-oriented. In order to make a profit, the management side did not care about twisting ethics for the company's advantage. For example, when new, less expensive models of computers were developed, I wanted to sell them to my customers. But my supervisor told me to sell the old one which price was as much as \$500,000. Who wants to sell such expensive, useless ones to customers? But my supervisor insisted that I should sell them. When I protested, he asked me, "Which is more important to you, your company or the customer?" When Masao argued further, his supervisor told him that Masao was harmful to his company. "It was very discouraging. It was obvious that the customer would complain to us in half a year, and still, I had to sell the old one."

Masao also did not like the company putting all the responsibility on their employees. "The company's policy seemed to me that 'we are paying you such a high salary that you should work it out by yourselves' ". Consequently, Masao usually had to stay at his office till 10 pm, or 7 pm at the earliest. He did not get paid for overtime work. Once he could not go home for two months. During this period, he had to ask his wife to bring him a set of clean clothes so that he could go to a business trip the next day. And his wife had to bring his dirty clothes back to

wash them. Lazy workers in his company turned down jobs by simply telling their supervisors that they could not do them. As a result, the difficult jobs and chore jobs were assigned to serious workers like Masao who were less rewarded and had a hard time. Sometimes, however, those lazy workers got promoted because they did not do anything wrong (they did not do anything good either). Masao felt it unfair.

He was so much committed to his company that communication with his family became less and less. After spending about 16 hours a day at his job, there was not much time left for family. He refused to talk about his job with his wife, telling her that she would not be able to understand a business world, and told her she should mind her own business (housework). "I felt sorry for my children and my wife. I seldom had time to talk with them." Masao said. Nevertheless, he stayed with this company for 17 years because he wanted to be promoted. However, once he was promoted, he found that the managerial position was not attractive at all.

When Masao quit, he was tempted to work for another company, but he did not because the job was not that different from his previous job. He wanted to do something different. Since one of his dreams was living in a foreign country, he left Japan with his family for Canada. Masao's first aim in Vancouver was to get a master's degree at UBC. In order to be accepted by UBC, he had to increase his TOEFL score to at least 570. When he came to Canada, his score was only 490, and in six months, he increased his score by 90 points. "I have studied English at least five hours every day after school. In addition, I have read a lot - *Time*, *The Vancouver Sun*, *McLean's*." After receiving a Master's degree, Masao wants to work in Canada. He does not want to return to his previous busy life. He used to be a high wage earner, and a big spender, but now, "I will be satisfied if I can make \$40,000 a year. I want to play with my children, and to go camping. I don't want to be forced to work like a horse, even if the company offered me \$120,000." Masao is satisfied with life in Vancouver. He is financially insecure, but mentally

secure. "I no longer have stress which I couldn't tell anyone or my family. My children look happy, too." Every Sunday, Masao goes to an ice rink to see his son play ice hockey, "We have already gone camping several times. I want to go camping pretty soon."

Masao's decision to quit his job and learn English in Vancouver does not fit the functionist approach. He is, in a sense, a temporary gender-norm violator. Usually, people hesitate to violate social norms, being afraid of accusations from those around him, but he was in a rare circumstance where his "neighbourhood" was understanding about his "deviance". Thus, Masao's case is apparently exceptional, which is consistent with my survey data. Among the thirteen male respondents he was the only married man. In other words, married men generally cannot quit their jobs to attend ELI in a foreign country, due to their role as breadwinners.

Another possible explanation is that his case would be similar to the feminist approach. Because of his gender, he did not have the same negative experiences as women have in patriarchal gender culture in organizations. However, he is a victim of Japanese corporate culture which requires employees' commitment and loyalty to the corporation. "Working long hours, intense involvement in extra-work activities and socialising with co-workers outside working hours are all part of the obligations of a committed member of the work group" and the domination of corporate life over private life inevitably occurs (Lam, 1992: 64), whereas such commitment is not necessarily mandatory for female workers who are assigned to menial auxiliary jobs and often seen as homemaker. Men do have reasons for wanting to quit their jobs, but tend to endure for the sake of their families.

Women: Motives for Learning English and Their Lives in Vancouver

Five out of seven female former workers, including Eiko and one current university

student, answered that they wanted to learn English for a future job, and three of them intended to look for a job in Canada or North America. That is, six out of ten female interviewees were attending the ELI to seek a better job. First, I present these six women's purposes for learning English, and their everyday lives in Vancouver. Kuruyo, a 27 year old former clerical worker, wanted to have a job in which she could use English skills, but she thought her English was currently not good enough to be used in business. With that level of English, the available jobs for her would be clerical or as an assistant in a trading company, but she wanted to be a specialist such as a college English instructor, just as Eiko wanted to be an interpreter. In order to get a professional job in which she could use English, she needed to improve her English. "I am so busy studying English that I cannot have time to play around," Kuruyo said. Due to her efforts, Kuruyo was accepted for UBC's diploma course.

Yoshie, a 25 year old former kindergarten teacher, believed that if she could improve her English, she could get a job in Japan which would be more highly valued than her former job. Although she loved her job, she did not want to teach in a kindergarten anymore because the occupation was seen as socially less valued, "People told me how being a teacher in a kindergarten would be easy; just playing with kids, longer vacations, shorter working hours officially (9:00 am to 4:00 pm)." Yoshie needed a job which receives higher recognition from other people. She emphasized that she is not a holidaymaker, "I've been spending the most of the saving to learn English." She felt that attending ELI was not enough to improve her English, and decided to hire an English tutor.

Satsuki, Yumiko and Mami see their future in North America. Satsuki does not think of looking for a job in Japan. "Whichever company I work for, probably the circumstances and situation would be the same," referring to gender discrimination in the workplace. She is thinking of finding a medical related job in Vancouver. In order to find a job in an English

speaking country, she needs to obtain a command of English which is an indispensable tool to live in this country. "I could have attended an English language institute in Japan, but how much can you expect for one hour of class per week? Besides it was very expensive. Here I am surrounded by English, and the tuition fee is lower." This explanation for not attending ELIs in Japan was common among the former working women. Now she is looking for a school in North America where she can learn medicine. Satsuki, who does not think attending the ELI is enough to improve her English, works at a hospital as a volunteer once a week, and participates in softball practice at a community centre, "That way I can get used to spoken English."

Yumiko came to Canada to find a job, possibly at a travel agency. For this purpose she needs to improve her English. Yumiko attended an English language institute in Japan so that she could become a tour conductor²⁴ for travelling abroad. But the tuition fee was too expensive to continue to attend the class - more than a thousand US dollars per month (one class per week), and one class per week was not enough for her to improve her English. When she was working in Japan, her Canadian friend told her about work conditions in Canada. It sounded great. In Canada, workers get paid for overtime work; women can choose jobs. They are not rejected for the positions because of their gender. They do not have to write their ages and put their photographs in their resume. In a job interview, they are not asked about their marriage plans. Yumiko actually experienced how a Canadian company was female-worker-friendly when she worked for a Japanese branch of a Canadian company. "In that Canadian company, even elder female managers of almost retirement age were working. Isn't it wonderful? There was no ageism against female workers, no shoulder tapping on female workers aged over 30." Yumiko sometimes stays up till 3 am to do her homework. She has submitted her immigration

²⁴A tour conductor travels with tourists. The job includes taking care of the tourists, such as helping them check-in/out of hotels, ordering food in restaurants, and tour guiding.

application form to the Canadian government.

Mami, 21, asked for a year's leave from her first-ranked women's university in Japan to learn English in Vancouver. She wants to pursue her career in academics. She is thinking of applying to a graduate program in a North American university, and working as a researcher in North America where, she believes, female researchers and professors are not downtrodden. Mami is busy gathering information on college in North America and employment.

All these six women are thinking about future jobs which could be their lifelong careers. For this goal, they need to improve their English skills. For this purpose, their lives in Vancouver are study-centred. They are full-time ELI students, attending school every day from nine to three, five days a week, and after school they spend hours doing their homework. In addition, they participate in activities such as volunteer work to improve their English.

Three other women's purposes for learning English were not strictly for paid employment. Though Aiko, Yoko, and Eri attend the ELI every day, and study from nine to three o'clock, they do not have specific purposes or needs for obtaining English skills. They are having a good time in a Western country. To learn English abroad was a dream for Yuko, a 21 year old college graduate, and Eri, a 19 year old high school graduate. Both of them have not started their business career, yet. Yuko has been in love with English since she started to learn it, and was longing to use her English in an English speaking country. English is, for Yuko, not a means for getting a job, but a hobby in which she has been seriously involved - a hobby which makes Yuko feel different from "other girls", just like a girl who can play the piano may be seen better than other girls. "If I did not have English skill, I would be like an ordinary girl," she said. Her English skill makes Yuko proud of herself, and gives her confidence.

Eri has been attracted to a foreign country which she has had an image of being "a world of Disneyland, packed with hopes and dreams". Eri also thinks a foreign country is a place

where she could do whatever she wanted without worrying about other people's opinions. She explained, "For example, in Japan, if mini skirts are the vogue now, you have to wear one. Otherwise, other people see you as having lack of sense of fashion." For Eri, "a foreign country" had been an English speaking country, and people in the country were like Tom Cruise or Brad Pitt. "I saw foreign films. The actors in the films were speaking English, and they were so cool," she laughed.

Eri and Yuko's lives in Vancouver are similar. During weekdays, they spend from 9 am to 3 pm in school. After school, Yuko sometimes goes to a movie or shopping. At home, after finishing her homework, she listens to the radio, and watches television in order to improve her English. Instead of going to movies or shopping, Eri returns directly home from school, where she plays with the five children of her homestay family. During weekends, she goes to a gym where she chats with English speaking people. She is happy being surrounded by English.

Both Yuko and Eri's reason for attending the ELI in Vancouver is that they love English, and learning English abroad was their dream. Unlike Mami and the five former working women, these two women did not have direct negative reasons for leaving Japan. They came to Canada because their love for English and their idealized view of the country where the citizens speak English was so strong. When asked what she was going to do after having achieved her dream, Yuko had to take time to reply. She did not have a specific plan for what she is going to do in Japan. "I will find a job to make money, hopefully a job in which I can use my English. If I cannot get such a job, I take any jobs to make money, and with that money I will travel or live in English speaking countries, and enjoy different cultures." Yuko does not seriously think about her career or about using her English skill in business. The most important thing for her is to speak and hear English throughout her life.

Yoko and Eri's pattern of coming to Vancouver to learn English does not fit neither the

functionist's approach nor the feminist approach. They rejected the idea of marriage as women's goal, and did not intend to get married at least for a while. They hope that they can get a job in which they can use English simply because they like English and such jobs look "cool", not because they have found it would be difficult for women to pursue their career in gender culture of organizations in Japan. It was "an idealizing, unrealistic longing for the West" (Kelsky, 1996: 33) that brought them to Vancouver where they have hoped "personal 'emancipation', and the discovery of 'new selves' through Western life styles" (Kelsky, 1996: 29). Interestingly, to both of them, the West means English speaking countries, although Kelsky's definition of the West is not limited to English speaking countries. Both Yoko and Eri were not interested in staying in non-English speaking countries such as France or Italy.

Now that her child has grown up, Aiko, a 50 year old divorcee, who was previously employed in Japan is freed from having to care for her family. "My second life has just started, and I do not want to lose this chance." In Vancouver, she enjoys sketching and visiting art galleries. Her ultimate goal is to teach Japanese or English to underprivileged children in Asia, hoping these language skills help those children make money, and for this goal, she needs English skills. She lives in her elder sister's house in Vancouver. She is thinking of establishing an export company to make her living, "I want to export Canadian goods to Japan. No, I do not have to use English. I'll ship the goods to my brother in Japan." Aiko's decision of attending ELI in Vancouver is explained by the functionist approach. When she was a housewife and her child needed her care, she could not come to Vancouver to learn English, but when she was released from unpaid labour, she could come to Vancouver to enjoy her "second life". A question is, was "to enjoy her second life in Vancouver" the sole reason for quitting her job? She became financially insecure by quitting her job. She does not have a husband on whom she could financially depend. She is thinking of starting a business in Vancouver, but she is not sure

whether the Immigration Canada will accept her as a landed immigrant. Nevertheless, did she dare to quit her job to start a new life in a foreign country which does not seem easy? Or was there another push factor?

Eiko, Kuruyo, Satsuki, Yumiko, Yoshie, and Aiko decided to quit their jobs. Their lives in Vancouver were not as easy as many people would think. Kuruyo is devoting herself solely to studying. Yoshie cried sometimes because her English was not good and the subject of ridicule from her host family and her roommate. Aiko is learning how to use an English-Japanese dictionary, and has difficulties in understanding when an auxiliary verb "be" should be used. Yumiko has to sit up until 3 a.m. to finish her homework. It would be much easier for them to follow a "women's life" in Japan, staying in the workplace till marriage, and once married, working part time. It would be financially and socially more secure. They would have a regular income, not be criticized for being single so long. Mami, a student of the top women's university, decided to work in North America. With that high academic background, she can get a good job in Japan, and does not have to bother going over to a foreign country. Nevertheless, they chose to learn English in a foreign country, paying high tuition fees and living expenses. In the next section, I discuss what made them do this, focusing on their work experiences in Japan. Do they have the same experience as Eiko? Eiko, Kuruyo, and Satsuki said they did not like their jobs, and the other three said they liked their jobs. All of them complained about their working conditions including colleagues and pay. Even Mami who has not started her business career yet knows how difficult it is for women to pursue their career in patriarchal organizations. First of all, I discuss why some of them had to accept jobs which they did not like.

Gender discrimination at recruitment - Limited Job Offers for Women

Gender discrimination at recruitment limits job offers to female job applicants, and

therefore they often reluctantly accept jobs which they do not like. This discourages women from pursuing their careers. Kuruyo, a university graduate (Arts major), said that, except for female students who majored in commerce or science, job offers were quite limited, especially those whose major was art. Available jobs for female art-major students were mainly auxiliary jobs to male workers, and/or "flowers in an office"²⁵. Although some female students liked to be "a flower in an office" as a means to get in a glamorous company and to find husbands who would bring them financial security and higher social status, Kuruyo wanted to get a job which would reflect her bachelors degree. Nevertheless, due to the gender discrimination in recruitment, she ended up accepting a clerical job which she did not like. Mami, a third year university student, shared the same experience as Eiko and Kuruyo.

Only less than 10% of my female friends have been informally promised employment, whereas most of my male friends have already been. Female students have a hard time to find jobs. If you are a male student, especially those who major in science, companies contact you. These boys do not have to bother writing to or visit a company to get a job application kit. (Mami)

More than fifteen years ago, when I was a fourth year humanities student, I visited several companies for job interviews, and had the same experience as Eiko and Kuruyo. Women who lived alone were not accepted since those companies were concerned about women's morality (!) and safety. Banks in my hometown employed female high school graduates and college graduates, but not university graduates. The interviews with Eiko and Kuruyo suggest that such gender discrimination in recruitment is still exercised today, even after the Equal Employment Opportunity Law was passed in 1985. Most employers have not been positive in hiring women to perform the same tasks as male university graduates (Fujimura-Fanselow,

²⁵Creighton defines "*shokuba no hana*" as female workers who "[are] given only routine jobs and seldom allow to enter the career track." (Creighton, 1996). These women are expected to be cheerful and beautiful, and brighten an office as flowers in a vase do, but are not expected to be or given chances to be real assets to the company.

1996). Osawa's research examined reasons for the firms' differential treatment of male and female university graduates in Japan; the most popular reason (56%) chosen by the firms was "shorter anticipated tenure for women" (Osawa, 1987: 10). Since Japanese women are not expected to be breadwinners in their families, but normatively expected to take care of their husbands and children, and to quit when they have a baby (see Rosenberger, 1996), women are excluded from mainstream career jobs. Employers' anticipation based on gendered division of labour, however, is a mere excuse for their gender discriminatory practices, pretending they are the victims of women's whimsical participation in the labour force before getting married. These employers ignore diversity among women, associate all women with the private sphere, and justify men's superiority in the public sphere.

Eiko and Kuruyo took any available jobs for the time being to make money. However, as these were not jobs they wanted to do, Eiko and Kuruyo were dissatisfied with their jobs from the start. Kuruyo's job included planning seminars, filing, photocopying thousands of documents, answering the phone, typing, and killing time. Kuruyo, like Eiko, could not get intrinsic (non-instrumental) rewards from her job - no sense of achievement, nor personal growth. "I felt that I had become stupid since I started to work in the company, and it was frustrating, considering the years and the tuition fees I spent for the education," said Kuruyo who studied hard in a "not bad university". Kuruyo and Eiko have several similarities; they graduated from good universities, were career-minded, and assigned to the dead-end jobs.

Sex-Segregated Job: Woman Had to Work Harder and Were Paid Less

Satsuki, Yumiko and Yoshie were lucky enough to get interesting jobs in which they could use their knowledge, but were forced to work under tougher conditions. Satsuki, now 29, could get a job in which she thought she could utilize the knowledge obtained from her

university education. Her job was to give the employees medical advice, and manage the individual employees' health data, such as blood pressure. Her job was certainly different from "OLs' (office ladies') jobs" such as photocopying and typing documents for their male co-workers. But it turned out that error checking of the medical data of the 15,000 employees made up most of her job. The data were entered into the computer, and Satsuki looked at the unusual numbers and checked whether the numbers were correct and the employee had a medical problem, or their designation was caused by a typing mistake. Medical knowledge was required to check the errors, but it was more like bookkeeping, monotonous and time-consuming. She had to look up the original document for the correct number, and sometimes had to look up the documents of three years ago to know the person's medical history. "It was not a difficult job, but think about the total number of employees and their records over the years! Sometimes the total hours of overtime work a month were 50 hours", and she was the only person in the office who did the job. Her job was a responsible one, and required certain medical skills, but among the jobs in the health department, her job was routine, less creative. Other workers, mainly men, in the health care department were allotted to more creative jobs such as doing research on how to improve the employees' health. Compared with her job, their jobs were more challenging, and less labour intensive. These employees could give suggestions to the management regarding the employees' health care, and their suggestions were put into practice. They got intrinsic rewards - recognition, appreciation from others and feeling of achievement, whereas Satsuki did not. She thought that she could have used her knowledge more effectively if she had been assigned to that position rather than to the employees' medical record keeping. Satsuki's case is an example of gender segregation in the same occupation in which women are less likely to be assigned to higher ranks (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986). Even more discouraging for her was the fact that her male colleagues' salaries were higher than hers, in spite

of the fact that their tasks were less painstaking. Satsuki had been doing this job for five years without a single promotion. Thus, both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards Satsuki obtained were less than her male colleagues'.

Yumiko, a 27 year old university graduate, worked as a "*kaunta ledii* (counter lady)" for a big name travel agent in Japan. Her job was to answer inquiries about travelling from people who phoned or came to the office. As the job title suggests, the employees allotted to this job were all women. They were not assistants to their male co-workers. She liked the content of her job, but did not think she was paid fairly. Her company's official business hours were from 10 am to 6 pm, but Yumiko had to go to her office at 9 am so that she could make reservations for airline tickets. She did not get paid for this morning overtime work. The counter ladies had to work till 9 or 10 pm, and they were not allowed to take a break except one hour for lunch time; eating supper was out of the question. "In the evening I was so hungry and thirsty. We were allowed to have tea in a different room, but in reality we could not because we were so busy answering phones and customers' questions", Yumiko explained. Yumiko was too busy to go to the bathroom. She sometimes got cystitis.

Some aspects of Yumiko's job were better than Kuruyo's "office lady job" in that her job consisted of a variety of tasks, she could learn new skills and use them, and did not have to kill time. But the job was physically more exhausting, and less rewarding. The company did not pay the counter ladies for their overtime work, though the male salespersons got paid for it. Those salesmen took bigger orders for group travelling, such as school excursions, or tours for company employees (*shain ryoko*), and received sales commissions according to their sales. Strangely, the counter ladies were not paid sales commissions, although they sold package tours or airline tickets to individual customers. These salesmen had much free time during office hours because they visited schools and companies only. Some salesmen took advantage of it

and went to a sauna during office hours, and returned to the office, feeling refreshed. Nobody complained about it. In other words, in this company, men got paid better for easier jobs and women had to work longer with less payment under harder working conditions.

Yoshie, now 25, liked her job as a kindergarten teacher. "I enjoyed the job. I think it was the job worth doing. All of the teachers were women, and we got along very well." But Yoshie had to work overtime without pay. For example, the teachers in her kindergarten had to weed the garden for three hours after business hours; they had periodically to visit the children's families after work. For those extra work hours they did not get paid. They were not given paid holidays, either. In case she could not work due to illness, some amount of money was deducted from her no-absence allowance²⁶. Although she loved her job, it was a female job ghetto in terms of longer working hours without pay, and no prospect for promotion. Full time employees are usually given paid holidays, and get paid higher for overtime work, but in order to reduce the cost and increase the benefit, the principal took his employees' rights away and exploited the teachers. A company's garden is usually taken care of by hired gardeners who are, of course, paid, but the principal ordered the teachers to do that free of charge. There were two male bus drivers in her kindergarten. They were retired men, and except for the hours when they drove the bus twice a day, they just sat and had a chat. They asked the teachers to serve them tea, asked them private questions such as "When are you going to marry?". The two bus drivers got paid better than the teachers though their working hours were shorter. The kindergarten where women dominated in numbers was like a patriarchal family where the principal and the two bus drivers were husbands, and order their wife (wives) to do house chores for free.

Satsuki, Yumiko and Yoshie worked hard, and they were always busy. Their jobs were

²⁶A type of monthly allowance given to a worker who did not absent her/himself from the office for a month.

not menial, and required certain knowledge in their fields. However, compared with her male coworkers, Satsuki's job was routine, and she was not promoted; Yumiko and Yoshie had to work overtime without pay under company policy that was generous to the male salespersons. In Yumiko's company, sex-segregation was overtly exercised - extrinsically rewarding jobs for men, demanding but less financially rewarding jobs for women. Prevailing notions of the cheapness of female labour (Mills, 1988b) could lead to this exploitation of female workers. Martins-Crane et al. (1995) argue that organizational structuring creates positions for women where they are expected to be less central than their male counterparts. Satsuki and Yumiko's cases show that they were not only less central but also they were made to do a lot of hard work.

If a woman was assigned to the same job as a man, and if she liked her job, would she be satisfied with her job? Here is a story of a business woman who did the same job as her male colleagues. Aiko, 50, worked as a sales woman in a trading company. She sold to department stores the products her company imported. She loved her job; it was creative in a sense that she developed her own sales tactics, and it was never boring. The job gave her the feeling of achievement when her sales went up and her clients praised her ability. "I was good", Aiko said. She was a competent sales woman. She was happy with the intrinsic rewards (i.e. use of ability, creativity, feeling of achievement) from her work, but felt she was treated unfairly.

She was more likely than her male colleagues to be assigned to clients with problems, such as a deficit-burdened department store, or department stores in smaller cities in different prefectures. In a small city, where its population was smaller than a big city, the purchases from department stores were smaller than those in bigger cities. A department store with a deficit did not purchase as much as a department store without a deficit. With these troublesome departments Aiko expected only smaller sales contracts, and she had to get more sales contracts to fulfill her sales quota than those who were in charge of department stores in big cities.

Her male colleagues covered much easier areas - department stores in their own city, or big cities. "Their jobs were much easier than mine. They just made a phone call to the departments and got the order equivalent to US \$200,000. The men did not have to do market research for they knew what types of people live in their own city. In some big cities, due to their large population, sales were naturally high. But in a small city in a different prefecture, I had to start with research on what kind of people live there and what they want. As the department stores are usually smaller in small cities, the contract I usually got was for US \$40,000. In the case the sales quota was \$200,000, I had to get five \$40,000 contracts, whereas for a sales person in charge of big department stores, one contract could be enough to fulfill the quota." Her annual income was \$32,000, whereas her male colleagues were, in general, paid more than \$50,000. When she complained to the chief of the sales department, he explained to her that she was assigned to tough clients because women could show much delicacy of feeling for others, and had the ability to investigate things very carefully. By applying the stereotype of women in a work setting, he not only justified his unfair treatment of Aiko, but also attributed her success with her tough clients to her gender, and not her ability as a salesperson. As Pollert (1981) argues in the case of female workers, qualities which require obvious skill are relegated to 'natural' and untrained 'aptitudes' in women. Aiko's sales skills were regarded as characteristics any women naturally possess, and therefore were not supposed to be highly evaluated and not reflected in her pay. This interpretation seems to be applied only to women's traits. For instance, if a male sales person's aggressiveness, which is often said to be a men's trait brought him successful sales, his supervisor would not attribute his success to his gender trait. Aiko's case is quite similar to Tallbert and Bose's (1977) study of retail sales clerks. They found that male retail sales clerks tended to be assigned to the section in which more expensive merchandise was sold, and therefore, earned more than female clerks. The explicit unfairness

against women workers in terms of evaluation and rewards would create stronger dissatisfaction among them when they witness their male counterparts being rewarded handsomely for easier jobs.

Yumiko, a former counter lady, and Aiko were forced to work under harder working conditions than their male colleagues and their efforts were not recognized, or were taken for granted by their company, and therefore they did not receive extrinsic rewards that should reflect their work. "Positive contributions women make to the workplace have been ignored; by monetary standards, women are less successful than men" (Martins-Crane et al, 1995:35), and Yumiko and Aiko's cases were not exception. As fairness perceptions have strong correlations with job satisfaction (Witt and Nye, 1992) both Yumiko and Aiko's job satisfactions were apparently quite low.

Yumiko, Eiko, Kuruyo, Satsuki, and Aiko all experienced gender discriminatory policies in the organizations. But the gender discriminatory policies were not the only source of Satsuki's anger, which is discussed in the next section.

Sex-Stereotype in an Office

Itzin (1995) defines sex-stereotype in organizations as follows, ". . . women are perceived, characterized and stereotyped as inherently fit for their sexually determined roles and status and unfit for the positions of power and influence held by men" (p.50). In her study, the women were commonly found in roles of servicing men - the tea maker or helpmates or adornments. Unfortunately for female workers, many male workers expect their female counterparts to be their wives and mothers who take care of their "husbands" and "sons" in the organization. Satsuki had to play the role of a wife or a housemaid. Satsuki not only had to serve coffee, which was made following the individual workers' taste (i.e. with/out cream,

with/out sugar, etc.), to the colleagues at certain times of day, but also had to buy coffee beans and coffee filters. This did not mean that she could purchase coffee beans at any shop. She had to go to the shop that had a bargain sale of coffee beans, "just like a housewife does", Satsuki said. Even when Satsuki was too busy to serve coffee, a male employee pestered her to serve him a cup of coffee. When Satsuki declined, explaining to him that she was too busy, the employee mockingly responded her, "Oh, how scary, scary."

I do not mean that I don't want to serve coffee to my colleagues. When my colleague looked tired, and I had time to serve him coffee, I would do it. I think this is natural consideration towards others. But such a consideration is expected in women only, not men; I have not been served coffee by my male colleagues. And when I turned down the request for coffee serving, I was regarded as a hysterical unfeminine woman. (Satsuki)

Satsuki also had to wipe individual desks in her office every morning, just as a housewife cleans her house. One busy morning, Satsuki protested, "Today, I am so busy that I do not have time to clean your desks." A male employee reproved her "But you are a girl²⁷, aren't you?" Satsuki, so furious at his remarks, put the cloth on his desk, implying "Do it yourself". His response was the same as the man who asked her to serve coffee and was refused, "Ah, scary, scary." Male workers generally take it for granted that female workers should conduct house chores in the workplace as wives or housemaids are expected to do, and if the women did not, the men criticize the women as unfeminine. In the workplace, how well women provide domestic-like service to men seems a more important measure than skills to evaluate women workers.

In July and December, gifts from companies with which her department had business relations were sent to her department. If her section received a box of confectionaries, Satsuki had to serve the sweets to individual employees. "Sometimes people send us a whole round cake,

²⁷In companies, female workers are often categorized as "girl" regardless of their ages.

or something you have to cut it into pieces. The worst one was a pineapple. I had to peel them and cut into bite-size, put them on individual small plates, deliver them to individual desks, and wash the plates." As her section received many summer/winter gifts, she had to remember individual "Best before . . ." dates in order to serve the sweets/foods before they went bad. Thus, Satsuki's job included a role of a kitchen maid. On Valentine's day, she had to buy pieces of chocolate for her male workers just as a lover does. "I did not want to do it, but when I did not, I was criticized that I was not feminine." She also had to buy a birthday cake on the birthdays of individual coworkers (including herself) just as a mother does. The expenses were shared by the colleagues, but serving cake or chocolate was her role.

Satsuki thought her primary role in the workplace as an employee, but other members in her section regarded her primary role as a woman. Nieva and Gutek (1981) called it "sex role spillover", meaning the runaway expectations based on gender in the workplace. Mills (1988b), referring to Clegg's scheme (1981) for the analysis of organizational life, argues gender is one of the cultural identities which guide expectations, and it is often associated with the traditional patriarchal family type - wife, husband, daughter, son, housemaid, or lover. Gender is such a strong aspect of identity that even in a situation where a gender identity should be ignored, gender is salient. For example, a female computer programmer identifies herself as a computer programmer in her workplace, but for her co-workers her identity might be that of a woman who is supposed to take care of her male co-workers, just like a wife. She does not want to play a "wife" role in the workplace, but some male employees seem to practice "husband" roles in the office, and expect her to act like their "wife" or "lover".

This happens in the academic world. Mami, a university student, told why she wanted to work in an academic world in North America. In Japan, she learned, in the conferences and the after-conference-parties which she attended, male professors expected female professors as

well as female students to serve foods and drink to them. "My friends were used like a maid", Mami said disgustedly. One of the female professors in her university often talked to Mami about the academic world, and the professor's story was discouraging to those who want to pursue a career in a university. She told Mami that she had to do errands for her male colleagues (male professors). The errands included buying cigarettes, and going to the post office. "Her job was like a secretary rather than a scholar," Mami analysed. Due to this extra work imposed by her male colleagues, this female professor could not use her hours for her own study at the university. In order to avoid being used by male professors, she had to study at home. Regardless of her high position as an associate professor, her main status in the university was that of a second sex. Being a woman, she was supposed not to argue against male professors, so she did not complain to them. Mami felt that it would be less frustrating to pursue her career as a researcher or professor in North America. In order to do this, she needs to improve her English, and participate in a graduate program in North America.

Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is another obstacle for women. Many people think that sexual physical assault is a crime, but verbal sexual remarks or little touching are often not taken as harassment. Harassers would refuse to admit it as harassment by insisting that it create a friendly relationship. Harasser's usual justification is "It is a mere joke," and their suffering is denied by the harassers and sometimes the bystanders, even though women suffer from men's sexual advances (Scully and Marolla, 1984; Bohner and Schwarz, 1996; Kelly and Radford, 1996). But in spite of men insisting on the 'joking' or 'friendly' aspect of their behaviour and remarks, they are engaged in sexual harassment by Hadjifoutiou's definition.

... all those actions and practices by a person or group of people at work which are directed at one or more workers and which: are repeated and unwanted; may be deliberate or done unconsciously; cause humiliation, offence or distress; may interfere with job performance or create an unpleasant working environment; comprise remarks or actions associated with a person's sex; emphasize a person's sexuality over her role as worker. (Hadjifoutiou, 1983: 9)

They are serious and create significant stress for the sexual targets.

Kuruyo, a former clerical worker, was asked for a personal relationship by a senior managing director who offered her a job. Her father asked the managing director to give her a job, and he did it because her father's company had business relations with the director's company. The director took Kuruyo to lunch and dinner, and advised her not to tell other people that they had dined together. Kuruyo turned down such personal meetings, but he would not listen to her. In the company, he often phoned her to come to his office, where she had to have a chat with him sitting side by side on a couch. Kuruyo was afraid of his advances towards her, but could not say no to the requests from a man who gave her the job, and she was too ashamed of herself to tell her father about it. "Why me? I was employed to work, not to entertain him." The senior managing director offered her a job, and in exchange, implicitly asked her for a relationship. He had power, and Kuruyo, who had just graduated from a university, and who was placed at the bottom of the hierarchy in the organization, did not. She was so naive that she could not voice her anger.

As with Eiko's case, sexual harassment was not limited to workers in the same organization, sometimes also coming from a client's employees. In Satsuki's company, the female employees had to serve alcohol to male coworkers and male clients at a year-end party. Satsuki sat next to one of the clients, serving beer and entertaining him. The man took advantage of his position as a client. He asked her a series of embarrassing questions such as "Are you a virgin?", "Is your boyfriend's thing big?" Satuski said, "Now I think back, it was verbal sexual harassment. But at the time, I just did not want to upset my client, so I evaded his

rude questions with jokes such as 'Mr. B, I am still single, so I do not know anything about such things.'" Watching Satsuki and the client, her co-workers thought that Satsuki was good at handling him, and assigned her to entertain that man at annual parties. In that way, other "girls" would not fall victim to the man. Nobody helped Satsuki out.

Eiko, Kuruyo, and Satsuki were embarrassed and angry, but they tried to be patient for the sake of their company or their position, while the men simply enjoyed women obediently responding to their verbal sexual assault. Unlike rape, verbal sexual assault does not cause physical harm, but like rape, it forces women to accept humiliation, and damages them mentally. If women resisted, the men would use their power to silence them, like a rapist. I have the same experience as these three women. When I was just employed as a part time worker, a man in the same office made sexual remarks to me. "Your body is like Jell-O", "You must be happy to have such nice clothes," while stroking my shoulder. Once he showed me photographs he had taken of nude women. The man talked about women's genital size, and the smell of his wife's panties. I could not say anything to him for a while.

If Kuruyo and Satsuki had complained to the men, would they have changed their behaviour? Voicing one's anger or their suffering is an effective means to improve the situation. Giving a woman a voice is the slogan of feminists whose purpose is to liberate women from men's oppression (see Smith, 1990). By voicing their feelings, women can let men know the unfairness of patriarchal society. However, as Eiko's experiences indicate, voicing does not work as much as these scholars expected. First, men who have power can easily invalidate women's protests. Dominant groups block subordinates' freedom of expression and action (Miller, 1976).

When Eiko protested against the client's sexual remarks, her protest was invalidated by her senior co-worker, who "taught" her that what she called sexual harassment was culture.

What Eiko's senior worker said implied that verbal sexual harassment was a norm and value in Japanese society. If a man made some blatant sexual remarks to a woman, the woman should not resent it. Instead, she should respond to them amicably, and flirt with him. A woman who is upset with them does not conform to the norm. She may be regarded as a norm-violator, in other words, a deviant who needs to be punished or to be educated so that she behaves according to the social norm. The bus drivers of Yoshie's kindergarten asked Yoshie annoying questions such as "Could I kiss you?"²⁸, and put their arms around her shoulder. Yoshie said, "No", and they yelled at her even in front of the children. When she finally told them not to touch her, they would not talk to her for a year. Yoshie brought her complaint to the principal, who listened to her, and did not say anything to the drivers. When one of her co-workers touched Eiko's breast with *omanju*, and she got angry, her female colleague explained her behaviour to the man, saying that Eiko was different from "us". The woman labelled Eiko a deviant who did not understand the norm. Not only verbal sexual harassment, but also physical sexual harassment was a part of gender culture in the organizations. Unfortunately, not only men but also some women have already internalized and have taken for granted this aspect of culture.

I did protest to the man who said sexual things to me, and the following was the result.

The man was furious.

"Don't you understand the jokes?" He blamed me for my "misinterpretation", "The Jell-O joke was just a push for you (he assumed that I like the push) because you are still single (I was then 25 years old), and don't make eyes to me."

When I told him not to touch me, he could not understand it.

"Why? I didn't know that I couldn't touch you."

"If your wife was touched by her male co-workers what would you feel?"

²⁸In Japan, kissing is sexual.

"Of course, it is disgusting," he said angrily.

It was all right for him to touch his female subordinate, but it was a misdemeanour for other men to touch his wife. The other male worker was present during this fight. I wanted him to know what the man had done to me, and criticize his behaviour. But the other man played dumb, pretending to concentrate on his reading; he did not say a word, was just listening. I ended up seeking help from other male workers who I thought I could rely on. They were sympathetic, but shocking advice from one of them was "You can quit." Why would I have to quit? I did nothing wrong. He explained to me that the man had much knowledge and experience about his job, and I was just another part-timer. My exit from the company would be the simplest way to solve this problem. A woman in another department was critical about me, "Why are you making a fuss over such trivial matters. Men like sexual jokes. If you don't like them, just ignore them." Sexual "jokes" were not funny, they were disgusting, and at the same time, it tremendously lowered my self-worth, but these women advised me to get used to the "jokes." Thus, I was taught that my reaction to the man was wrong. Accepting male workers' sexual jokes was a norm. Imagining having to work with him till my retirement (or till his retirement), I felt hopeless in my career, and quit the job.

Most male workers usually behave themselves, with only a few sexual harassers in the workplace. However, the existence of even one harasser is enough to cause a nuisance to women. In addition, as Eiko, Satsuki and my cases show, other good men in the workplace seldom offer help. They are bystanders, avoiding being involved with trouble. We had to fight for ourselves, and were defeated miserably. Voicing anger was not effective in a patriarchal gender culture in the organizations. If a woman wanted to keep her job, managing to dodge them (for instance, by avoiding them, but how?) would be less risky. If they became intolerable, all she could do was to quit, instead of voicing. A woman's quitting would not affect the

organization. Female workers are usually assigned to menial job, and the supply of young female workers outnumbers the demand (job offers).

Patriarchy and Hierarchy: Women should not get ahead of men

Today, people are supposed to have the right to openly reject and criticize discriminatory conduct based on gender because gender equality is widely discussed and promoted by media and among individuals. But men would defend their culture to protect their dominance over women; they would seriously attack the women who violate patriarchy, using various methods that include punishment, or devaluation of the women.

[M]ale workers may convince themselves that a woman who commits such occupational deviance deserves "whatever she gets." As an extension of the notion that she has disdained male "protection", such a woman may be treated as "fair game" for whatever assaults - verbal or physical, sexual or otherwise - male workers decide to "dish out". In such a situation, then, a specific imputation of deviance to the women is used to "justify" diverse forms of male deviance directed towards her (Schur, 1984: 65).

These methods of punishing women can "sap [the] women's strength, autonomy and sense of self" (Kelly and Radford, 1996:29) to the extent that the targeted women would leave the organizations.

Miya (1993)'s research provides us with an example in an office situation. In Japan, a woman who worked in a publishing company suffered severely from rumours created by her male supervisor. She worked so hard that she obtained credit from her many clients. Her supervisor, who was jealous of her success, started to spread rumours about her. He told other workers that she was sexually loose, and that she should have worked in a bar²⁶. He felt his position was threatened by her ability, and tried to get rid of her from the workplace by

²⁶In Japan, female worker's jobs at bars are generally seen as very sexual (i.e. kissing, touching, telling sexual jokes).

slandering and isolating her from other workers. From his viewpoint, she had transgressed the border of what female workers should be, and she had to go back to "her place". Since he could not simply fire the capable worker, he created an image of her as an immoral woman so that he could punish (fire) her, claiming that she got many clients because she slept with them, and that her pay was raised because she slept with the section chief. Thus, women who threaten patriarchy are confronted by men's hostility. Men would even penalize women "if they do their jobs well - in some cases, because they do their jobs well" (Heilman, 1996:16).

Aiko's success as a sales person incurred her co-workers' displeasure. They stopped giving her useful business information. Each sales person had precise information on his clients (department stores), such as when they were going to have a bargain or special sales. Such information was valuable for the sales persons to decide when they should offer the goods to certain department stores. The male sales persons exchanged information among them, but they would not with Aiko.

In the Yoshie's kindergarten, the principal told his employees that he would welcome their suggestions, but when Yoshie actually gave him suggestions or complaints, he did not appreciate them at all. He tried to change the subject by telling her "Have you gained weight?", "Your breasts are small.", "When are you going to marry?". He emphasized her sex over her role as a teacher. The principal used the sexual comments on her when his position was threatened. In Yoshie's case, sexual harassment, which is a powerful tool to control female members in an organization (Mills, 1988; Burrell, 1984), was used as "a warning to a woman stepping out of her proper place. . . .It is a controlling gesture . . . to remind her 'you're only a woman, that's the way I see you'" (Cockburn, 1991).

Conclusion

All fourteen students I interviewed replied that they had come to Vancouver to learn English, but their reasons for learning English were various. The purpose of three men who were either a student or just graduated in Japan was to have a good time in a foreign city before starting a business career. A female university student and the five female former workers' reason for learning English was to get a better job or work in Canada. All of these women experienced or heard about patriarchal gender culture in organizations in Japan. The former working women suffered from gender culture in multiple ways, for instance, a combination of gender discrimination, sex-stereotyping and sexual harassment. Their protests were ignored, and they were sometimes punished because they refused to conform to the gender norm. Kay and Hagan (1995) found in their research on female lawyers that if they got paid well, they would stay in the workplace even though the jobs were not interesting. None of the seven Japanese women I interviewed said that their pay was lucrative. Their experiences made them decide to leave their companies and learn English so that they could work in an environment where gender culture would be less powerful. Their attending the ELI in Vancouver was not a vacation before getting married. Among the female former employees, only one woman attended the ELI without a specific purpose, and she spends every day leisurely.

In summary, the functionist approach was suitable to explain three men without work experience, and the feminist approach was appropriate to explain former working women's learning English in Vancouver. Neither of these two approaches could explain two unemployed women's processes of learning English in Vancouver; Yoko and Eri enjoyed learning English but without a specific purpose, and they did not have a plan to become housewives in the near future. They have been longing for living in an idealized western country and surrounded by English speaking people. The number of such dreamers among my interviewees was only two,

but among my study population the number of the dreamers might not be so small, considering that some subjects were, like Yoko and Eri, under twenty, and did not have work experience.

It should be added here that although gender culture in organizations does not negatively affect men, they are not always treated well in organizations. They, too, suffer from corporate culture which demands commitment from male workers. Masao's reason for learning English in Vancouver was to have a more balanced life, which he could not have when he was a corporate man. He could get both extrinsic and intrinsic rewards from his company, but his private life with his family deteriorated. Unlike most businessmen who tolerate it for financial reason, Masao decided to quit, and live in Canada where he wishes to find a modest job and spend more time with his family. However, the number of men who quit their jobs and attend an ELI in a foreign country for the same reason as Masao's would be small because, as the three young male interviewees replied, men are responsible for feeding their families.

Chapter 7. CONCLUSION

I conducted research to investigate why so many young women from Japan learn English in Vancouver. Spending holidays in a foreign city such as Paris or New York, has been a popular activity among young working women, and women's learning English abroad is also counted as vacation. When I was in Japan, I often heard men saying about those women, "I envy women leading carefree lives, whereas we, men, are pressed by work." This could be true: men as corporate men and breadwinners cannot easily take long vacations or quit their jobs to travel abroad. However, instead of accepting that interpretation, I wanted to also examine young women's attending ELI abroad from a feminist viewpoint. In these days many women attend higher education with the purpose of pursuing their career. Nevertheless, organizations in Japan are still male-centred, and women are still marginalized. Regardless of their credentials, women tend to be assigned to menial jobs with fewer opportunities for promotion; the percentage of female section chiefs is as low as 2%, and the percentage of the organization which have female section chiefs is only 19% (Sorifu, 1993). I worked at a company in Japan for seven years, and no female employees were promoted. Women were expected to quit when they get married or have a child. After I quit the company, I went to a job interview. The president of the company told me that instead of looking for a job, I should get married because it was the source of women's happiness. It is not surprising if women were disappointed with gender discriminatory policies and sexism in the workplace, and quit their workplaces to look for an alternate means to pursue their career.

I set two hypothetical answers to my research question based on two theories. The first answer was that women who were attending ELIs in Vancouver were holidaymakers, and their having a long expensive vacation is normatively acceptable due to their social status: young

unmarried women who will get married in a few years. Japan has maintained a traditional division of labour in which women are homemakers and men are breadwinners. This social norm releases women from taking financial responsibility for family and allows them to financially depend on their husband after they get married. In other words, gender division of labour frees women from the obligation of participating in full time lifelong paid employment and lets them have more free time for fun than men have before getting married. The gendered division of labour, on the other hand, restricts men from leaving their paid labour, and does not allow married women to take a long break from their domestic responsibility. This would be the reason why more young women than men and married women attend ELIs in a foreign country. The second hypothetical answer was that Japanese women would seriously need to obtain English language skills for getting a good job. For this purpose they would pay a huge amount of money to learn English in Vancouver. I assumed that gender culture in organizations makes it more difficult for women than men to get a job which offers satisfying extrinsic/intrinsic rewards. Women who experienced gender discrimination in organizations would 1) acquire more education and training than required of the non-discriminated group, or 2) go into independent employment as professionals (Peitchinis, 1989). Learning English in Vancouver would be a means to acquire more education or to become an independent professional such as a translator.

The survey data from my research indicates the female Japanese students (84%) outnumbered their male counterparts (16%). None of the female students were married, and only two men among 13 male respondents had worked full-time in Japan. This data supports my assumption that married women and working men who are responsible for homemaking or breadwinning were less likely to go to a foreign country to learn English, but in order to confirm this, it is necessary to obtain data from those groups of people regarding whether they want to

learn English abroad and why they do not take any action.

Twenty-four percent of the former working women chose "agree" or "strongly agree" to the statement, "If I had been satisfied with my job, I would not have come to Vancouver to learn English. Since this percentage is not high, it gives an impression that the majority of the women came to Canada because of the pull factor only, without push factors in Japan. However, the survey data regarding their experiences in their workplaces indicate that they had dissatisfaction with their jobs, and the average score of their job satisfaction was 3 out of 6. This could imply that the pull factor might not have been the sole reason for these former working women's decision. The most common reason for quitting was that they did not like their jobs (boring, not suitable to their abilities). Three former working women whom I interviewed said they had to work overtime without pay. Besides, 63% of the former working women replied that they had heard sexual jokes at their workplaces, and 37% of the respondents experienced uninvited sexual advances by male workers or clients. In my interviews the former working women said that they had been fed up with being seen as sex objects and used like housemaids in their office by sexist male coworkers, senior workers, and supervisors. Thus, their negative experiences in their workplaces might have influenced their decision to learn English abroad.

There was a group of female ELI students in my research whom the feminist approach and the concept of gender culture in organizations cannot explain. They were students or those who have just graduated from school and did not have full-time paid work experience. They had not experienced gender discrimination in organizations, and did not intend to get married soon. Matsui (1994) labels Japanese women who study abroad as exiles from a sexist culture, but they did not seem to be aware of a sexist aspect of Japanese culture yet. Their motive for learning English in a foreign country was more likely to come from their "idealizing, unrealistic longing for the West" (Kelsky, 1996: 33). None of my male interviewees expressed such

"longing" for a western country. Since the number of interviewees was small, it cannot be generalized that more women than men tend to idealize the West. If they did, social factors other than gender discrimination in organizations and gender division of labour should be sought to explain Japanese women's tendency of idealizing the West.

In summary, the findings from my research were 1) more women than men attended the ELI, 2) the male students were more vacation oriented than oriented to obtaining English skills, 3) some of female former workers have negative work experiences, and 24% of the former working women replied that they would not have come to Vancouver to learn English if they were satisfied with their jobs, 4) thirty-four percent of the female respondents wanted to have a job in which English skills are required. The interviews I conducted indicate the feminist approach could be applied to the former working women, and functionist approach to the men. However, there was a female vacationer who took advantage of gender division of labour, and there were dreamers. Therefore, it cannot be generalized that all women learn English in Vancouver because of gender culture in organizations, but some women, especially those who have stronger career-orientation, clearly do. Cockburn argues, "[Men] generate *institutional* impediments to stall women's advance in organizations. At a *cultural* level they foster solidarity between men and sexualize, threaten, marginalize, control and divide women" (1991: 215). Because of this, some Japanese working women quit their jobs and attend an ELI in a foreign country. Although Japanese women began to voice their complaints about the institutional impediments and male workers' exercising their power over their female counterparts, women's power in organizations is still not strong enough to persuade organizations and men to change their policies and behaviour. A reason for this is that, as Eiko's case shows, many female workers have internalized gender culture, and do not question it. The female former workers I interviewed were loners, who had voiced their anger in their organizations and had not been

able to get support from their colleagues. Sensitizing female workers about gender discrimination in organizations and encouraging them to critically look at how they are treated in organizations will be the first step towards increasing female workers' solidarity and their power against patriarchal gender culture. Otherwise, the number of Japanese women who are considering attending an ELI in a foreign country as a means to pursue their career might not decrease.

Suggestions for English Language Program

ELIs are for students from various countries, and their purposes for learning English in Vancouver vary - from having a good time in a foreign country while learning English to applying for a university. Not all of them learn English to get a job. However, since a relatively high percentage of my female subjects turned out to want to get a job in which English skills are required, probably some other students might learn English for the same purpose. To meet their needs, courses which teach business related skills as well as courses which are aimed to improve students' general English skills will be appreciated by students. It will be difficult for students with lower English skills to learn to write business letters, but they can learn typing, and how to use computer programs such as Word Perfect or EXCEL, although offering a computer course to students is costly. Not only computers, but also software, larger desks for computer need to be purchased. Probably Japanese students know a Japanese word processing program, but would not have the chance to see or use an English word processing program, which would be necessary skills for those who want to work at a foreign affiliate company or to become a translator or English teacher. I used to work at an export department, and skills of using a word processing software in English version was a must, and I seldom used a Japanese word processing program. EXCEL is a popular spread sheet program in Japan, but Japanese people

use a Japanese version in which commands are written in Japanese. Learning an English version of EXCEL is helpful for those who want to work in an English speaking country. Another merit for the students of taking a computer course is that they can write it in their resume, giving the employers a concrete idea of what the applicants can do, whereas general English skills such as communication or reading are too vague for the employers to estimate the applicants' abilities. Business related programs are often offered by business college such as Pitman, but if ELIs can offer these programs, students do not have to bother attending a business college which usually set certain English level for the applicants (e.g. required TOEFL score, 480). For students with advanced English skills, more challenging courses such as business letter writing will be useful as a business skill while they learn English.

Suggestions for Further Research

I have two suggestions for further research: 1) research on women who return to Japan after finishing the courses in ESL in Vancouver, and 2) research on ESL students from Korea or Taiwan. The first suggestion stems from a question, "But do English skills sell?" The women in my research regarded English skills as very useful, whereas organizations do not seem to. The majority of my research subjects answered that they were learning English so that they could get a better job when they returned to Japan, but what percentage of those women can get "a better job" is questionable. In Matsubara's interview, male representatives of Sony, Suntry, NEC, NTT, Tokyo Bank, and IBM undervalued English skills. Their opinions are summarized as follows: Female job applicants often emphasize their English skills, but we do not employ people simply because they can speak English. English was a highly valuable skills ten years ago, but now English skills as well as computer knowledge have become common, and therefore do not appeal to employers (Matsubara, 1989: 90-100).

A sad fact is that learning English abroad for a year at ESL does not guarantee that students can improve their English to the level required in business or translating jobs. One of my female interviewees went to a job interview after she returned to Japan, and was disappointed, being told by a job interviewer that her English level was not high enough to be used in the organization, "There are so many people like you who attended an ELI in a foreign country, and say they can speak English, but their level of English is not satisfactory." The woman returned to her previous occupation, and works part-time. She wrote me, "I am frustrated; I do not have chances to use English, and my English abilities are getting lower. The job is all right, but the part-time employee status makes me feel insecure. I wish I go back to Canada." Three female Japanese former roommates of mine wrote me the same. They had worked full time before they came to Canada, and after returning to Japan, they work part time, and want to come back to Canada. How many women who return to Japan did successfully get a job they wanted, and how many wish to go back to Canada again and for what purpose? Are there gender related social factors which make them feel like going back to Canada instead of staying in their own country? These questions have not been answered yet.

The second suggestion is to study ESL students from Korea and Taiwan. The representatives of ELIs in Vancouver whom I talked with said South Korean or Taiwanese students outnumbered Japanese students, and the number of the female students were larger than their male counterparts. Studies on why many women from South Korea and Taiwan attend ELI in Vancouver are useful as comparisons with the case of Japanese women. If some of those students learn English in order to get a better job because in their country women cannot get a rewarding job due to gender discrimination, or they feel intimidated by gender culture in organizations, it can be concluded that in South Korea, Taiwan and Japan, women share the same experiences and the same reactions to the gender discrimination in the workplace. Such

results will turn more critical eyes to gender discriminatory practices and sexism in the workplace, discrimination and sexism that exist beyond borders and across cultures.

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Appendix I Standard Deviations and Correlations between
 Work-Related Variables and Job Satisfaction
 N = 41 (former working women)

Variables	SD	21	22	23
Co-worker				
1. Colleagues.	1.27	.0993	.0816	.0691
2. Senior co-workers.	1.49	.0468	.0136	.0728
Supervisor				
3. My supervisor gave me appropriate job training.	1.56	.4971**	.4194**	.3516*
4. My supervisor was willing to listen to me.	1.44	.4087**	.2162	.2113
5. I was not asked to do private tasks of my supervisor.	1.48	.0000	-.1023	-.1369
6. My supervisor assigned me to the tasks which were suited to my abilities.	1.49	.6167***	.3738*	.2703
Use of Ability				
7. I could use my abilities and skills in my job.	1.44	.5967***	.2942	.3493*
8. I did work that was well suited to my abilities.	1.53	.7572***	.5333***	.4810**
Variety				
9. I did many different things on the jobs which required skills.	1.41	.4504**	.0594	-.0283
10. Most of my jobs were not routine.	1.52	.4771**	.2359	.3384*
Activity				
11. I was busy all the time doing a meaningful job.	1.52	.2447	.2572	.2867
12. I did not have time to kill.	1.51	.1939	.2479	.3351*
Creativity				
13. I could try out some of my ideas.	1.30	.3197*	.1426	.1202
14. I was given chances to develop new ways to do the job.	1.41	.3286*	-.0190	.1291
Promotion				
15. I had a very good prospects for promotion.	1.36	.0343	.0225	.0811
16. I could expect to advance in the company as far as my abilities permitted.	1.41	.2923	.2488	.1527
Achievement				
17. I was able to take pride in a job well done.	1.24	.3493*	.3625*	.3282*
18. I was able to do something worthwhile.	1.24	.3493*	.3625*	.3282*
Personal Growth				
19. I developed new skills and abilities at work.	1.21	.4281**	.3378*	.3387*
20. I got the feeling of having learned new things at work.	1.56	.3123*	.1978	.0715
Job satisfaction				
21. I was satisfied with the job as a whole.	1.36	---	.6262***	.4993**
Satisfaction in One's Career				
22. I am satisfied with the success I have achieved in my career.	1.32		---	.7248***
23. I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward achieving my overall career goals.	1.06			---

* p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Appendix II Standard Deviations and Correlations between Work and Gender Related Variables
N = 41 (former working women)

Gender Culture Variables	Job Satisfaction Variables								
	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Patriarchy									
1. Female workers were not expected in the position of power and influence.	1.71	-.2718	-.1455	-.3498*	-.3055	.0075	-.2815	-.3784*	-.3210*
Sex-segregation									
2. My educational background and abilities were not taken into consideration for assigning me to jobs whereas men's educational background were.	1.75	-.1430	-.1220	-.4042**	-.4288**	.0396	-.3429*	-.4423**	-.3682*
3. Male workers were assigned to various, valued jobs.	1.73	-.2240	-.0368	-.2964	-.1258	-.0283	-.1111	-.1481	-.1566
Discrimination									
4. I was not given chances to learn new things at work because female workers were assigned to certain types of jobs only.	1.56	-.2247	-.0820	-.3832*	-.1438	-.1237	-.1625	-.3270*	-.2434
5. I was not asked to participate in making decisions which were done by men.	1.73	-.2538	.0897	-.3288*	-.2790	-.0055	-.2073	-.3187*	-.2222
6. I do not think that I had a chance of promotion because women usually did not promoted.	1.63	-.2205	.0982	-.3603*	-.3064	-.1725	-.2717	-.3821*	-.3455*
Stereotype									
7. What male workers expected from me was mainly feminine roles such as "wife"role.	1.81	-.3860*	-.1785	-.4079**	-.2843	-.2858	-.3720*	-.3974*	-.3446*
8. Most of my jobs were "women's tasks".	1.91	-.3795*	-.1787	-.2907	-.1903	-.3646*	-.1768	-.2259	-.2357

* p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

* p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Gender Culture Variables		Job Satisfaction Variables								
		9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
Patriarchy										
1. Female workers were not expected in the position of power and influence.		-.3360*	-.2435	-.1926	.0568	-.1313	-.2765	-.4678**	-.4024**	
Sex-segregation										
2. My educational background and abilities were not taken into consideration for assigning me to jobs whereas men's educational background were.		-.2701	-.3240*	-.1478	-.1375	-.2204	-.4119**	-.3384*	-.4453**	
3. Male workers were assigned to various, valued jobs.		-.0901	-.3145*	-.3039	-.0631	-.3164*	-.3627*	-.0934	-.3235*	
Discrimination										
4. I was not given chances to learn new things at work because female workers were assigned to certain types of jobs only.		-.2208	-.3994*	-.3642**	-.2493	-.4270**	-.4651**	-.2828	-.4123**	
5. I was not asked to participate in making decisions which were done by men.		.0742	-.2022	-.1904	-.2009	-.2710	-.2944	-.3557*	-.3947*	
6. I do not think that I had a chance of promotion because women usually did not promoted.		-.2471	-.3795*	-.0492	-.2390	-.4304**	-.3018	-.5345***	-.6328***	
Stereotype										
7. What male workers expected from me was mainly feminine roles such as "wife"role.		-.1175	-.2351	-.1831	-.0478	-.2228	-.1108	-.2544	-.4391**	
8. Most of my jobs were "women's tasks".		-.1938	-.2802	-.0910	-.1537	-.2321	-.1374	-.1058	-.3075	

* p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Gender Culture Variables		Job Satisfaction Variables						
		18	19	20	21	22	23	
Patriarchy								
1. Female workers were not expected in the position of power and influence.		-.1707	-.1260	-.0797	-0.2637	-0.1079	0.0998	
Sex-segregation								
2. My educational background and abilities were not taken into consideration for assigning me to jobs whereas men's educational background were.		-.2993	-.4076**	-.2367	-.4340**	-.2475	-.3514*	
3. Male workers were assigned to various, valued jobs.		-.3458*	-.4606**	-.2497	-.1241	-.0344	-.0842	
Discrimination								
4. I was not given chances to learn new things at work because female workers were assigned to certain types of jobs only.		-.4825**	-.5504***	-.2955	-.1579	-.0560	-.0891	
5. I was not asked to participate in making decisions which were done by men.		-.3021	-.3298*	-.0887	-.1060	-.0560	-.1812	
6. I do not think that I had a chance of promotion because women usually did not promoted.		-.2966	-.2947	-.1801	-.2025	-.1696	-.1150	
Stereotype								
7. What male workers expected from me was mainly feminine roles such as "wife"role.		-.3020	-.3498*	-.1315	-.1873	-.2856	-.1126	
8. Most of my jobs were "women's tasks".		-.3194*	-.4310**	-.2630	-.1572	-.1544	.0590	

* p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

* p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001



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Research Report

Why do Japanese Women Learn English in Vancouver?

Several thousand young Japanese come here every year to study English or to work on "working holiday" visas. About 80% are women.

(The Vancouver Sun; November 16, 1996)

Many young women from Japan learn English in Vancouver, and they outnumber their male counterparts. Why is this phenomenon occurring? As is often said, are they holidaymakers? However, considering that the annual tuition fee of an ELI downtown is \$9,000, a monthly homestay fee is \$650, and the total minimum cost would be \$16,800 a year, those women might not be mere vacationers. They might need to obtain English skills for a certain purpose. Peitchinis (1989)¹ argues that one of the responses of women to discrimination in employment is that they acquire more education and training than required of the non-discriminated group. Japanese women's attending ELIs in Vancouver might fall into this case. My research investigates why so many Japanese women attend ELIs in Vancouver.

Research Methodology

1) Subjects

Japanese students at the English Language Institute of the University of British Columbia.

2) Research Period : May - August 1997.

3) Methods

Survey : 80 Japanese students (both women and men)

Interviews: 14 Japanese students (both women and men) who participated in the survey.

¹Peitchinis, Stephen G. 1989. *Women at Work: Discrimination and Response*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc.

Survey Findings

1) Characteristics of my research subjects

	Women	Men
% of total subjects	83%	17%
Marital status	All single	All single except one
Age	19 - 35	18 - 24
Worked full-time in Japan	61%	15%
Former occupation	clerical/sales/service : 71%	manager/lawyer: 100%

- The women far outnumbered the men, and as many as 61% of the women were former employees, whereas only 2 men had full-time work experiences.
- These women's former occupations were concentrated in "women's job ghetto", less rewarding and physically taxing.

Table 2: Work Orientation (Six-point Likert scale) (N=80)
(SDA= strongly disagree, SA=strongly agree)

"Even if I have saved a great deal of money, I would continue to work."

	SDA	DA		A	SA (%)		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mean
Women	6.0	9.0	10.3	25.4	29.9	19.4	4.22
Men	30.8	0.0	7.7	15.4	23.1	23.0	3.69

"Having a job is very important to me."

	SDA	DA		A	SA (%)		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mean
Women	4.5	3.0	4.4	23.9	34.3	29.9	4.70
Men	15.4	0.0	7.7	7.7	46.2	23.0	4.36

I will quit when I get married: 3%

From above data, it would appear that the women were career-oriented. **Only 3%** of the women planned to quit when they get married. Other women seem to want to have a job throughout their lives. Nevertheless, 61% of the female subjects quit their jobs, and came to Canada.

2) Purpose of coming to Vancouver and future goals

Purpose of coming to Canada (multiple responses)	Women	Men
I came to Vancouver to learn English.	85%	85%
I learn English to get a good job.	51%	46%
I learn English to enter a university in an English speaking country.	28%	54%
Future Goal		
Look for a job which requires English skills after returning to Japan.	34%	26%
Look for any job after returning to Japan.	15%	31%
Get married.	0%	0%

- Both the women and the men came to Vancouver to learn English, and 50% of them answered that their purpose of learning English was to get a good job.
- However, the women (34%) were more likely than the men (23%) to look for a job which requires English skills. This implies that some women perceived that English related jobs would be better than jobs which do not require English skills. Why they perceived so is presented in the interview findings section.
- More male subjects (54%) than female subjects (28%) wanted to obtain English skills to enter a university in an English speaking country such as the US or Canada. They might think a degree from those universities would enable them to get a better job. They did not necessarily want to get a job which requires English skills.

3) Former working women's evaluation about their previous jobs

As many as 24% of the former working women answered that if they had been satisfied with their jobs, they would not have come to Vancouver to learn English.

The mean of the former working women's overall job satisfaction was as low as 3.3 out of 6.0. Among job factors which affect job satisfaction, the respondents put lower points on the following factors.

Job Factors	Point	Correlation with job satisfaction
Job satisfaction	3.4	-----
Variety of the job (not routine)	3.9	0.4636 (p<.01)
Use of one's ability in the job	3.8	0.6770 (p<.001)
Possibilities for promotion	3.1	0.1633

- 37% of the former working women chose "agree" or "strongly agree" to the remarks, "My educational background and abilities were not taken into consideration for assigning me to jobs whereas men's educational background were".
- These survey results indicate that these former working women were not satisfied with their jobs because they were assigned to routine jobs in which they could not use their abilities. They perceived that they were assigned to such jobs because they were women. In other words, gender discrimination at work would have been a cause of their job dissatisfaction.

4) Interpersonal relations in the workplace

- 22% of the former working women answered that men at their workplace criticized them for not being "feminine".
- 63% of the former working women heard sexual jokes at their workplace.
- 39% of the former working women experienced uninvited sexual advances by the male workers or clients they worked with.

Companies' gender discriminatory policy does not seem to be the sole cause of their job dissatisfaction. These two factors, femininity requirement and sexual harassment, would have also added to women's job dissatisfaction, would have discouraged them from pursuing their careers in their workplace, and made them decide to quit to look for alternate way of pursuing their career, such as learning English abroad.

Interview Findings

Face-to-face in-depth interviews with 14 Japanese students were conducted. The interviewees were asked about their work experiences, their reasons for coming to Vancouver, and their lives in Vancouver.

1) Former working women (six)

Four cases out of six are introduced here.

Name*	Occupation	Reasons for quitting
Eiko	a shopping advisor	No prospect for promotion except for those who had sexual relations with the president. The job was boring.
Yumi	a customer service at a travel agency	Every day overtime work without pay, whereas the male employees were handsomely paid.
Yoshi	a kindergarten teacher	Sexual harassment, overtime work without pay. Her job was under-evaluated although it required skills*.
Saki	a professional (health care)	Fed up with a housemaid role at work. Worked for 5 years without promotion.

* The names have been changed for confidentiality.

** Many people regarded her job as easy because they assume all women naturally have child caring skills, and enjoy playing with children. Yoshi denied it.

The former working women's lives in Vancouver

- Financially support themselves with their savings.
- Study hard. Take classes from 9 am to 3 pm, and participate in activities

such as volunteer jobs to practice English.

- Frustrated for their slow improvement of their English.
- Their purposes for learning English are to become an independent translator, a professional who does not have to belong to an organization, to work for a foreign affiliate company or a Canadian company in Canada, where they believe gender discrimination is strictly prohibited.
- One woman among these six former working women quit her job not because she did not like her job, but she wanted to live in a foreign country. She takes morning classes only, and has lost interest in improving her English.

2) Women without work experience (two)

To learn English in a foreign country was their goal. For them, Canada is like Disneyland or movie stars' country. Now they are thinking what to do when go back to Japan.

These women's lives in Vancouver

- Financially supported by their parents.
- They enjoy learning and speaking English. They do not have a specific purpose for learning English.
- Satisfied with their improvement in their English.

3) Men without work experience (three)

Their purposes for coming to Vancouver are not specifically to learn English, such as to find lifelong friends in a different culture. The three of them think this would be the only chance for them to have a long vacation. Once starting to work in Japan it is difficult for men to take a long vacation because men are responsible for financially supporting their families.