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研究課題名（和文） 組織における新しい人間関係の構築：ケーススタディー

研究課題名（英文） Building New Human Relations in an Organizational Setting: A Field Study

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研究成果の概要（和文）：本研究では、職場におけるコミュニティ感を復元させる要因を見極める試みとして、6ヶ月に渡る、特定の居酒屋における人間関係の構築に関する観察が行われた。組織シチズン行動、コミュニティおよび第3の場所（サード・プレイス）の概念を理論的な枠組みに、フィールド観察および聞き取り調査を分析し、ソーシャル・タイズ（社会的絆）やコミュニティの構築に有効な機能、役割ならびにドライバを明らかにした。研究結果は、管理職がリーダーとしてではなく、「ホスト」として自分の役割を再定義する必要があることを示唆している。また、サード・プレイスの特徴の一つである、「遊び心」(playfulness)も、職場における人間関係の好循環を駆動するための主要な要因として浮上している。

研究成果の概要（英文）：This research explores the human interaction at a Japanese *izakaya* over a six-month period in an attempt to identify factors applicable for restoring a sense of community in the workplace. Using OCB, community and third place concepts as a theoretical framework, field observations and interviews were analysed to uncover functions, roles and drivers effective in building social ties and community. The findings suggest that supervisors need to redefine their roles as “hosts” rather than leaders. “Playfulness” also emerges as a key platform for driving a virtuous cycle of interaction in the workplace.

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I. Introduction

“... somehow, in our hectic, individualist world, the sense of community has been lost in too many companies...”

(Henry Mintzberg, 2009:2)

There is a growing number of studies from both academics and practitioners on transition in the workplace and Japanese organizational models, including changing work patterns, evaluation and pay schemes as well as hiring practices (see, for example, Chuma & Suruga 1997; Nohara 1999; Yamanishi 2009; Conrad 2010). Undeniably, the past twenty years has seen significant change in the Japanese workplace. The share of full-time employees has dropped sharply and a series of legislation has hastened more diversity in the workplace (see, for example, JILPT 2006). In-house welfare programs have eroded (Nippon Keidanren 2009) and large-scale retrenchments are no longer a rarity. Japanese workers themselves are increasingly switching jobs mid-career (MHLW 2007), and a fairly stable 10% of the workforce expresses a desire to change jobs (Statistics Bureau 2010). Meanwhile, corporate scandals have made it hard for many employees to feel pride and loyalty at work, which has been mirrored by a gradual decline in work centrality as reported, for example, in Sharabi & Harpaz (2007, 2010) and graphically illustrated in a content analysis of Japanese worker poetry (Spinks 2011).

Given the importance of organizational climate, context and relational transactions in the Japanese organization (Cappelli 1999; Cangia 2010), this change is of major importance. It is also underscored by the shift to a knowledge-based economy, where employee engagement and/or organizational citizenship behaviours (OCB) are increasingly seen to be key ingredients of a firm's success (Hodson 2002; Organ *et al* 2006). OCB is frequently operationalized as including cooperation, commitment, pride in work, extra effort and peer training, behaviours that have long been associated with so-called Japanese management practices and workplace relations. Recent research focussed specifically on OCB in the Japanese context identifies three dimensions (voluntary involvement, general compliance, and personal industry) and suggests Japanese firms “should try to create a more friendly organizational culture, atmosphere, and environment to boost the affective commitment of individuals” (Wang 2011:17).

Other work also discusses a decline in the workplace climate in Japan. Tanaka (2008) examines at length antisocial behaviour in the Japanese firm. Amagasa (2007) links the introduction of performance pay to greater workplace depression. Okabe (2012) also documents a deteriorating work climate in Japanese firms in his comparison of 1995 and 2009 manager attitudes. An Internet search in Japanese for “deteriorating workplace relations” resulted in 5.5 million hits, the top fifty or so being individual blogs seeking advice on how to deal with or bemoaning poor relations with colleagues and/or supervisors, one site even offering a checklist to measure the “degree of strained relations between engineers” (Recruit 2012). It is against such a backdrop that this research set out

to explore the possibility of restoring a sense of community, or creating new ways of bolstering human relations, in the Japanese workplace.

The single most novel feature of the research is the use of a non-organizational setting to explore organizational issues. Unusual data sources are being used more and more today for research on Japanese organizations and the so-called salaryman. For example, Matanle et al. (2008) examines the representation of salarymen in two popular adult comics to shed light on responses to turbulent workplaces. Meyer-Ohle's (2009) uses Internet blogs and diaries to examine worker perceptions of contextual changes. The author has also analyzed salaryman poems to identify employee reactions to changing work climates (Spinks 2011).

The research was planned with the expectation that this unique approach would highlight factors that might otherwise be inaccessible or lost in traditional settings. It is also very difficult to identify potential new roles in a conventional worker-manager relationship. Exploring a metaphorical setting was the most challenging aspect of this research. In particular, positing the middle manager as a communication facilitator and community protagonist was believed to have the potential to lead to a range of new theoretical insights about workplace leadership, worker motivation and organizational citizenship behaviours.

II. Theoretical Frameworks

The research draws on three theoretical or conceptual frameworks for its design and interpretation, namely Organizational Citizenship Behaviour (OCB) theory, Voydanoff's conceptualization of community, and Oldenburg's notion of the Third Place. Wang's (2011) reduction of the five-dimensional OCB model into a three-dimensional model for the Japanese context is adopted here. This model defines three dimensions of OCB, namely voluntary involvement, general compliance, and personal industry. According to Wang, voluntary involvement (encompassing altruism and civic virtue in the original model) refers to own-initiative active behaviour that may benefit other individuals, organizational processes or the organization per se; general compliance (replacing sportsmanship in the original model) pertains to tolerance and an absence of complaints; personal industry (encompassing generalized compliance and conscientiousness in the original model) refers to punctuality, exemplary attendance and conscientiousness.

In her conceptualization of community, Voydanoff (2001) first states that there is a growing demand for expanding the analysis of work and family to include community. Her overview of the community concept highlights both territorial criteria (a shared place) and relational criteria (individual interaction). She further uses an ecological systems approach to identify four ecological levels: the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem. Work, family and community are all posited as microsystems, the linkages between these microsystems comprising mesosystems. Exosystems are the external environments that exert an indirect influence on people, and a

macrosystem consists of the overarching pattern of broad belief systems and institutional patterns, or the larger social context. The most pertinent of these for the study at hand are the concepts of community as a microsystem and the work-community mesosystem, although Voydanoff envisions the latter as more of an interface between the two domains or the combined effects of two microsystems, whereas this research aims to explore the possibility of taking aspects of the community microsystem and transplanting them into the work microsystem, an approach that differs from the mediating or moderating role Voydanoff describes (left-hand side, Figure 1). In fact, expanding on Voydanoff's position that community satisfaction is conceptually comparable to job satisfaction, the current study attempts to identify elements of the community microsystem that may impact on job satisfaction, as depicted by the right-hand diagram in Figure 1.

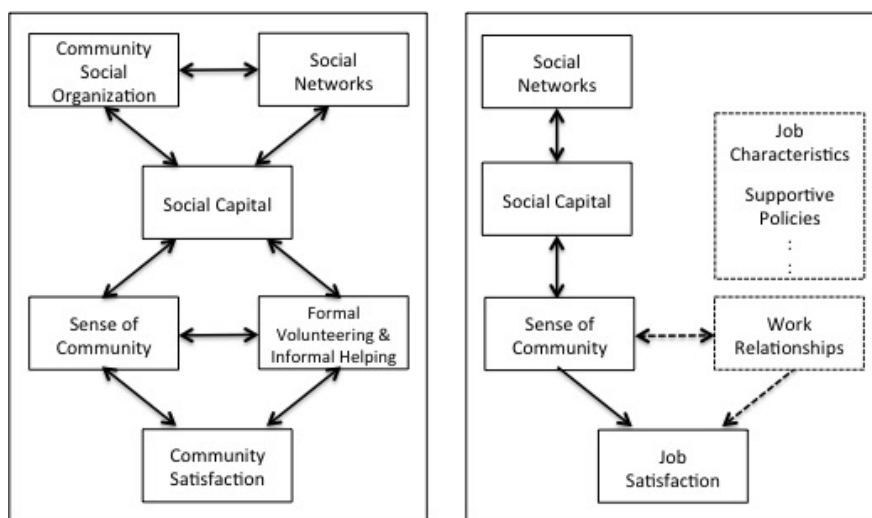


Figure 1. Voydanoff's Community Microsystem vs This Research Model

According to Oldenburg, a third place is “a generic description for a great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home [the first place] and work [the second place]” (1989:16). He further states that third place association is essential to building the “infrastructure of human relationships” (2001:2). Based on his observations, Oldenburg (1989: 22-42) cites the following eight characteristics as defining a “great good” third place:

- 1) On neutral ground (no-one is required to play host; all feel at home and comfortable).
- 2) A social leveler (accessible to the general public; inclusive not exclusive; personality not status).
- 3) Conversation the main activity (rules exist and are adhered to; lively, witty, engrossing; style more than content).
- 4) Accessibility and accommodation (open long hours; assured some acquaintance or other will be there; unstructured, unplanned contact).
- 5) The regulars (set the tone of the conviviality; trust-based acceptance of newcomers; sustained

vitality).

- 6) A low profile (typically plain; often old; homeliness inside and out).
- 7) A playful mood (joy and acceptance not anxiety and alienation; subtle or boisterous;).
- 8) A home away from home (radically different but similar psychologically comfort to a good home; strong sense of ownership; socially regenerative and a feeling of being at ease; warmth and companionship).

While Oldenburg does not ascribe any *a priori* order to these characteristics or depict them in graphic form, their purported relationship can be illustrated as per Figure 2. This shows that neutral ground as well as accessibility/accommodation form the basis of the third place and provide the stage for a strongly reinforcing, mutual interplay between social levelling, conversation and the regulars. By discouraging transient customers, the third place's low physical profile helps create a core of regular clients, and the generally playful mood augments the leveller/conversation-regular cycle to create a pleasant and companionable home away from home. In Voydanoff terms, this analysis of the third place shows it is by definition territorial, but is sustained by relational criteria.

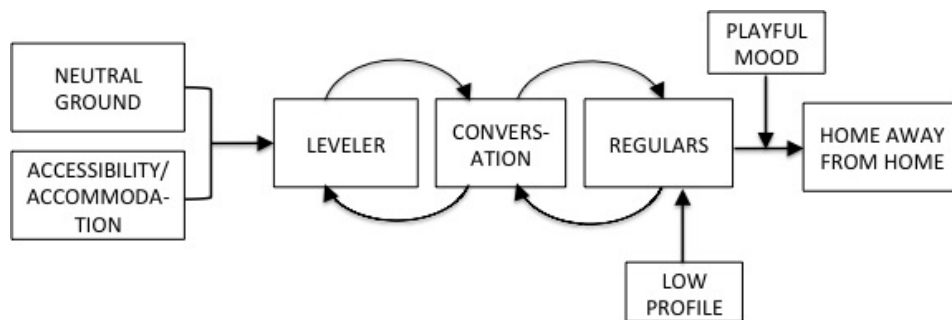


Figure 2. A Third Place Model

Oldenburg also discusses the benefits that accrue to the individual habitué of a third place, condensing them into the four factors of novelty, perspective, spiritual tonic and friends by the set (Oldenburg 1989: 44). By novelty, he is referring to an escape from the dullness of routine, which is made possible by the third place's diverse population, looseness of structure and inherent lack of organization (ibid: 45-46). Perspective pertains to a healthy outlook engendered by association with a wide group and the collective wisdom of its members, enhanced by a generous dose of humour or laughing *with* rather than laughing *at* someone (ibid: 50-54). Spiritual tonic refers to the third place's ability to raise the spirits of its participants, through a combination of joy=well-being, vivacity=liveliness and relief=release from duty (ibid: 55). Friends by the set is related to what Oldenburg terms a "paradox of sociability", namely we want to enjoy sociable relations, but we also need protection from those relations infringing too much on our privacy (ibid. 61). Because third place friendships are "forms of affiliation" rather than "intimacy", they tend to be broad and varied (ibid: 63). Moreover, since there is no dependence on a particular friend – it is enough that *someone* be there – third place friendships are deemed to be more accessible and therefore more

reliable (ibid: 64).

To sum up, the research explores whether community aspects, specifically Third Place attributes and styles of interaction, can be used for positive ends, i.e. restoring a sense of community, in organizational settings, and if so, which aspects are transplantable. It further assumes that:

- 1) The need for affiliation, especially the desire for friendly and close interpersonal relationships is an intrinsic need;
- 2) A greater sense of community impacts positively on job satisfaction; and
- 3) The purposeful encouragement of third place attributes can have a positive impact on the OCB dimensions of voluntary involvement and general compliance.

III. The Field

In order to explore the workplace implications of interpersonal relations in a non-traditional setting, the research uses a field where workers do not belong to the same organization but share a common “*ba*”, which Nonaka and Konno (1998) define as “a shared space for emerging relationships” (p.40), and which can be physical, virtual, mental or any combination thereof. It was hoped that such a setting would elucidate factors that create and/or maintain social ties. It was decided that an appropriate field would be one where the presence of a facilitator promoted communication and a sense of solidarity. Accordingly, the field was a carefully chosen single-front *izakaya* (Japanese pub), where the owner acted as the facilitator, posited as middle management, and regular customers act as employee prototypes. The aim was to observe personal relations between individuals who do not have hierarchical relations, bearing in mind that “autonomous workers” and “fostering a feeling of oneness” (*ittaikan no jōsei*) are stated goals of many Japanese firms today (cf. Nippon Keidanren 2010:4). More specifically, the aim was to use fieldwork observation to identify relational transactions between autonomous workers; to explore the role of middle management as a facilitator in the creation of a sense of community; and to identify possible drivers of employee engagement. As such, the research can be characterized as a field observation study using a grounded theory approach.

A Brief Introduction to the Izakaya

Before describing the research methodology, it is perhaps appropriate to provide a brief outline of the Japanese *izakaya*, an establishment the reader may not be familiar with. As France has its cafes, Italy its bars, Britain its pubs, America its taverns, so Japan has its *izakaya*. According to Ohta (2003), the *izakaya* dates back to Tokyo in the Edo Period (1603-1867), growing out of small shopfronts selling take-out *sake* by the container, which then gradually progressed to serving drinks on the premises, eventually offering simple dishes as well. At the time, the male population in Tokyo vastly outnumbered the female population, so these establishments became popular as a place where the large number of single males could drink and eat companionably at an affordable

price.

The izakaya has seen a boom in popularity in modern-day Japan, largely fostered by the advent of izakaya chains, which once again offer cheap food and drink. The chains have changed the profile of the izakaya from predominantly a place for male labourers and office workers to one that is increasingly popular with women as well, any night finding these venues crowded with workers, students and large groups of friends. The izakaya also has a well-established place in popular Japanese culture, being the subject matter of novels, movies, popular songs and *rakugo* comedy sketches. Interestingly, in the wake of the growing popularity of Japanese cuisine abroad, the izakaya now seems to be going international, with establishments mentioned in blogs from New York (Teshirogi 2006) and Vancouver (Okamoto 2008).

Mike Molasky, a professor of social science at Hitotsubashi University, has a deep interest in the cultural connotations of the izakaya. In a regular column published in the Tokyo Shimbun newspaper in 2011 and 2012, he describes the attraction of the izakaya in terms that often echo quite closely Oldenburg's third place. For example, he cites plainness and/or shabbiness, or "low profile" in Oldenburg terms, as one of the izakaya's defining characteristics (2011a; 2011b; 2011e; 2011h); the art of conversation is highlighted (2011c; 2011j; 2011k); the playful nature and the gentle ribbing of regulars is mentioned (2011d); accessibility and accommodation, including long hours, a tolerance of people from all walks of life, the assurance of an acquaintance being there and the unstructured nature of time are also featured (2011g; 2011i; 2012b). Shared space and a sense of ownership (2011j), inclusiveness (2012b), a sense of conviviality and warmth (2011i) are all further descriptors, which match Oldenburg's own analysis of a great, good third place.

Molasky (2011f) also lists what he considers to be the standout characteristics of a good izakaya. Specifically:

- 1) the presence of a popular host (Oldenburg's "public character");
- 2) interesting food and alcohol;
- 3) cheap prices but surprisingly tasty offerings; and
- 4) a great atmosphere.

He further identifies several characteristics, which he thinks defines the archetypal izakaya that grew out of the post-war black markets, namely they are small, cheap, plain, accessible but hidden, and have a loose indoor/outdoor demarcation (Molasky 2012a). Many of these match Oldenburg's third place criteria.

Field Selection

Selecting an appropriate field was of paramount importance for exploring the stated research theme. However, the need for frequent observation over a reasonably long period of time inherently meant the field needed to be accessibly close. Fortunately, the author's primary workplace is situated in a part of Tokyo well known for its wealth of eating and drinking establishments. It was, therefore, decided to focus the search for an observation field in the Kagurazaka district of Tokyo.

A preliminary walk-by survey located a small, fairly inconspicuous, but still typical alley housing a total of ten drinking places (Figure 3). The relatively concealed nature of the location meant that the clientele were more likely to be regulars than casual off-the-street customers, and would therefore be a fruitful place to explore. With the exception of the two eateries, each establishment was visited over a two-week period; observations made on the general atmosphere; the type of clientele; the interaction between staff and customers; and customer interaction. On the basis of these observations, it was decided that Bar M offered the most potential for the research at hand.

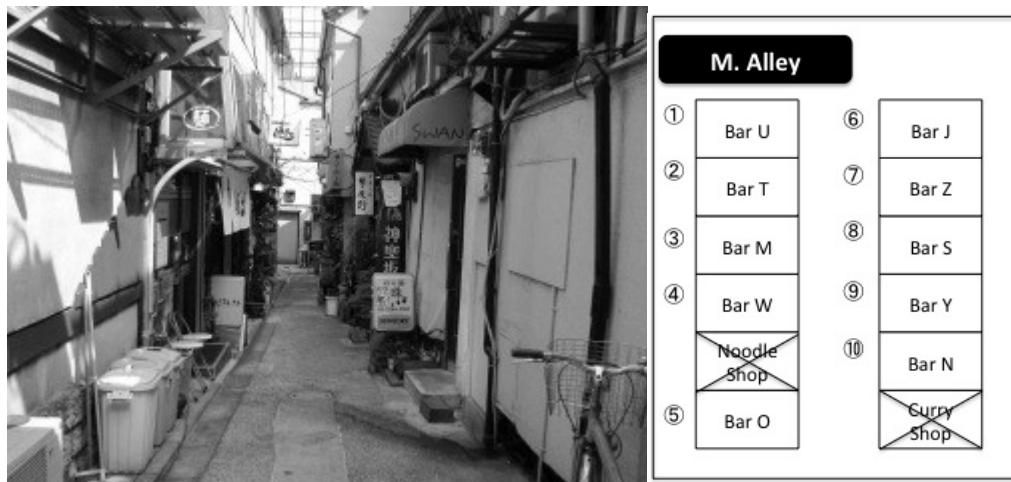


Figure 3. M. Alley: External Daytime View and Map

Period of Observation

Because the research was an inductive study requiring close observation of the interpersonal relations between a given set of people, it was crucial for the researcher to observe patrons over a period of time and in an unobtrusive way. To this end, the researcher spent several months establishing herself in the field and observing multiple interactions between different members of the identified group. The actual period of observation ran from September 2011 to February 2012, and involved a total of 23 visits (93 hours).

Field Interviews

While the field observation forms the core of the study, several interviews were conducted to provide additional insight into the field dynamics. Interview protocols covered visiting patterns, relational ties with other customers and the owner, as well as some demographic details. They were also designed to capture concepts such as social ties, social capital, citizenship behaviour, engagement drivers, roles and support functions (Appendix 1). All interviews were semi-structured, an in-depth interview being conducted with the proprietor as well as five regular patrons, who were selected based on observations and the advice of the proprietor. The same researcher conducted all interviews.

III. Findings

Bar M observations

The current proprietor has been operating Bar M since February 1994, although the bar, and indeed the alley, dates back some fifty years. It seats between 9-12 customers and is a homely, counter-only space approximately 2.7 metres by 5.4 metres, with a small gas cooking range tucked away in a back corner and a karaoke machine (Figure 4). It is quite typical of the alley and Japanese hole-in-the-wall drinking places in general, nothing marking it out as distinctive or unusual. The owner, or “*mama-san*” as women working behind the counter in these establishments are called, is an attractive, personable woman in her sixties. Bar M was her first foray into business and given the bar’s staying power, a successful one.



Figure 4. Bar M: Floorplan and Interior

Upon entering the bar, one is immediately struck by the large number of bottles displayed in the shelves behind the counter, totalling around 150. Most Japanese bars use a system known as “bottle-keep”, where instead of paying by the glass, a patron can buy his or her own bottle, which the *mama-san* tags and keeps for them until the next visit. In the long run, it is cheaper to buy a bottle, but only if one intends to return on a semi-regular basis. The large number of bottle-keeps in Bar M suggests a sizeable clientele of a fairly regular nature as well as the *mama-san*’s non-predatory approach since many bars remove bottle-keeps after three months of inactivity. In fact, the *mama-san* prides herself on being able to put her hand immediately on a patron’s bottle even after a long absence.

The bar’s clientele is a mix of local workers from all walks of life and local residents, the relatively large presence of female customers a first hint that something may be somewhat different here. Irrespective of gender, patrons tend to be middle-aged or higher and many are regulars although the bar’s proximity to the well-known entertainment district of Kagurazaka sees a steady

trickle of new faces despite its back alley location. Another striking feature of the bar is the amount of interplay between patrons, actively encouraged and abetted by the mama-san. Even if they are not paying express attention, everyone applauds during the instrumental break in a karaoke song and when the performance is over. Comments are freely given about the selection of a song, and themes are musically pursued, one song about Osaka, for example, will trigger a flood of Osaka-themed tunes.

Clearly, the mama-san is a major draw card not only for the male patrons but the female patrons. A vivacious and eminently likeable personality as well as good cook, almost everything she serves is home-made, providing not only snacks but meals for the regulars. Not being Tokyo born and bred, she tries to provide regional specialities from her home prefecture as well as fresh food from her farming family still living there. So, it is not unusual, to be treated to “older sister’s pickled plum” or “big brother’s mountain vegetables”. Nor is it unusual for her to mischievously praise herself for being a “genius” cook as she samples her own wares.

The mama-san’s *modus operandi* towards the regulars tends to be familiarly playful, sometimes engaging in mock scolding, at other times leaving them up to their own devices. If there is a mix of regulars and newer customers in attendance, she will pay more attention to the latter, trying to draw them out through conversation or karaoke. If the newer customer is on his or her own, she will focus on them a great deal in an effort to ensure they feel welcome and part of the scene. For younger single men, she will endeavour to see that they eat a balanced array of food, including a solid serving of vegetables. For older patrons, she searches out old songs for them to sing, sometimes suggesting a duet with herself. If a former regular returns after a long absence, she will choose songs she knows they like, sometimes bringing out a photo album to share memories with them. It is interesting to note that the regulars unerringly follow her lead in how to treat newcomers – friendly and welcoming if mama-san is, cold and distant if not.

On the rare occasions that relatively unfamiliar customers make inappropriate comments, for example harping on about her age, inviting her away for the weekend, or bald-faced sexual innuendos, she puts them firmly in their place albeit with a smile. Customers who intrude on other patrons or start arguments are quickly taken out, installed in one of the other bars in the alley and given a talking to when she feels she can safely leave her bar in the care of the regulars. Drunks are given no ingress and new customers who look unable to handle their alcohol are told they will only be served three drinks on their first visit. Regulars who are the worse for wear quickly find their bottle replaced with a cup of green tea. She is also quick to stop anyone trying to take photos in the bar, a more frequent problem nowadays with the advent of the ubiquitous mobile phone.

While karaoke is a major pastime in the bar, conversation is the key activity. Topics of conversation can range from the mundane (the weather, the seasons, travel, songs, drinks, food, sport, TV shows) to the topical (earthquakes, the nuclear crisis, university exams, festivals, the Greek crisis, a newly departed singer or actor) to the specific (the death of a former regular, someone’s illness, local events, looking after elderly parents,), but very rarely the political. Perhaps

due to the researcher's presence, another frequent topic of conversation was bygone Tokyo and/or Japan.

One interesting topic that cropped up two or three times among female patrons was drinking styles, specifically the "Showa-style of drinking", always used pejoratively to indicate a man who could only drink with women as sex objects, versus the "Heisei-style of drinking", which indicated a man who could drink on equal terms with a women, enjoying her company rather than her gender (Showa refers to the reign of the previous emperor 1926-1989 and Heisei to the current emperor's reign 1989-). One reason for the strong female presence at Bar M is that the majority of male patrons adhere to a Heisei-style of drinking.

Japan is known as an extremely polite society, which places a considerable amount of emphasis on formality. As such, it is unusual to call anyone but your closest intimates by their first name, family names being the usual form of address. As is also widely known, Japanese uses a gender-free form of address, everyone being known as Y-san or X-san. This "san" is replaced by the diminutive "chan" between close friends and family. Bar M breaks this rule, however, by operating almost entirely on a "chan" basis. The mama-san, almost all of the regulars, even relative newcomers are quickly dubbed "chan" irrespective of age, gender or status, which adds to the overall sense of intimacy and friendliness.

Field interviews

The regulars

Five regulars were interviewed to augment the field observations. Four were male; two were in their forties; one each in their fifties, sixties and seventies. Two were retired; one was in publishing, one in civil engineering, one in IT entertainment. Two were single, two married and one widowed. Table 1 organizes their comments according to the protocol design.

Regarding patronage patterns, three initially drifted in; one was taken by another person; and one was introduced by a neighbouring establishment when it was full. Length of patronage ranged from eight to seventeen years, the most frequent visiting two times a week, the least frequent once a month. Most usually came alone, but one came with co-workers and/or clients. Most drank elsewhere if Bar M was closed.

Regarding relational aspects, there was almost no external contact with other patrons, and only a scanty knowledge of personal information. Major topics of conversations converged on small talk, travel and sports, especially baseball. Two mentioned "going with the flow" or "following the lead". In response to whether they had learnt anything from other regulars, each interpreted this in their own way, D, for example, joking "I'm always teaching them", while G commented tongue in cheek that he learnt everything from D. S, on the other hand, said she had not learnt much, while U said he had learnt how to welcome newcomers and SH said he had learnt a great deal, especially about the value of a supportive atmosphere. U was adamantly "not interested" in knowing the personal particulars of the other regulars, while SH intimated that asking questions along those lines was

“taboo”.

Table 1. Regulars’ interview synopsis

	Patronage	Relational	Bar M qualities	Mama-san relation
<i>D</i>	16 years; 2 times/ week; usually solo; unset hours; 5-6 other regular places near work or home; used to be near work, now it’s a special trip	No external contact, no cooperation; didn’t know full names, home towns, family make-up; knew where half the other regulars lived and most occupations	Prefer genuine places with good food; lots of regulars, easy to come alone; “switching”, a place to leave work behind before heading home; never really thought about rules; drink elsewhere if Bar M not open	No external contact these days; no cooperation except buying a bit of duty free and helping with mobile phone settings; not a community, more “a scruffy gang”
<i>G</i>	8 years; 2 times/ month; usually alone; unset hours; 2-3 other regular places near work or home; Bar M near work	No external contact, no cooperation, but concern about health; didn’t know full names, home towns, family make-up, place of residence; knew occupations of roughly half the other regulars	Prefer good looking mama-san and cheerful atmosphere; lots of regulars; family-like feeling, like coming home; not rules but follow mama’s lead re newcomers; drink elsewhere if Bar M not open	No external contact; cooperate re newcomers and eat what mama put in front of you; a community, but limited to the bar and only when there; “a family”
<i>S</i>	17 years; 1-2 times/week; usually solo; around 7pm; no other regular places; Bar M near home	External contact with 1 regular; cooperation in sharing seats; didn’t know full names, occupations; knew home towns, family make-up and place or residence for half the other regulars	Prefer places with a common touch, not posh, and a likeable mama; tasty food; nice class of clientele, easy to come solo; come on a set day, but sometimes drop in after going out; not aware of any rules; stay home if Bar M not open	Often run into each other in the neighbourhood; no cooperation really; a kind of community, “a taste of home, a safe place”
<i>SH</i>	10 years; 1 time/ month; usually with 4-5 clients/ colleagues; after a meal; 5-6 other regular places near work; Bar M near work	External contact rarely, no cooperation; didn’t know full names, home towns, family make-up; knew indirectly where some regulars lived but only a few occupations	Prefer places where you can relax and talk, not an in-and-out place; like being in your slippers; space is good, the way mama keeps the right distance; go when tired, when wanting some space to figure something out; rules are don’t ask and fit in; drink elsewhere if Bar M not open	Run into each other occasionally in the neighbourhood; no cooperation; yes, a community, “a village”

U	13 years; 2 times/week; usually alone; 1 time at 7pm, other time after being out; 2-3 other regular places home; Bar M near home and work	No external contact, no cooperation; didn't know full names, home towns, family make-up, occupations or where other regulars lived	Dislike new, trendy places, like to stumble across a place; good patrons and a good atmosphere; go regularly or after a meal, or if I don't want to go straight home, but never after 11pm; don't know about rules, just do what mama says; reluctantly drink somewhere else if Bar M not open	No external contact; no cooperation; yes, a community, "a man's roost"
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Regarding Bar M qualities, personal preferences were for a “genuine place”; “a place with a common touch”; a “relaxed place”; a “cheerful atmosphere”; “not trendy”. The fact that Bar M had a lot of regulars was commonly seen as a plus. D, when asked why he frequented Bar M out of all other possible places, shot back in a fine example of third place repartee, “Well, I’ve been banned from all the others.” G gave his thoughtful reason as “it seems the same, but it’s always different, the food, the patrons; I feel relaxed.” S said she chose Bar M because of its location and because she “fit in”. SH emphatically cited his reason as being “Mama-san!”, but then continued that he felt this part of town needed to be protected as a part of living Showa history. U merely stated, “I can’t do without a regular place. After my old place was closed because of some redevelopment, it took me three years to find this one.”

Regarding their relationship to the mama-san, everyone mentioned their conversation was mainly small talk, although D said she listened to his grumbles and SH that she would comment that he looked tired, for example. Interestingly, when asked to sum up Bar M in a word, they respectively came up with “switching”, “a safe place for women”, “family”, and “Mama” twice, succinctly illustrating the major role Bar M assumed for each, the switcher have a high-pressure job, the elderly woman looking for safety, the single man far from his hometown a family, and the other two looking for a comforting female presence. The metaphors put forward are also illuminating, safety and/or intimacy being common to three (family, a taste of home, village), and a not entirely tongue-in-cheek machismo in the other two (a scruffy gang, a man’s roost).

D also mentioned how little mama-san knew about running a bar in the early days. At the time he was twenty and she was in her forties, so it was unusual to be asked for advice from someone older and he found it fun being asked this and that. He said how she was willing to listen to whatever a patron talked about, almost like a psychologist, and in the early days there was an elderly man who had seen so much of life that many patrons came to the bar to drink with him and learn from him.

Mama-san

The in-depth interview with the mama-san was designed to cover several conceptual areas. The material was also supplemented by informal discussions over the duration of the observation period. Her own personal motivation in opening the bar was to support herself and her family; age and lack of holidays made other jobs difficult; and she wanted a certain degree of freedom as well as to mix with people from different walks of life.

Regarding social ties, the profile of patrons naturally affects this, and at Bar M they are a mix of both local workers and residents, patrons who come late tending to be local residents. The average age of the clientele has been fairly high from the bar's earliest days. Company employees account for 7:3, and women about 2:8. Friday is popular with women. In the early days, many patrons were from the self-defence forces – one came initially and then they just “snowballed”.

Although difficult to say, the total number of patrons was estimated at 80-100, of which 60 could be deemed regulars. These, however, could be divided up into complete regulars (10, high frequency, know all about them and their families, can be open with them); semi-regulars (20, more sporadic, want to maintain a certain distance with them either because of their position or circumstances); and long-term regulars (30, long time between visits, but have been coming for many years).

As for the maintenance of social ties, it is a point of pride that customers get on well – the mama-san stating she was “a stickler” for helping patrons reach that stage. She also claimed to be a stickler for remembering the likes and dislikes of patrons, including allergies and dietary requirements.

One example of the social capital she herself has created at the Bar is the fact that she was called or texted by several patrons in the wake of the March 2011 earthquake to see if she was alright. She was also contacted to see how things were going when the bar was closed for two months in 2011 due to a family illness. Further back in the past, patrons called her when there was a fire in the neighbourhood to see if she and the premises were safe. This concern on the part of patrons for her well-being demonstrates the strong ties that exist in what should ostensibly be purely a commercial relation.

Queried on whether the clientele could be termed a community, she responded that while they did not constitute an “instant family”, she viewed the patrons as “drinking siblings”. She mentioned that one patron had dubbed the bar/regulars “Chirorin Village” [referring to an old TV show where vegetables cooperated with each other, but also fought over silly issues].

One measure of relational transactions is the nature of conversation that takes place. In this regard, the mama-san stated that conversation could be topical (earthquakes, radiation), run-of-the mill (sports) or personal (business trips, illness), but very rarely about work or family. Depending on the members, the talk could become a bit “close to the bone”, but sexual topics were fairly unusual.

She herself did not usually know patrons' full names or where they lived, but had a good idea of their occupations and their home prefectures. She did not know much about respective family make-ups. As a rule, she had no outside contact with her patrons, although she occasionally did things with some of the female regulars, such as bowling, a concert, or a meal.

Concerning cooperation, there was not a lot of express cooperation but sometimes a regular might be asked to pick up a forgotten shopping item or to mind the bar while she stepped out. Someone might

give her a shoulder rub if she was tired. If called out or the phone rang in the middle of a duet, a female patron would often step in for the rest of the song.

In terms of citizenship behaviour, regulars would be asked to put up with a difficult patron, to squeeze up, or sometimes to leave, if the bar was crowded. Regulars also accepted that she would spend more time with a new or difficult customer and leave the regulars more or less up to their own devices. She refers to this tacit arrangement as relying on “the good graces of the regulars” (*joren no yoshimi dakara*). “*They help protect the bar; to make sure the bar runs well. It’s a huge help.*”

When queried on emotional highs and lows, she responded, “*The most enjoyable time is when I am sitting at the counter with some ‘complete regulars’, having a cup of tea and a chat. I feel really happy then; that’s the best. It’s such a nice feeling when the customers let me indulge myself.*” As to the lows, the arrival of a “god of poverty”, i.e. a patron whose appearance invariably meant it would be a slow night, was cited first. The presence of “a groper” when women patrons were in the house was cited next, because she would be “flat out trying to protect” the women. Another instance was when “an old duffer” who had been turned away time and again, still turned up, usually with someone in tow, in the hope that she would let him in.

Regarding her role as facilitator, no special skills seem to have been brought from any previous occupation. The conversation was dominated by small talk; tending to individual needs (dietary, psychological) was seen as providing a basis for a sense of comfort. In addition, she made a conscious effort to help patrons get on well with one another. She perceived her own role as “a bridge helping patrons become friends”; “a catalyst” (through song and conversation); “a neutralizing agent” (when things heated up); “a watchdog” (protecting the bar’s atmosphere by keeping unsavoury elements out); “a navigator” or “command tower” also seemed appropriate at times.

According to her, the most important criterion for being a great *mama-san* was expressed as follows. “*Since a large part of the job is listening to people, one patron said I was like a counsellor. You don’t have to listen to everything they say, but it’s important to catch the key points, anything that is underlined. A good listener makes the best mama, but I’m such a chatterbox myself...*” She also stated that she made an effort to look after the female patrons, because they brightened the place up.

As regards the *ba*, or shared space, the shop itself was leased and was chosen for its proximity to the *mama-san*’s home, its size, which was manageable without having to hire other staff, and its location in an alley of other bars, which would ensure a certain amount of traffic and overflow custom. No special attention was paid to the interior, the *mama-san* not liking gaudy decorations. A red lantern was hung outside to create a warm image. The concept was to provide a full service to patrons, so they did not have to go to one place for food, another to sing, then another to drink. This would mean more money for Bar M, but also be cheaper for patrons than visiting three different premises. Six to eight patrons staying all night was also easier to cater to than a constant churn of customers. She deemed the single defining feature of Bar M to be that patrons not only got on very well, but that they wanted to do so.

When asked about the support functions she provided to her patrons, she replied that she gave

advice when asked, but was careful to limit such advice to “I think so-and-so”, not “Do such-and-such.” She strove to never go beyond providing food for thought. She was also mindful of her elder patrons, keeping an eye on the toilet, for example, just to make sure they were alright. She also recorded tapes for patrons who wanted to master a particular song, or helped them with the tune when they were learning a new song. She also took care to provide a healthy menu; didn’t let anyone drink too much; telephoned if regulars had not been for a month to see if they were alright, especially the regulars she knew lived alone.

Regarding the support she received from her patrons, her immediate response was, “*They support me all the time!*” (“*Sorry, that’s not on the menu, neither’s that.*” “*Alright then, anything’ll do.*”). *The patrons who know my family circumstances [she has an autistic son] arrange their visits to suit me when I open late, but I also keep the bar open longer than usual for them. Sometimes I’ll ask a patron to listen to a problem I have, but only the ‘complete regulars’. For several years, the regulars tried to help the bar out by holding a monthly wine-tasting evening on the Tuesday before payday when custom is always low. They don’t do it so much now...*”

Third place attributes

While the preceding narrative overview provides a thumb sketch of the field and the interview content a more detailed insight, specific observations and content need to be organized into some kind of framework in order to facilitate the final step of the study, namely exploring the implications for improving workplace relations. To that end, Oldenburg’s third place framework is useful.

Neutral ground

Undoubtedly, Bar M comprises neutral ground, no one being required to act the host except the mama-san, and a high degree of comfort and social ease are evident.

Social leveller

In terms of occupational breadth and variety of social status, Bar M easily meets this requirement. Here, the building labourer rubs shoulders with the university professor, and the only recognized “rank” is length of patronage. Somewhat unusually for Japan, women patrons are as welcome as men, and appearances by family members, whether they be small children, out of town relations or a mentally disabled son, are all taken in their stride.

Conversation the main activity

In a culture often portrayed as painfully polite and dour, the repartee at Bar M is surprisingly fast-paced, witty and, at times, biting. Several regulars are known to be incorrigible punsters, while others are quick to take the rise out of other patrons. Karaoke often supplements or acts as a catalyst for conversation, people always ready to praise the singing of others or to

comment on the choice of song, conversation flowing on from there. This is especially true when newcomers are in attendance, karaoke breaking the ice. Regulars also adhere almost completely to Sedgwick's seven rules of conversation as cited by Oldenburg (1989: 28). For example, personal problems are usually set aside, although the mama-san lends a friendly ear in one-on-one settings albeit without proffering definitive advice.

Accessibility and accommodation

As witnessed in some of the regulars' comments, Bar M is a place patrons may visit at any time on their own safe in the knowledge that some acquaintance or other will be there. While the regulars are steady visitors, their's is not the regularity of the workplace, but something more unstructured and inconsistent. The mama-san's three-tier ranking of her regulars attests to this fact and is in perfect keeping with Oldenburg's criterion.

The regulars

Unquestionably, it is the regulars who set the tone of conviviality at Bar M, and who are also accepting of newcomers. All of the behaviour Oldenburg (1989: 34-35) attributes to regulars can be witnessed at Bar M, karaoke often being used to ease a newcomer into the circle. Idiosyncrasies are acknowledged rather than scorned, and even the difficult regular is dealt with generously. In a poignant but stirring example of consideration for others, a regular who had suffered a tragic family loss asked the mama-san to tell the other regulars that she did not feel able to accept condolences and, in fact, could not even bear the topic being mentioned. Despite all the regulars knowing of the tragedy and the normal, human urge to offer comfort, not one regular broached the subject during the four months it took the regular to finally start opening up.

A low profile

With its worn façade and plain interior, Bar M definitely maintains a low profile as attested to by the mama-san in her interview. It would first require a certain amount of courage to enter the alley-off-an-alley, and even more to open the unmarked door. The presence of a red lantern outside would go some way in reassuring people of the nature of the establishment, but the casual visitor is unlikely to intrude. On the other hand, the regulars enjoy the homeliness of the venue, many expressing a dislike of garish or modern establishments. Oldenburg's observations regarding the level of dress also apply to Bar M, pretentious attire immediately the butt of merciless ribbing.

A playful mood

The repartee, the singing, the food, the company, all of these contribute to the playful mood at Bar M, sometimes to the extent that an almost childish bantering takes place. Everyone being

called “chan” whether in their eighties or not also adds to the playful tenor along the lines of a class reunion. As expressed in the interviews, there is a comfortable sense of camaraderie, which can be either overt or subdued, but always present.

A home away from home

In Oldenburg terms, this refers to a congenial environment, and clearly this is what patrons find at Bar M. The active expression of personality mentioned by Oldenburg (1989: 41) is very much in evidence as is a sense of support and mutual concern. In addition to the existence of the kind of shorthand communication often found in family settings (“Pass the thingamajig”), concern is expressed about long absences. For example, not only will the mama-san phone a regular who has not shown up for some time just to check if they are alright, in one instance reported to the researcher a regular was the first person to visit and discover the deceased body of another regular who had not been sighted for sometime.

Turning to the terminology of social capital, relational transactions are very much in evidence albeit of an extremely loose nature (requesting a song of someone, buying lottery tickets together, bringing a delicacy to be shared). Cooperation with the mama-san can be witnessed in the regulars’ willingness to move up or down the counter to accommodate more patrons, or to leave altogether when it is clear there is not enough room for all. They also mind the phone and deal with new arrivals if the mama-san is called away or has to get in some emergency supplies. Towards other patrons, a sore neck may be massaged, a useful knick-knack purchased, information shared.

In terms of the shared climate or ba, everyone perches around the same counter with no thought of the interior decoration. The light is not overly bright, but not as dark as other bars focused on assignations and rendezvous. It is predominantly through conversation and the mama-san that a sense of community is created. By offering topics of conversation, suggesting a song, weeding out customers’ who don’t fit, refusing entrance to dodgy characters, keeping an eye on the level of alcohol imbibed, she ensures a level of comfortable interaction. Examples of citizenship behavior include welcoming newcomers, buying a bottle when a patron’s team wins the pennant, making a monetary offering to the in-house god of business prosperity and, most importantly, acting as the “bulwark” (also known as the “bookend”, this refers to taking the boundary seat between the regulars and newcomers/difficult patrons).

The major engagement driver appears to be a strong sense of ownership, and cognitive distance can be described as a mixture of maintaining a certain distance but with a particular intimacy. While the personal background of patrons is virtually unknown, they share the same social etiquette and rules of enjoyment at Bar M. Role identification points to the mama-san as facilitator par excellence, punster P, self-indulgent M, dyed-in-the-wool Japanese U, common-sense S, intellectual F, wild girls S and I, tough jokester D, weebegone K, battler A, smiley T and so on. Support functions provided by the mama-san include, on the practical side, cooking with individual

dietary requirements in mind, making a warming pot of soup if someone is coming down with a cold, doing the occasional bit of shopping for a patron, even lending a toilet roll or light globe at times. Her greatest emotional support is provided by her role as counsellor, for want of a better word. Always willing to lend an ear, she frequently acts as a sounding board for someone who may have had a bad day at work, who has just broken up with a boyfriend or girlfriend, or more seriously who is in trouble with illness, an elderly relative, or work situation. The interviews with the regulars also indicate the breadth of the social needs that the third place can meet, the most frequent concept cropping up in SH's interview being tiredness and "boundaries"; for G food and family; for S safety; for D "being listened to"; and for U "dropping in" and having his own place.

IV. Implications for Workplace Relations

The third place is exactly that because it is neither the first place, namely the home, nor the second place, i.e. work. In this sense, it would seem to fly in the very face of third placeness to try to adapt facets thereof to the quintessential second place of work. Nevertheless, the author feels that certain third place attributes can be meaningfully transplanted to the workplace to combat the current decline in a shared sense of community, although such attributes may need to be configured somewhat differently.

Turning first to Wang's OCB model, both voluntary involvement and general compliance can be identified in the non-organizational setting of Bar M. Concrete examples of citizenship behavior already attested to by the field interviews include tolerating a difficult customer, squeezing up or vacating the bar if a big group came along, and making no demands on the *mama-san* in terms of menu or attention-seeking when newcomers are in the house. These can all be interpreted as controlling one's desire for the greater good and an awareness of and consideration for the *mama-san*'s position. In workplace terms, arguably this would translate into greater empathy on the part of employees towards both their co-workers and supervisors.

In turn, the facilitator provides several key support functions, not the least being a strong commitment to fostering and maintaining the convivial integrity of Bar M, the shared *ba*. This is in addition to catering to the idiosyncratic needs of the bar's regulars (safety, food, family, counseling, a home ground). Clearly, the workplace supervisor also needs to acknowledge the potential or actual diversity of subordinate needs and to cater to them. The lesson Bar M provides is that it is not necessary for the facilitator to provide that kind of support on an individual basis, but to create an atmosphere that harnesses the actions of all to meet those individual ends. For example, in the Bar food is provided to all; all regular patrons are actively involved in creating a sense of family; and a home ground feeling is engendered by monitoring and/or directing the action of others. In the workplace, the supervisor can provide resources to all. He/she can also promote activity that reinforces positive interaction and control negative behavior, but this must be rooted in the supervisor's own "strong commitment to fostering and maintaining the convivial integrity" of the workplace.

Focusing on relational aspects, which are closely linked to Wang's variable of general compliance, tolerance and inclusiveness are undisputedly the hallmarks of human interaction at Bar M. Newcomers are welcomed; difficult patrons are dealt with amicably; care is taken not to dominate conversation; other patron's likes and dislikes are taken into consideration when selecting songs; little treats and information are shared alike; the role of "bulwark" is evenly parceled out. In other words, despite a lack of prurient curiosity in the particulars of each other's lives, or even because of it, the overriding tenor of relations in the bar is one of consideration, fair play and mutual enjoyment. It is this basic tenor that could well be injected into the workplace and one which supervisors could play a pivotal role in establishing.

Turning to Oldenburg's framework, the earlier theoretical analysis of third placeness posited neutral ground and accessibility/ accommodation as the territorial foundation for a virtuous cycle of social leveling, conversation and regular interaction, reinforced by a low profile and ultimately mediated by playfulness to create a home-away- from-home. The following considers the nature of and relationship between third place characteristics when transposed to the workplace.

Neutral ground

The workplace has the potential to be neutral ground, in that it is possible for the supervisor to assume the role of "host", thereby alleviating ordinary workers of that role. However, creating a high degree of comfort and social ease requires a clear awareness of the roles involved in hosting and considerable efforts on the part of the supervisor/workplace leader.

Social leveller

In terms of occupational breadth and variety of social status, the workplace will be hard pressed to act as a social leveller. Ensuring that all members feel equally valued and are treated with the same dignity could contribute substantially to this function, however. In organizational communication terms, this essentially requires the creation of a positive communication environment, based on the five building blocks of openness, empathy, supportiveness, positiveness and a sense of equality. These, in turn, require the active practice of five basic skills: confidence, immediacy, interaction management, expressiveness, and other-orientation.

Conversation the main activity

Communication in the workplace typically comprises an information function, a control function, a persuasive function, and a coordinating function. None of these easily fit the good-natured, small talk interplay that makes conversation the main activity in a third place. Even in such a setting, however, greater adherence to Sedgwick's following seven rules of conversation (as quoted in Oldenburg 1989: 28) may act as a catalyst for greater convivial conversation, or at the very least, create a more positive tone to workplace conversation. Interestingly, many of these rules

correspond to the elements of effective communication as given in the block brackets.

Rule 1: Remain silent your share of the time (more rather than less). [Assertive, not aggressive]

Rule 2: Be attentive while others are talking. [Active listening]

Rule 3: Say what you think but be careful not to hurt others' feelings. [Self-disclosure; empathy]

Rule 4: Avoid topics not of general interest. [Other-orientation]

Rule 5: Say little or nothing about yourself personally, but talk about others there assembled.
[Other-orientation]

Rule 6: Avoid trying to instruct.

Rule 7: Speak in as low a voice as will allow others to hear. ["Noise" avoidance]

Accessibility and accommodation

For the workplace, accessibility is a given in that all members are usually *in situ* for most working hours (virtual offices and decentralized teams would be an exception, but the treatment here is premised on face-to-face interaction). Accommodation, therefore, is the third place facet that needs to be transposed, but one of the most challenging. As already seen, accommodation generally refers to welcoming people when they are released from their other responsibilities, as well as allowing largely unplanned, unstructured activity (Oldenburg 1989:32-22). Impromptu lunches, a box of donuts suddenly produced at a coffee break, the occasional after-work drink, these and other social lubricants could go some way to replicating third place accommodation. The difficulty here in a Japanese setting is that after a long tradition of extremely strong in-house socializing, a younger generation of workers finds such practices increasingly intrusive.

The regulars

In the workplace setting, the regulars are already a given, and of course they set the tone of interaction. A willingness to accept newcomers on an equal footing, as well as to acknowledge the idiosyncrasies of others is a must. Just as in the third place, attempts should be made to deal with even the difficult co-worker generously. Given that social levelling, conversation and the regulars can form a virtuous cycle, a positive communication environment and assertive, not aggressive, communication styles can help the "regulars" overcome difficult interaction partners and scenes.

A low profile

Given that the workplace is typically a closed environment, there is very little fear of large numbers of transient members eroding the community. As such, the low profile characteristic can safely be omitted from any workplace model.

A playful mood

Playfulness is a key ingredient of Bar M’s conviviality and companionship, and perhaps the hardest third-place characteristic to replicate in a highly structured workplace steeped in obligation, duty, responsibility, and schedules. Playfulness requires a strong culture of trust, a deep sensitivity to members’ respective values and a large degree of “controlled” spontaneity. The British sitcom, *The Office*, shows only too graphically how the tactless, egotistical playfulness of a supervisor out of tune with his subordinates can quickly create a workplace fraught with tension. Interestingly, the trend towards so-called gamification, discussed below, offers some potentially effective tools for augmenting playfulness in a positive and morale-building way. This playfulness can also have a positive impact on the aforementioned tenor of consideration, fair play and mutual enjoyment.

A home away from home

In the third place model, this facet refers to the end result of a congenial environment. In a workplace model, it is more an end goal, namely achieving a congenial environment that will engender a greater sense of community. As such, the “third place” workplace model may well look something like Figure 5, where playfulness provides a *ba*, or platform, for the virtuous cycle that culminates in a sense of community.

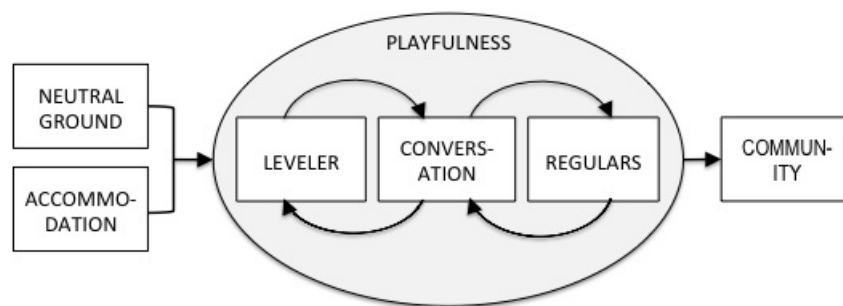





Figure 5. A third-place based workplace model

Giving the importance attached to playfulness in the preceding model, it is worth exploring gamification as an effective means of engendering this. According to Wikipedia, gamification is “the use of game design techniques, game thinking and game mechanics to enhance non-game contexts.” While game theory has long been a part of management theory, gamification is increasingly being used to enhance learning, deliver business and engage corporate stakeholders, a gamification summit being conducted in 2011, with another scheduled for 2012 (www.gsummit.com). An interesting Japanese case, and one that speaks directly to the research question here, is that of Cinqsmile Motivation System (CIMOS), which uses the standard gamification technique of achievement badges. Similar to Foursquare, a global leader in rewards and badges, CIMOS consists of fifteen badges that co-workers can award to their peers based on ten action values (Table 2).

Aimed at the “visualization of praise”, as well as a learning tool to help employees understand

their strengths and weaknesses, the web-based system is premised on the fact that co-workers actively seek out their fellow workers' best points. (Cinqsmile 2012). While the Cinqsmile value of turning teams into families speaks directly to the issue of community, realigning peer evaluation as a whole to the positive rather than the negative in this scheme lays the groundwork for a convivial workplace tenor. In this way, gamification has the potential to inject the third-place ethos of tolerance, inclusiveness and playfulness into the workplace.

Table 2. CIMOS Badge Awards & Action Values

Badge	<p>THANKS</p>  <p>10 thanks = 1 Respect Medal</p>	<p>SMILEY</p>  <p>10 smileys = 1 Cinqsmile Medal</p>	<p>NICE ACTION</p>  <p>10 nice actions = 1 Self-starter Medal</p>	<p>CHALLENGE</p>  <p>10 challenges = 1 1 Hero Medal</p>	<p>CHANGE</p>  <p>10 changes = 1 Revolution Medal</p>
Awarded for	to thank s.o. for something	a nice smile	doing something good; displaying initiative	making a personal challenge	making a change
Value	Surprise and shock clients	Give first and always	Action and only action	Promise failure	Change one thing a day
Value Badge	<p>IDEA</p>  <p>10 ideas = 1 1 Edison Medal</p>	<p>COMMUNICATION</p>  <p>10 comms. = 1 All Open Medal</p>	<p>TIES</p>  <p>10 ties = 1 1 Family Medal</p>	<p>PASSION</p>  <p>10 passions = 1 1 Fire Medal</p>	<p>GROWTH</p>  <p>10 growths = 1 New Person Medal</p>
Awarded for	creating something new	active communication	good team work; strengthening teamwork	passion for work; for inspiring others	learning with humility; growth
Value	Make something new	Open up completely	From a team to a family	Strong convictions and fiery passion	Humility ensures growth
Extra Badges	<p>IMPRESSED CLIENT</p>  <p>10 clients = 1 Professional Medal</p>	<p>FASHIONABLE</p>  <p>10 fashionables = 1 Charisma Medal</p>	<p>NOVEL</p>  <p>10 novels = 1 Unique Medal</p>	<p>IDOL</p>  <p>10 idols = 1 Celeb Medal</p>	<p>MVP</p>  <p>10 mvps = 1 MVP Medal</p>
Awarded for	Client showing delight, surprise, admiration	Smart dressing	doing something unique or inimitable	each 50 facebook fans they have	the week's best performance

Adapted from Cinqsmile, <http://5smile.com/vision/cimos/badge>

To sum up, in a workplace model, accessibility is a given, but neutral ground and accommodation require the proactive commitment of the supervisor to act as a “host” for a set of people. In the words of Bar M’s mama, this entails taking on the role of “a bridge helping patrons become friends”; “a catalyst”; “a neutralizing agent”; “a watchdog”; “a navigator” or a “command tower”. Additionally, given its far-reaching impact and relative rarity in formally structured organizations, “playfulness” would appear to be a key driver of community in the workplace rather than a mediator, and may be encouraged through the judicious use of gamification.

V. Concluding remarks

This paper has explored the human interaction at a Japanese izakaya in an attempt to identify applicable factors for restoring a sense of community in the workplace. Using OCB, community and third place concepts as a theoretical framework, field observations and interviews were analysed to uncover functions, roles and drivers effective in building social ties and community. The findings suggest that supervisors need to redefine their roles as hosts rather than leaders. Such a redefinition is also in keeping with Drucker’s 1957 observation that knowledge workers should be seen as partners and not subordinates.

Naturally, empirical evidence is required to support the workplace implications posited here. Clearly, it is neither realistic nor efficacious for a manager to act merely as a good listener along the lines of a master bartender. Nevertheless, instead of the conventional management theory emphasis on leadership, this exploration of an alternative setting has highlighted the role of “host” in fostering community. Further research on such a reconceptualization may be fruitful in shedding light on community-building measures in the workplace.

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APPENDIX

1. Interview Protocol (Regulars)
2. Interview Protocol (Proprietor)

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (REGULARS)

【来店歴・パターン】

CODE	ITEM
①a	1. 通うきっかけ（紹介、ぶらりと、キャッチ…）
①b	2. 通っている期間（_____年_____月）
①b	3. 通う頻度（週数回、週1回、月3-4回、2-3ヶ月に1回）
②	4. 一人のことが多い、それとも同伴が多い（同伴なら、その人も常連か？）
①b	5. 来店時間帯：開店と同時に？食べてから？他の店で飲んでから？バラバラ？
②	6. 常連である他の店はある（何軒、場所）
①b⑦	7. Mバーが会社の近く？住まいの近く？通勤路の途中？全く関係ない？

【関係性】

④	8. 常連とはどんな話が多い？
④	9. 外で会うことはあるか
⑤	10. 協力しあうことはあるか？
④	11. フルネームは知っている？ 職業は知っている？ 住んでいる場所は知っている？ 出身地は知っている？ 家族構成は知っている？
④	12. 他の常連から何か学んだことはあるか？

【Mバーの特性】

⑬	13. あなたの一般的なお店選びのこだわりは？
⑬	14. Mバーの特徴は
⑬	15. Mバーの最大のよさは？ 一言でMバーを表すなら、そのことばは何？（愛着？安心？ばか騒ぎ？）
⑦	16. 数ある店のなか、何故ここ？
⑦	17. 足が向かう時はどんなとき？
⑥b	18. 店独特のルールはあるか？
⑦	19. 店が休んでいる時はどうする？

【ファシリテーターとの関係】

⑪	20. ママとどんな話が多い？
⑪	21. 外で会うことはあるか？
⑪	22. 協力し合うことはあるか？
③	23. コミュニティーといえる？何に例えられる？（村？町内会？同窓会？）

【属性データ】

24. 職業	25. 職位	26. 年齢
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APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (PROPRIETOR)

【設立概要】

⑨	1. お店を持ったきっかけは？
⑪	2. それ以前の職業は？
②	3. いつから営業しているか？
⑬	4. 賃貸ですか？
⑬	5. なぜこの場所にしたか？

【M バーの特性】

① ab	6. お店のこだわりは何か？
① ab	7. 突出している点は何か？（名物ママ、珍しい酒・つまみ、格安だがうまい、雰囲気すばらしい）
① ab	8. 客層はどうか？（地元の常連が多い？）
①b	9. 常連さんの数は？
①a	10. 全体の客数は？
⑬	11. インテリアの工夫？

【関係性】

④	12. 常連とはどんな話が多い？
④	13. 外で会うことはあるか
⑤	14. 協力しあうことはあるか？
④	15. フルネームは知っている？職業は知っている？住んでいる場所は知っている？出身地は知っている？家族構成は知っている？
②	16. 3・11 後、お客さんからどのような連絡が入った？
②	17. 1・2月の長いお休みのときはどのような連絡？かつての神楽坂のボヤ騒ぎのときは？