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essential for anyone wanting to affect change in universities, and Poole is a more than competent guide.

Poole's explanation of Japanese university "*zemi*" also demonstrates how non-Japanese university faculty members can utilize this book to inform their daily work practices. The number of native English speakers teaching *zemi* is still relatively limited, so when those at my university were required to begin doing so last year, our first question was, "What does one actually *do* in a *zemi*?" *Zemi* and "seminar" may be linguistic relatives, but we knew that they were not practical equivalents. Poole clarifies the educational goals and methodology common in such courses, and in the process, as in so many aspects of Japanese university life, he illuminates the daily rituals, roles, and expectations deeply ingrained among Japanese teachers and students which are often unfamiliar to those of us who were educated outside of Japan.

The next three chapters form the meat of this volume. When considering the internal cultural debate among FUC professors as to how they should respond to pressures to change, Poole introduces two competing discourses: reform and tradition, which divide the faculty between two "camps" that vie for control. He argues that these discourses engender contrasting ideologies embraced among FUC's professors about how their university should be modeled, how faculty members should best go about spending their time in service of the school, and who is a "good" professor. Moreover, such discourses provide contrasting guides for how to accumulate symbolic capital and consequently gain influence, recognition, status, and power.

Poole coins the term "*sotomuki*" ("outward-oriented" or "centrifugal") to describe the ideology of reform that involves a break with the past, and "*uchimuki*" ("inward-ori-

ented" or "centripetal") for the ideology that extols tradition. In the *sotomuki* paradigm, Japanese universities are similar to businesses in the service industry and operate according to competitive market principles. Professors and administrative staff members are expected to provide a service (higher education and degrees) to customers (students and their families), who in turn expect a high-quality product. Quality and efficiency in work are continually emphasized, so administrative jobs, especially those requiring long hours of "merely" being present at meetings, is generally frowned upon as a poor use of time.

Individual achievement is compatible with the *sotomuki* world view—typically actualized through off-campus research activities and involvement in academic networks that extend beyond one's university of employment. Teaching is the most highly valued among professorial duties, followed by research, with administrative and committee work coming last. In this model, professors accumulate symbolic capital through high student evaluations, teaching awards, speaking invitations to outside groups, refereed journal articles, PhDs, and external recognition of one's scholarly accomplishments. Being a well-known scholar not only reflects exceptional individual achievement, but also is thought of as one way to attract student applicants.

The second ideology, *uchimuki*, emphasizes the importance of tradition and frames the university as a community, or even a family, where social control and institutional management rely on consensus. *Uchimuki* is characterized both by mutually-interdependent, hierarchical relationships and a cooperative, communal spirit of egalitarianism (in terms of equitably distributing teaching and administrative duties). Reciprocity and loyalty are stressed, and social debt ("*on*") is continuously calculated.

Loyalty is a key concept in Japanese society, and it is often expected that people will work long hours without complaint. In many cases, this is done with little emphasis on individual functions, which are often performed by students, alumni, or other groups. Drinking parties and insider knowledge are important for building alliances, and *uchimuki* particularly values these. Over research and innovative education are advanced academic goals. Although success is important, it is important to maintain a balance (in one's life) and to retreats to it. Coming a full circle, in other words, specialization and

Symbolic capital is gained through recognition and status. Assessing a new ideology to affect change is a professor's task on weekends, and administrative tasks are *sotomuki* model. Those subscribers as individuals teaching goals, mobility and being deployed elsewhere.

Ultimately, the ideal types are in a dialectic, diametric poles on a spectrum. Professors in the *sotomuki* paradigm, between themselves and their benefits

text and ability to work within either set of assumptions and requisite behavioral norms. Some do this without conflict, while others feel an inner struggle to rectify the contradictions between the paradigms. Therefore, although Poolo describes IJC as *uchimuki* dominant, the pre-eminence of either paradigm varies according to the situation and the actors involved.

Poolo's analysis of *uchimuki* and *sotomuki* forms this book's crowning achievement and an important addition to the corpus of concepts used in the intercultural field to better understand Japanese work organizations, the diversity of Japanese people's values and behaviors, as well as the complexity of culture itself. Poolo nimbly demonstrates the necessity of recognizing the conflicting values and requisite norms within any culture so as to more clearly understand it—thus rendering obsolete hackneyed essentialist narratives of Japan (or any other culture for that matter).

Although this book focuses upon university organizational culture, many of the insights can also be applied to other business contexts, which is useful for corporate trainers and scholars needing to better understand the cultural dynamics of such work organizations. At one end of the continuum, family-oriented firms, such as those detailed by Kondo (1990), fit the *uchimuki* ideal (a reactive, preindustrial, and interpersonal model), while American multinational companies in Japan often mirror the *sotomuki* world view (a proactive, postindustrial business model). Many companies in Japan, however, are actually dynamic amalgamations of the *uchimuki* and *sotomuki* paradigms.

On one hand, *uchimuki* tendencies towards lifetime employment, building generalist expertise and tacit knowledge that is largely applicable only within one's current work organization, heavy time investments

its benefits through their sensitivity to connect them, gathering symbolic capital and paradigm, while others deftly maneuver between poles on a continuum. For example, some professors primarily operate within only one pole, diametrical opposites, but rather two ideal types which are not mutually-exclusive. Ultimately, *uchimuki* and *sotomuki* form elsewhere.

Loyalty is also paramount to the university, and it is best expressed by spending long hours where one is *visible* at work—in many cases in group-centered activities with little emphasis upon time efficiency. At such functions, whether they are committee meetings, alumni receptions, or after-hours drinking parties, professors gather valuable insider knowledge, reinforce interpersonal alliances, and affect decision-making. In the *uchimuki* paradigm, administrative work, particularly when done in groups, is valued over research, while teaching—i.e., using innovative educational methods to impart advanced academic knowledge—comes last. Although such teaching is not emphasized, it is important to spend long hours with students (in one's office, pubs, or on overnight retreats) to impart wisdom about life and becoming a functioning member of society—in other words, to participate in students' socialization and identity formation.

Symbolic capital in the *uchimuki* world view is gained by committee chairs, titles, recognition as an *oyabun* ("boss man"), possessing a network of human relationships to affect change at the university, and status as a professor who spends long hours, even weekends, at work in devotion to administrative tasks. The symbolic capital of the *sotomuki* mode can be seen as threatening by those subscribing to the *uchimuki* ideology, as individual achievements in research and teaching generally improve potential job mobility and thus heighten the possibility of being disloyal to the institution by moving elsewhere.

in after-hours relationship building with coworkers and customers, and a seniority-based organizational hierarchy all conjure images of Japan's past—but also a past that is being reclaimed and fortified in the present as the limits are realized of *sotomuki*-style business practices and corporate reforms. *Sotomuki* ideals are promoted in what is often considered an American corporate model, where promotions are based on performance, workers are given greater autonomy, work-life balance is emphasized, and specialists with explicit knowledge (who can also readily transfer their skills between companies) are common. Japanese companies are indeed at a crossroads—trying to adapt to an increasingly competitive global marketplace, but also striving to retain and even reinvent the organizational cultural factors which contributed to Japan's rapid economic expansion and success for so much of the second half of the 20th century. Therefore, the insights in this book can be utilized by the astute reader to better understand the changing organizational cultural dynamics in work organizations outside the realm of tertiary education.

This book is generally well-written, but it could be improved on several fronts. First, when Poole references the academic literature, some explanations of concepts or theories that appear in these works are sparse or omitted, which can make for difficult reading if someone has not read those specific books or articles. In the Preface, this is most problematic. Also, the fifth chapter ("Cultural Performance") feels underdeveloped, as if it would be either better integrated into previous chapters or expanded to deliver a more thorough analysis of the topics explored. Finally, while I admit this point is biased towards my interests, as an interculturalist, especially since Professor Poole is American and oversaw a staff of native-English-speaking teachers, I wanted to learn

more about the interface between foreign and Japanese professors. While these relationships, as well as the place of non-Japanese faculty within EUC, were treated to some extent, such intercultural relations formed mostly a peripheral topic.

Ultimately, this volume constitutes a detailed guide in how to earn and preserve symbolic capital— and, by extension, core membership status— within Japanese work organizations. Such membership is realized by building trust with coworkers, and it enables people to participate in daily decision-making and affect change. It can be argued that the creation of an open society for foreign residents in Japan is not necessarily accomplished by creating mini-havens within work organizations where English is spoken and non-Japanese behavioral norms adhered to (as is often the case when groups of non-Japanese and Japanese work together); in such enclaves, employees can remain largely cut off from their organizations' primary decision-making bodies. Rather, integrating foreign people *into* those core decision-making groups could be a more effective way of actualizing a "borderless" society, in which acceptance is based not upon national origin, but instead upon Japanese cultural and linguistic competence. This book articulates not only where such decision-making is made in a Japanese university, but also how access to these groups is typically gained and maintained. If both non-Japanese and Japanese use such knowledge wisely and cooperatively, they can be empowered to create organizations where reform occurs in a manner that is sensitive to the concerns and interests of *all* of their members.

References

- Kondo, D. (1990). *Crafting selves: Power, gender, and discourses of identity in a Japanese workplace*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.