

Developmental Network in the Japanese Traditional Entertainment Industry

Kumiko Nisio
Kyoto Women's University

Masao Sakamoto
Otemae University

Yuki Kawabata
International University of Japan

November 2011

IUJ Research Institute
International University of Japan

These working papers are preliminary research documents published by the IUJ research institute. To facilitate prompt distribution, they have not been formally reviewed and edited. They are circulated in order to stimulate discussion and critical comment and may be revised. The views and interpretations expressed in these papers are those of the author(s). It is expected that the working papers will be published in some other form.

Developmental Network in the Japanese Traditional Entertainment Industry

Kumiko Nisio (Department for the Study of Contemporary Society, Kyoto Women's University)

Masao Sakamoto (Department for the Study of Contemporary Society, Otemae University)

Yuki Kawabata (Graduate School of International Management, International University of Japan)

ABSTRACT

This research clarifies the multiple relationships maintained by “geiko” (Kyoto dialect for geisha) and “maiko” (“geisha”-in-training) as they develop into service professionals who are highly skilled at entertaining customers. Their multiple and strong relationships are embedded in a developmental network within the geisha districts (called “hanamachi”) in Kyoto.

We found maiko's careers are integrated within the larger geisha's community, and in the course of acquiring work experience maiko develop their skills within a network of designated interpersonal relationships that also include customers. And we found behavioral, managerial and institutional factors that construct and maintain the developmental network around maiko.

Keywords:

Developmental network; Careers; Participatory fieldwork

Developmental Network in the Japanese Traditional Entertainment Industry

1. INTRODUCTION

Adult development and career theorists have long espoused the benefits of having a mentoring relationship for an individual's personal and professional development. And many studies on mentoring have revealed that the mentor generally provides high amounts of both career and psychosocial assistance for protégés.

For instance, Wakabayashi & Graen (1984) indicate the positive correlation between vertical exchange relationship of employees with their direct supervisors in their 3 years from initiation and objective career result in their 7 years in terms of promotion, salary, bonus, personnel evaluation for promotion, capability evaluation. On the other hand, Noe, et al (1990) points out the relationship also has effect on subjective (psychological) factors of career development such as self-efficacy, identity, occupational satisfaction, and commitment on the organizations they belong.

In almost all studies, the conceptualization of mentoring has focused on single or primary, and dyadic relationships. However, as Higgins & Kram (2000)¹ has already suggested, we are going to consider mentoring as a multiple relationship phenomenon - a developmental network perspective, because of the large change of the context in which individuals' careers unfold.

Large change, which they point out, are (1) Firms no longer provide the sole or primary anchor for and individual's personal and professional identity, (2) Organizations place value on individuals who not only can adapt but can learn quickly, (3) Playing role as a mentor by a supervisor is increasingly difficult because organizations become flat, (4) Demographic attributes are being diversified.

Japanese enterprises, which are known as their features of "family" or "village" system, have had stronger culture to nurture young employees in the context of multiple personnel relationships in the organization compared to those of western enterprises. However, the large change, presented

¹ Kram (1985) basically considers the mentor-protégé relationship is very important, however, she also indicates that not all of members of organization are able to have excellent mentors and often someone, except their supervisors, support their career development. Moreover she also points out an individual is not only supported by a mentor who has vertical relationship with the individual but also is supported by personal network such as colleagues, family, and friend called "relationship constellation" (pp. 148-151). Additionally, Dayhoff (1983) also introduces "partial relations model" of mentoring and says it is not always the case that a individual provides all functions to a protégé as a mentor but a several mentors support a protégé where each mentor plays a certain role which is a part of mentoring function.

above, influence on human relationship in an organization to be shallower and the vertical human relationship such as supervisor-subordinate or mentor-protégé does not often work well. These are concerned by intellectuals and are considered being caused by excessive inclination to performance-based personnel evaluation, harmful effect by IT such as use of electronics mail for communication. These movements stimulate human relationships in organizations to be poorer. In order to deal with the situation, each firm tries to improve supervisor-subordinate relationships through training communication skills such as coaching method. And recently some organizations in Japanese are going to concern with recreating communities where employees are nurtured by multiple people in an organization. However, it is very difficult to find a development network which really works well.

Successfully we found the multiple and strong developmental network in hanamachi areas in Kyoto which have very historical and traditional industry through the longitudinal field study. It is not the classical development network which is not only consisted of vertical relationship between mentor-protégé within an organization, but also of inter-organizational network where career of young professionals are shaped in multiple and strong network relationships of people. Higgins & Kram (2000) calls the multiple and strong relationship “entrepreneurial developmental network”². The relationship upgrades the ability of problem solution because it has strong learning effect and can access to multiple information and views (It also can be realized by opportunistic network, however, the latter network does not reflect needs of protégé.), widen the scope of learning and increase knowledge, skill and beneficial linkages.

However we can't avoid saying that empirical research about entrepreneurial developmental network which really functions is not enough. So we paradoxically suppose the more traditional organizations have more entrepreneurial developmental networks. Therefore, although we focus on the case of some unexpectedness, we chose geisha districts (called “hanamachi”) in Kyoto which has more than 350 years of history as traditional cultural industry and has been nurturing service professional called “geiko” (Kyoto dialect for geisha) and “maiko” (geisha in training). Most of young women who wish to be maiko do not have connection with the industry at the initial stage and approach to the ‘okiya’ (geisha agency) .The training looks very traditional,

² They introduces 4 types of developmental networks: “receptive”, “traditional”, “opportunistic”, “entrepreneurial” with 2 axis which are strength of relationship (strong × weak) and diversity (high × low) (p.270).

however, in reality, they smoothly join developmental network within the industry and acquire professional skills in a short period of time.

In this study, from developmental network perspective, we try to reveal structure, function, and mechanism of human relationships within communities of eastern traditional industry in Kyoto Japan where career development of young people are facilitated, which has been developed and maintained for long period.

Moreover, in the long-term, it is expected this study finds new management style for nurturing human resources, then, possibility to adapt the management style to Japanese enterprises and other industrial communities will be considered.

2. METHODS

Commonly known as geisha, geiko (Kyoto dialect for geisha) and maiko (geisha in training) in hanamachi (the Kyoto term for geisha district) areas within Kyoto are world-famous icons of Japanese culture. In fact, geiko and maiko as occupations date back to over 350 years ago. A school system for the professional training of geiko and maiko has a long history in Kyoto, in the form of “nyokoba” (vocational schools) which were established some 130 years ago for these traditional artist-entertainers in the five hanamachi areas in the city that remain to this day.

Table 1 shows the number of geiko, maiko, and “ochaya” (guest house) that form a part of the hanamachi communities in Kyoto as of February, 2010. The number of geiko and maiko has remained relatively unchanged over the last decade.

TABLE 1. The number of geiko, maiko, and ochaya in Kyoto (March, 2011)

hanamachi	geiko	maiko	ochaya
Gion-kobu	82	26	64
Miyagawa-cho	45	34	36
Pont-cho	40	9	26
Kamisichiken	22	12	10
Gion-higashi	11	4	11
total	200	85	147

In these areas in Kyoto, there are businesses known as ochaya, strictly regulated member-exclusive tea houses that accept new members only through an introduction from a regular customer, and it is this kind of establishment that arranges banquets in a manner that best satisfies customers.

Taking into consideration such criteria as the purpose of the banquet, guest list, and season in which the banquet is given, the ochaya orders dishes appropriate for the occasion from a “shidashiya” (caterer) or “ryoriya” (Japanese-style restaurant) and contacts the okiya for the services of geiko and maiko that they believe will meet the tastes of customers.

Ochaya in hanamachi areas of Kyoto refuse service to customers without an introduction, creating a considerable barrier for first-time customers. Since geiko, maiko and the people within hanamachi community are prohibited from revealing secrets made known to them during the course of performing their business³, we took advantage of the connections we had established when we associated with geiko and maiko at a certain ochaya on several occasions. We asked this ochaya to introduce us to geiko and maiko who could help us with this research, and also interviewed former maiko, as well as people in related businesses.

We also conducted participatory fieldwork on occasions such as a party to celebrate the “misedashi” (debut as a maiko) of a maiko (planned and organized by a support group of ochaya) in November 2004 and June 2009, and a party in celebration of “erigae”⁴ (a maiko’s promotion to geiko, a turning point in the career of geiko and maiko) in June 2005 and March 2010.

Between 2005 and 2010, we visited a classical Japanese dance performance held at each hanamachi area⁵ every year, in order to compare their programs, costumes, and responses from the audience.

Participatory fieldwork records were compiled by referring to our own experiences, memos, and photos from these occasions, as well as videotapes filmed by other participants of those parties where we were also present.

³ The fundamental rule is that one must not reveal what one has seen or heard in the banquet room, which is one of the reasons why ochaya are chosen venues for entertaining customers and holding private talks. In order to conceal a guest’s identity, they may also address their guests by the first letter of their last name.

⁴ It is so called because maiko wear red neckbands with embroidery, whereas geiko wear white neckbands (the standard neckband of Japanese clothes). When promoted to geiko, maiko undergo major changes in their appearance: they use wigs instead of their own hair, and they wear a short-sleeved kimono rather than a long-sleeved one. But it is not just different appearances, but a higher level of skills that are required. For instance, unlike maiko, a geiko is supposed to be capable of entertaining guests with an exchange of clever repartee and showing an advanced level of accomplishments.

⁵ The Miyako Odori (Gionkoku), Kyo Odori (Miyagawa-cho), and Kitano Odori (Kamishichiken) dances are held in April, the Kamogawa Odori (Ponto-cho) in May, and the Gion Odori (Gion-igashi) in November.

There were seventeen major informants, who were interviewed more than once and shared their comments repeatedly with us during the participatory fieldworks.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner, meaning that although a list of questions was prepared beforehand, spontaneous questions were also asked in keeping with informants' speech styles as was considered appropriate. Before the interviews, the informants were notified both in writing and orally that any recorded data would not be used for purposes other than this research, and that a pseudonym would be used to remove any risk of them being identified.

With permission from the informants, the interviews were recorded onto an audiotape, which was then converted into text format. In cases where interviewees refused to be recorded, data were compiled based on my memos. To analyze the data of such interviews, information from the memos taken from these informants were first sorted out in accordance with the questions on the list, and then later made note of. The records of the interview data and those of the participatory fieldwork were then analyzed in terms of their respective subject matters.

3. RESULTS

Career path of geiko and maiko

Both geiko and maiko are registration-based occupations valid only in hanamachi areas. As such, their career path is clearly defined. To cite a typical case, a girl who comes to a hanamachi area upon graduation from junior high debuts as a maiko at the age of 15-16, and is promoted to geiko when she is over the age of twenty. After her term of service⁶ is up, she may decide to quit her job as a geiko whenever she chooses to. There is no mandatory retirement age for geiko. When they decide to discontinue their career as geiko or maiko, they hand out hiki'iwai⁷ to those within the hanamachi community to clearly announce how they will continue relations between themselves and the hanamachi community. Reasons for discontinuation can be roughly divided into marriage or change of occupation. After their retirement, many pursue new careers as business managers in hanamachi areas (ochaya, okiya, bars, etc.) or outside of them (food services, etc.), or tap into their past careers as geiko or maiko to engage in the service business.

⁶ The term of service is between five and six years. This is intended to be a period of apprenticeship, and they receive no salaries but live and work on the okiya premises. They have two regular holidays per month.

⁷ Handing out shiromushi (plain steamed glutinous rice) as hiki'iwai is a declaration of their intent to never return to the hanamachi community again. On the other hand, sending shiromushi that contains some sweet red bean rice or azuki beans indicates that they may return to the hanamachi community again.

The following career path can be considered typical for a girl who enters the geisha world directly out of middle school.

“Shikomi” (probationary period) → “Minarai” (apprenticeship) →
(1 year) (1 month)

Misedashi (debut as a maiko) → Maiko →
(4~5 years)

Erigae (preparatory stage for becoming a geiko) → Geiko →
(total of 6~7 years, including time as maiko)

Completion of required term of service → Selection of future career

Structures and Functions of Developmental Network in Kyoto Hanamachi

Its diversity and strength

In general, in traditional industries, training of human resource is processed in apprenticeship (in many cases, relationship are strong but narrow) where vertical relationships between superior-subordinate are formed.

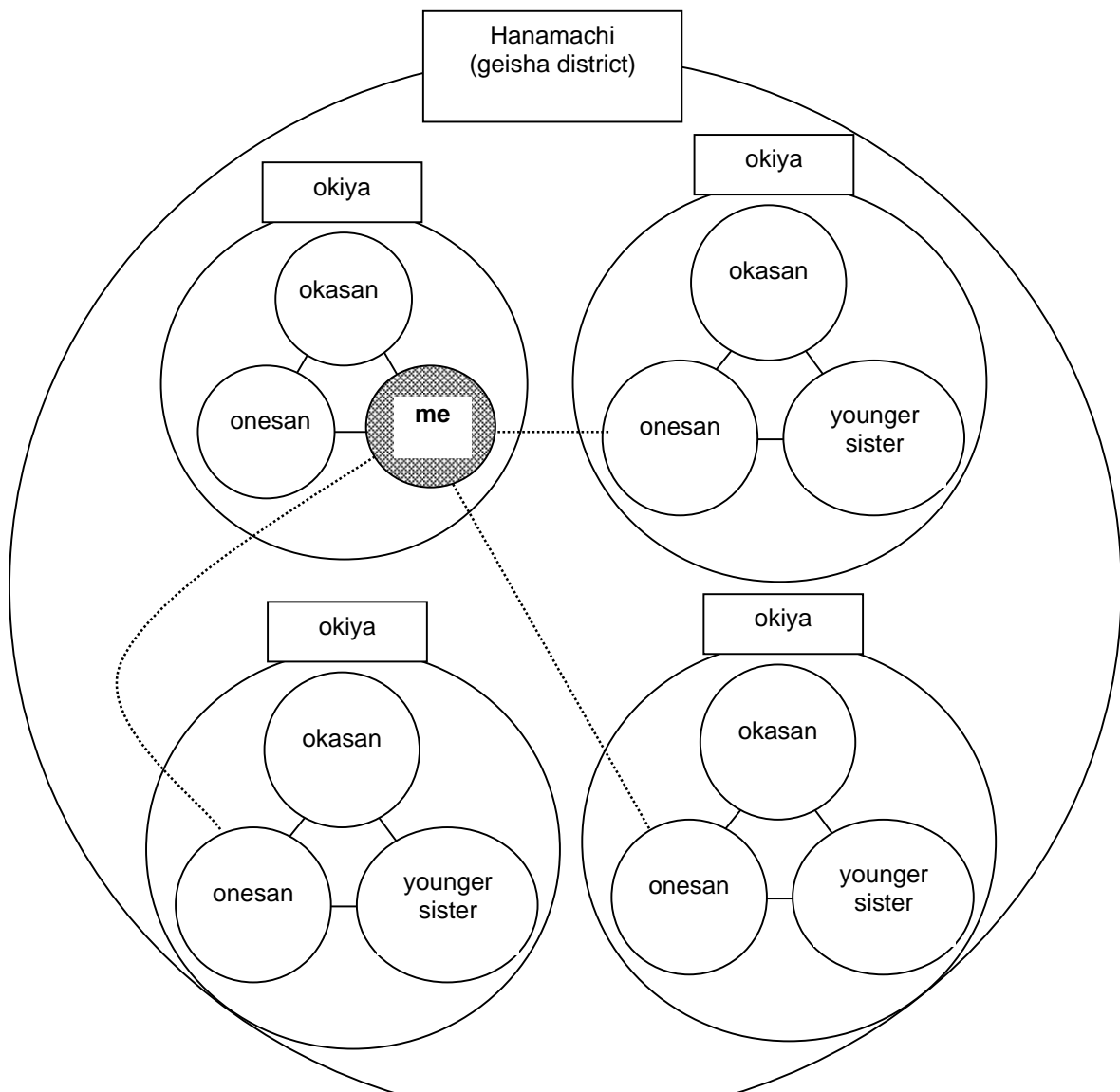
But our research clarifies the multiple relationships maintained by geiko and maiko as they develop into service professionals who are highly skilled at entertaining customers. Their multiple and strong relationships are embedded in a communal network within the geisha districts of Kyoto.

By receiving concentrated, tension-filled instruction from members of this multiple relational network, the individual can ultimately acquire the skills she needs in a short period of time.

Figure 1 shows relationship between persons who contribute to career development of maiko.

Table 2 shows ways of interactions between maiko and main persons surrounding her.

Figure 1. The pseudo parent-child and sisterhood relationships



For "me"(newcomer), all the persons that became a geiko or a maiko early at least one day are onesan (elder sisters), so I am called an imoto (younger sister) by them in hanamachi geisha district. The onesan who pours each other's cup (Japanese traditional ceremony for making a special human relationship, for example wedding ceremony) and connects sister relations when coming out as a geiko or a maiko is the highest-impact.

The onesan of this cup is not necessarily in the same okiya. When those who get used to onesan are not in okiya, other sister relations with a senior geisha of okiya are connected. Moreover, with the okasan (manager) of an okiya who belongs, since it lived in, it becomes a pseudo parent-child relationship.

TABLE 2. Relationship between persons who contribute to career development of maiko

person		span of time	intimacy	significance
customer		short term(one time	weak	middle (the customer who have interested in art is strong
customer(patron)		a certain long term	strong	a certain strong
Family relationships of the hanamachi community	okasan (ochaya)	long term (maiko and geiko on active service must have family relationships of the hanamachi community)	middle	
	okasan (apprentice ochaya)		a certain strong	
	okasan (okiya)		At the time of living together, it is the deepest before an elder sister's (cup) determination and after separation becomes a deep grade.	At the time of new entry, although it is high and after separation is high also during the highest living together, it falls rather than before.
	onesan (sisterhood relationship)		strong	strong
	onesan		An elder sister living together is deep and, as for the elder sister of a series, after separation is deep.	a certain strong
	colleague		When rank is the bottom, it is deep to some extent, but there is a shade by individual familiarity after that.	a certain weak
Master teacher of nyokoba		long term (maiko and geiko on active service must be students of nyokoba)	Although the time of preparation is deep to some extent, after an art dancing geisha debut becomes thin gradually. The teacher of individual exercise is deep to some extent.	middle

The interpersonal relationships that provide a context for geisha career development has a great diversity. It includes pseudo-parent/child with her “okasan” (manager of okiya), pseudo-sibling with her “onesan”, “okasan” and “onesan” in other okiya, her peer, school teachers, and patronage relationships with her regular customers.

Looking at the process of inculcating professional skills in novice geisha, we found the fact that individual careers are integrated within the larger geisha’s community, and that, in the course of acquiring work experience, geisha develop their skills within a network of designated interpersonal relationships that also include customers.

Also, this relationship has a great strength for long period. As far as geisha works in hanamachi, the relationship between geisha and “okasan”, “onesan”, and her colleague who are her pseudo-family are not terminated. As for customers, once a geisha is favored by them, the relationship will be strong and last long time.

Especially, the relationship with onesan, who pours each other's cup (Japanese traditional ceremony for making a special human relationship, for example wedding ceremony), is strong and the relationship lasts as far as she is maiko or geiko. Onesan is responsible for training, consulting, and supporting of the newcomer who become her younger sister. Outside of okiya, onesan takes charge of education of newcomer at ozashiki banquets etc.

Newcomers are taught, sometimes are disciplined, life style and rules of hanamachi such as table manner, way to wear kimono, and way to greet, which must be acquired for day-to-day activities, through living with okasan and onesan of okiya.

Moreover, since the skills newcomers learn in school are not enough, they acquire practical (extempore) skills by learning from onesan lives in the same okiya to the level enough for performing at ozashiki banquet. For young maiko, onesan is a role model and another teacher. Moreover, through assisting okasan and onesan, newcomers make relationship and are known by people outside okiya they belong. It helps them to smoothly enter human network in hanamachi.

Pseudo parent-child / sister relationships

To be geiko or maiko, they require an onesan, or an elder sister, with whom they pledge sisterhood over a cup of sake, and who exercises the greatest influence on new geiko and maiko when they debut on the hanamachi scene. Another requirement is that candidates for geiko and maiko must belong to an okiya, and they also need to establish a pseudo parent-child relationship

with the okasan (manager of their okiya). Shown in Figure1 are the pseudo parent-child and sisterhood relationships.

The onesan also serves as a foster mother for their “younger sister,”⁸ and this pseudo relationship lasts for as long as they are in the business. Taking constant care of their younger sisters at ozashiki banquets and in the hanamachi community, they are absolute authority figures for the younger sisters. An elder sister has to take responsibility for whatever her younger sister does⁹, which can be a considerable burden. All the more because of this, the “elder sister” figure is important when a junior works in the hanamachi community: a younger sister can seek her elder sister’s advice anytime and, if anything should happen, they may consult with their elder sister concerning the process of growing up as a full-fledged member of the hanamachi community. Although geiko and maiko who debuted at the same time share a similar consciousness of their lateral relationship, the sisterhood relationship forms part of the hierarchy of the world of geiko and maiko, namely that the earlier the debut is, the higher in the hierarchy they are placed. Accordingly, anyone who has become geiko or maiko earlier than oneself is regarded as one’s onesan. By becoming a part of the family relationships of the hanamachi community, consisting of pseudo sisterhood and parent-child relationships, fledgling geiko and maiko may develop their careers further.

Relationship with customers

Moreover, customers also participate in training of young maiko. Customers are people outside of the hanamachi community, but they continuously participate in the community as users of the ochaya’s services. They take the opportunity of an “ozashiki” banquet to personally receive services from geiko and maiko. Figure 2 illustrates this relationship. As they continuously become involved in the community, they may have geiko and maiko whom they favor or patronize.

On the relationship between customers and geiko or maiko, one informant commented that customers also play the role of “spoiling” them and treating them tenderly, taking them away from their seniors such as okasan and onesan. One okasan of an okiya-cum-ochaya, who was an

⁸ When we attended a misedashi party, we frequently witnessed the onesan tidying her younger sister’s kimono and taking care of her diligently.

⁹ For instance, if a younger sister drops a fan while dancing at a performance in a hanamachi, she visits her senior onesan and ochaya to make an apology on the following day, accompanied by her personal onesan.

experienced geiko and maiko herself, told about the joy she experienced when someone praised her for the improvement of her skills.

For customers, geiko and maiko are not simply objects of their sexual affection¹⁰, about which some curious people often gossip, but of their fatherly affection to protect and nurture them, exercising a positive impact on their career development.

In explaining the emotional support that customers offer to young geiko and maiko, one customer said, “I personally endorse fledgling maiko, but don’t hold any amorous feelings for them. Some I have known since they started their apprenticeships, and they are like my granddaughters. I sometimes take them to noted places in Kyoto, if they have come from other parts of the country and have never been there. This is because they might become embarrassed if they cannot give the names of those places when a customer asks them at an ozashiki banquet.”

As stated above, their relationship with customers also plays a role in shaping the career of geiko and maiko. Repeat customers, who favor hanamachi for long time and are familiar with ochaya, try to nurture the skills of geiko and maiko, and sometimes approve their growth by talking with them. It is quite beneficial for repeat customers to nurture geiko and maiko who entertain the customers in the way they really want. Moreover, it is also pleasure for customers that young maiko improve their skills with support of the customers themselves. Geiko and maiko also get identity as professionals in the society by recognizing their self-efficacy with approval of repeat customers and by feeling psychological acceptance through being watched by the customers.

Relationships with others in hanamachi

The main characters who are involved in career development of geiko and maiko are okasan of other okiya, onesan, peers, teacher of art school, and customers.

After debut, young maiko get on the job training at ozashiki banquet supported by the human relationship of hanamachi. At the job site (ozashiki), entertainments are held by team composed of 2 to tens of geiko and maiko in which members are changed every time. Generally, in the team, elder sister, who has pseudo-sisterhood relationship with others, takes charge of direction

¹⁰ One may associate being a customer with becoming a danna (patron), but it is hard for him to be a danna if he only has amorous feelings towards geiko or maiko but doesn’t know much about their performing arts and customs in hanamachi areas. This is because of a belief in the hanamachi community that becoming a danna is virtually a synonym for unsparing support for their devotion to the performing arts. Several interviewees shared an opinion that the number of danna is on the decline because the financial support for geiko and maiko that covers kimono and performing arts lessons can be astronomical, and because tax authorities no longer allow them to pay for entertaining costs spent in the hanamachi areas out of an expense account.

of younger sisters. When elder sister are not at the ozashiki banquet, seniors belonging to the same okiya direct the young. In the case there are no seniors who has the deep relationship, seniors who belong to other okiya which has deep relationship with the okiya the young belongs (In the case, managers of the two okiya had pseudo-sisterhood relationship when they are geiko, there is linkage between the two okiyas called “suji”.) or seniors who learned in the same ochaya direct the young. In this way, not only by the pseudo-sisterhood relationship or by sisterhood relationship which is formed because they belong to the same okiya, but by network which is beyond the line of okiya the young geiko belong, they can get direction at the job site. At school, young maiko are taught by teachers (“oshisho-san”) and acquire the basic skills .They can also learn by watching seniors’ lesson. At school, they can compare level of their skill with those of their peers; it enables them to learn the skill of peers as exemplar or leads them to have competitive spirit. Moreover, school can also be the place where they can share information with peers and relax.

Why Developmental Networks in Kyoto Hnamachi do construct and maintain for long period?

Okasan as node of network

Formation of developmental network is not constrained by condition whether they belong to the same okiya. Managers of okiya (okasan) intend newcomers to establish pseudo-sisterhood relationships with senior geiko who have skill and experience suitable for helping to develop career. In that case, beyond the line of okiya, preferable pseudo-sisterhood relationships for newcomers who will debut are concluded. In order to conclude the new developmental network, there is a system in which manager of ochaya intermediate to ally between different okiyas as a matchmaker (“nakoudo”). Nakoudo guarantees that training for newcomers are conducted properly and play a role of node to conclude pseudo-sisterhood relationship between different okiyas. For ochaya, active involvement to establish pseudo-sisterhood relationship allows it to keep influence on okiya, geiko, and maiko, then to have merit of nurturing geiko and maiko who can entertain customers as they want.

In this way, formation of developmental network between different agencies for debut of newcomers has effect on the regional industry through directing and shaping career of newcomers at working place, sharing information among okiyas and ochayas by collaboration,

involving (and having influence after that) by ochaya which catches expectations of customers and change of the market.

Expansion of network by maiko herself

Since various members of the geisha community sustain multiple relationships of their own, they can select the people who will be most useful for honing their skills.

As maiko, they join developmental network for 1 year and learn their business which satisfies requirement varied seasonally. It is tough for them to meet the requirements, as they gain their experience; they find customers and place for which they hone their skill. For example, a geiko who has several years of experience commented by reminding the time she worked as a maiko in her 3 years of experience, she understood which onesan had a certain skill and whether the onesan willingly was involved in directing her juniors. She also commented that she could consult with senior geiko, who determine programs played at ozashiki banquet, with consideration of ability and character of the senior (such as whether she is good at dancing and whether she gives feedback after they dance) and of types of customers (whether they claim if geisha fails or not).

She said she understood it was important for career development to receive directions and comment from her senior about her skill which she just learned because it is essential to raise the level of her skill enough for performing in front of customers. Moreover if customers are repeated one, they often share the progress of skill formation. In that case, she played musical instrument such as “shamisen” and Japanese hand drum which she usually did not perform.

In this way, except the pseudo-sisterhood relationship, once geisha understand the meaning of developmental network, they can try to establish the network with other senior geiko and maiko or even with customers in order to be more competent. It leads to establish developmental network with multiple people in hanamachi of Kyoto.

Unwritten rules shared in community

One of unwritten rules which contribute to formation and maintenance of developmental network is prohibition of moving okiya. Candidates of geiko and maiko live in okiya premises and are trained, once a candidate is determined to be nurtured in a certain okiya, she cannot change the okiya. For example, in the case where candidate B come to okiya A and the training is started but

the candidate cannot fit in the okiya, even if the surrounding people recognize the candidate has high potentiality as a maiko, she cannot move to other okiya. There are 5 hanamachis in Kyoto and the movement of candidates is prohibited not only within a hanamachi but also between hanamachis. Once a candidate enters an okiya, if it is clear the okiya and the candidate do not fit each other, the candidate has no choice except giving up to be a geisha and maiko. It seems the loss is large for candidates and okiya because the rule reduces opportunities to nurture prospective bearer of traditional cultural industry, however, it is strictly kept as a custom of hanamachi in Kyoto.

Today, 80-90% of candidates are from areas outside Kyoto, it is usual for okiya to accept newcomers who do not have enough cultural and regional knowledge concerning being geiko and maiko. Therefore, in order to cope with it, okiya accept candidates to stay in the short-term (for example, during summer vacation), then give them time to understand how they would be trained and how they should be, then ask them whether they start the training by living in okiya premise. The short-term stay also helps okiya to get the measure of aptitude of candidates to be geiko and maiko. Since managers of okiya have to take large responsibility and cost for nurturing juveniles as live-in trainees for long time, if they wish to be maiko without considering so much, the managers explain thoroughly and try to make them understand about severity of the training and about the path to independence as a choice after several years of experience as geisha. Even if candidates experience the short term stay, listen to the explanation, and understand beforehand, many of them retire the live-in training because they cannot bear hard program of the training to be geiko and maiko. In these several years, candidate who experience the short-term stay increased, so okiya can select candidates by getting the measure of aptitude more properly. However, the cost of okiya for nurturing geiko and maiko has not reduced. In this context, the rule of prohibition of movement between okiya plays a role to hold down increase of the cost. If a candidate, who gives up her training in a certain okiya, can move within the industry, for trainers, they have to bear competition and cost, which is not the one for keeping the quality of training, such as avoiding hard training to prevent candidates from moving out and headhunting candidates, who have high potentiality, from other okiya. The rule of prohibition of movement keeps candidates to stay in an okiya and continue their training. Candidates who do not go together with okasan give up training even if they are expected their aptitude from surrounding people and have motivation. There are cases which the author sympathize

personally with candidates. However, for okiya, since candidates live in the okiya for the training, it can accept only 2-3 candidates per year for maximum. Moreover, it is said that it takes about 3 years to cover the cost for training. In that context, the rule of prohibition of movement contributes to keeping the quality of okiya as training agency whose recovery rate of investment is not high.

Hanamachi of Kyoto is an industry which entertains customers, so customers' satisfaction is largely due to skill of geiko and maiko who serve their customers at ozashiki banquet. The rule of prohibition of movement plays role to support cultivation of geiko and maiko, and business of okiya, thus, to contribute to differentiation of the industry from those of other areas.

Secondly, there is also the rule of "getting the name back". The unwritten rule which prompts geisha to establish pseudo-sisterhood relationship, enforce elder sister to take burden of bringing future rival up. However, geiko who is recognized as elder sister can decline to accept a girl to be her younger sister if she does not satisfy a certain level in terms of behavior etc. Moreover, once a geiko become an elder sister, the relationship with a younger sister is strong as far as both of them are members of hanamachi, however, if the younger sister mismanages something which is unaccepted by the business society, the elder sister can terminate the relationship.

This is called getting the name back. Elder sisters, when they establish pseudo-sisterhood relationship and give a character which is a part of her name to younger sisters. In this context, getting the name back, which is to get the character back, means to show their will to terminate the relationship. For young sisters, giving her name back (so cutting tie with her elder sister) means they will not be able to work as geiko or maiko in hanamachi. This means to close a business. The unwritten rule actually imposes burden on elder sisters, however, they can enforce younger sisters to close her business by refusing. Therefore, elder sisters can make younger sisters, who would be their rival, try to keep good relationship as far as they works as geiko or maiko. In reality, there are few cases of getting the name back, however, from the interview, some interviewees refer to the rule. It can be thought that whether the rule is conducted is not important but the existence and recognition of the rule is important.

The rule also prompts younger sisters to perform well as far as they can and help elder sisters, when elder sisters manage ozashiki banquet as project leader. Elder sisters who nurture several younger sisters, who are called "~ school" or "~ group of army", can influence on the business society, then, have merit to continue her business for long period of time.

Lastly, there is a rule of handover. For elder sister, it is not beneficial to accept younger sister because she cannot earn by it and is required to bring her rival up. However, without a person responsible for directing newcomers at job site, since training by okiya is not enough, it would be difficult to nurture qualified geiko and maiko in hanamachi of Kyoto. Therefore, it is necessary that elder sisters who have sisterhood relationship take charge of taking care of and directing younger sisters. In this context, accepting the rule is requirement for them to be members of the industry. The rule of getting the name back plays role to reduce the demerit of elder sisters by bringing their rival up and to avoid being pressured so much from younger sisters in future competition.

Moreover, in the case newcomers are not leaned basic education at okiya, elder sisters can decline to establish the relationship. There is a rule which makes okiya reduce burden of elder sisters and deter to enforce too much burden on them. Newcomers also learn the rule though live-in experiences in okiya, by seeing how senior geiko and maiko are bring up and what it means to have younger sisters. Then, they can prepare to be geiko who are self-employed individuals in the industry.

Based on the sisterhood and parent-child relationship, active and past geiko and maiko, managers of okiya and ochaya share information and innovate in their business in order to adapt the business to environmental change. For example, “ochaya bar” where customers easily feel and enjoy taste of hanamachi is open. Moreover, although advertisement by internet was not positively supported in the initial stage, the effectiveness of the mean is recognized and it is prevailed among people related within the industry.

In this way, in hanamachi of Kyoto, unwritten rules concerning the sisterhood relationship are inherited. They function to cultivate human resource in the region and to deter excess competition between independent vendors. In short, rules for cultivation of human resource and deterrence of competition are kept by the industry. Moreover, candidates can learn the unwritten rules through their experience in the industry from the initial stage. As a result, in hanamachi of Kyoto, cultivation of geiko and maiko who bear the regional industry are continued, then, with collaboration of actors including geiko and maiko who start working, they utilize the relationship and are endeavoring to vitalize hanamachi of Kyoto which is the industry of the region.

4. IMPLICATIONS

Theoretical contribution and future research

In the situation where empirical case studies about developmental network are not enough, conducting field study which is long-term and deep at hanamachi of Kyoto, where outsiders are difficult to access, it has large significance.

Especially in this research, we could approach not only to the structure and function of developmental network of Kyoto hanamachi but also the mechanism to maintain the system. The structure is diverse and has strong linkage which includes customers, and accelerates maiko to acquire the skill and helps to get identity of them as professionals. These findings are consistent with argument of Higgins and Kram (2000). Moreover, as for the mechanism, we found fruitful facts with multiple views such as merit for management, behavior of maiko, unwritten rule of community. The study also has aspects of psychological and institutional arguments, so shows new points of view to conduct carrier research with multiple views.

The mechanism of cultivation of human resource in Kyoto hanamachi is very robust and sophisticated. Therefore there may be more to be found out. For example, we cannot explain how the system has adapted to environmental change for 350 years and shape the mechanism today. Moreover, it can also be the research agenda to clarify how young people in Japan, who are accustomed to behave based on today's individualism, adapt themselves to the mechanism of developmental network featured by reciprocity and shape their identity. Moreover, it is also interesting to consider how they can smoothly accept the role to direct their juniors and make the junior adapt to developmental network and utilize it for career development.

By considering these agenda, it is possible to find new viewpoint which explains the linkage between career development and continuity of the industry. In short, with the view that relationship with multiple people supports career development of individuals, research which focuses individuals' career may be able to clarify the linkage with management organization which has long-term view and is consisted of stakeholders who has various interests(For example, distribution of income, selection of business partners etc.).

Moreover, by focusing how human resources are nurtured in other hanamachi or in other industries, especially by comparing structure, mechanism and factors to shape them, it is possible to consider the linkage between features of industry and developmental network. We have already started researches in other hanamachis, another entertainment industry and an manufacturing company in Japan.

Lastly, in order to make our study more valuable, premises which enable the developmental network in hanamachi of Kyoto to function well have to be clarified. Then, commonality and difference between the developmental network which is developed in Eastern traditional industry of Japan and the one argued in the context of movements in U.S. firms and management study have to be examined. This would enable us to explain where and how the implications obtained from this study can be applied, such as other sectors and regions, then, to make the significance of this study clear in the context of entire trend in management study.

Practice for facilitating the career development of youth in an organization or community

We think it is able to apply the system of the career development in this Japanese traditional industry to support the career development of the youth working (or trying to work) in other industries or communities. We can indicate possible ways of application as follows.

First, as for young people who are in the early stage of career, the human relationships in the organization are very important to establish their vocational identities. Thus, while mentoring relationship with people surrounding the young such as boss and senior of their work place play key role for their growth, having strong relationship with variety of people inside and outside organization they belong stimulate their growth strongly. Therefore, like okasan or onesan of okiya, mentors will take a significant role to facilitate the construction of these developmental relationships from the inside or the outside of organizations. We expect the mechanism that keeps developmental network in Kyoto hanamachi can be applied to motivate mentors in enterprises to have role of networking node.

Second, we seem to be able to apply this system when public institutions or non-profit organizations are going to support unemployment young people to get a job and start their career smoothly. It is expected that, by cooperating with firms (especially with small & medium sized), the young are looked after by regional government and NPO for a certain period of time and nurtured by multiple people in the community.

We hope our research will contribute to the growth of young people starting up their career and people, organizations, and communities supporting their career development in Japan and around the world.

REFERENCES

- Arthur, M.B. 1994. The boundaryless career: A new perspective for organizational inquiry, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 15: 295-306.
- Dalby, L. 1983. *Geisha*. New York: University of California press.
- Dayhoff, S.A. 1983. Single and Multiple Mentors: Perceived Effects on Managerial Success. unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Boston University, Massachusetts.
- Erickson, E.H. 1968. *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Higgins, M. C. & Kram, K. E. 2001.Reconceptualizing mentoring at work: A developmental network perspective. *Academy of Management Review*, 26(2): 264-288.
- Higgins, M.C. 2000. The more, the merrier? Multiple developmental relationships and work satisfaction. *The Journal of Management Development*, 19(4): 277-296.
- Komomo. 2008. *A Geisha's Journey*, Tokyo: Kodansha International
- Kram, K. E. 1985. *Mentoring at work: Developmental relationships in organizational life*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- Kram, K. E. 1996. A Relational approach to career development. In Hall, D. T. (Ed.) 1996 *Career is Dead*. San-Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Nishio, K. 2006. The Career of Geisha. *The Japanese Journal of Labor Studies*, 48(4): 5-8.
- Nishio, K. 2007. *Kyoto hanamachi no keieigaku*. Tokyo: Toyokeizaishuppansha.
- Nishio, K. 2008. Career Development and Business Systems in the Traditional Culture Industry- Training of Geiko / Maiko and the Systems of hanamachi in Kyoto, *IL POLITICORIVISTA AYALIANA DI SCIENZE POLITICHE Università Degli Studi Di Pavia*, 218 (2) :221-234.
- Noe, R. A., Noe, A.W. & Bachhuber, J.A. 1990. An investigation of the career motivation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 37: 340-356.
- Wakabayashi, M. & Graen, G. 1984. The Japanese career progress study: A 7-year follow-up. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 69(4): 603-614.