

tee their success or explain their failure. To promote *jūdō* as an instrument of personality formation he took hints from educational theories introduced by foreign specialists who had been called by the Meiji Government to help build a school curriculum capable of coping with the new needs of society. Already early in his career Kanō conceived of three areas wherein *jūdō* was to contribute to education. They were, as Sogawa points out, 1) athletics, a kind of training involving the whole body yet without the use of dangerous tactics; 2) training the mind and promoting logical thinking as well as correct behavior; and 3) a competitive attitude. The result of Kanō's efforts was that *jūdō*, quite different from older forms of martial arts, became a sport that spread far beyond the borders of Japan. How this happened is the subject matter of the fifth chapter.

Thus, Tsuneo Sogawa has presented the historical and ideological development of *budō* from a military art making use of deadly violence to a sport promoting international understanding. This reviewer is impressed by two aspects in that presentation. The first is the author's carefulness to present firsthand material and to let the authors speak for themselves. (It may be mentioned incidentally that reading the original texts is not always an easy matter.) The second is that Sogawa offers on numerous occasions enough solid food to think once more about what the fate of such terms as *budō* and not the least *bushidō* tell us about Japanese culture and certain attitudes of the Japanese. For that the book is a challenging read.

Peter Knecht

**Sooudi, Olga Kanzaki:** Japanese New York. Migrant Artists and Self-Reinvention on the World Stage. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014. 253 pp. ISBN 978-0-8248-3942-0. Price: \$ 25.00

A number of artistically inclined Japanese men and women in their twenties and early thirties leave their home each year and migrate to New York City (NYC). Their purpose: to search for one's authentic self in the city that symbolizes all that is Western, urban, and modern. Olga Kanzaki Sooudi captures their stories as "forms of aspirational self-making," in which these "bohemian, artistic class of Japanese migrants" struggle to make it in the highly competitive world of art. As her ethnographic account unfolds, however, we realize the difficulty – impossibility, even – of escaping from the country and culture of their origin and truly reinventing themselves in this foreign place.

A few of the Japanese bohemian migrants have advanced skills in their artistic fields; most others have very little formal training or work experience. Some last only for a short while; many stick around for several years before giving up and going home. Only a few actually manage to establish themselves as artists, while others linger on for years and even decades, despite little hope of making it. What connects them beyond these differences is the desire to "push the reset button" in their life, to escape from the life as lived in Japan, refashion themselves in the land of endless opportunities and personal freedom that

are unattainable in Japan. Working often illegally in some odd jobs to make ends meet and waiting for a break, these bohemian-artists types often appear unprepared and nonchalant, or "*nantonaku*, 'kind-of, sort-of,' immigrants."

Migration is for them a form of *jibun sagashi*, or a search for an authentic or true self, a concept that gained increasing recognition in 1980s and 90s Japan. NYC is a particularly alluring location for self-searching, which offers a stark contrast to the mundane, restrictive everyday life in Japan, and offers an extraordinary setting, or a "stage for migrant experiences of adventure, risk, excitement, and even danger," through which to explore new subjectivities. Even the less desirable aspects of urban life become the mark of authenticity of their experience, and the everyday challenges of being an artist and the encounters with difference provide the necessary obstacles in the "triumphalist migrant narrative," in which a migrant-protagonist grows through a struggle and finally achieves her or his goal of self-realization.

Arriving in NYC to escape from the constraints of life in Japan, the interstitiality of being a "stranger" in a strange land gives these Japanese migrants a degree of freedom unavailable in their own country. Yet, they also discover that being "Japanese" is a much heavier burden than they initially anticipate, and that they are marginalized by their lack of language skills, cultural competency, formal credentials, and legal status. Opportunistic ones may seek to turn their Japanese heritage into a marketable cultural capital, but, in doing so, risk self-exotification. Others refuse to Japanize/Asianize their work and their selves, but struggle to find alternative ways to define and distinguish themselves as artists. Even those established artists, who readily portray themselves as a triumphal migrant in a public self-presentation, confide in private that they are handicapped by their Japanese upbringing, which hold them back from fully exploring and expressing themselves.

Sooudi finds at the bottom of this ambivalence the "double-faced" nature of Japanese modernity: aggressively pursuing the path of modernization and Westernization, all the while holding on to what is believed to be the essentially Japanese core. The affinity between these contemporary migrants and their famous Meiji-era predecessors is an important clue that leads to this insight. The sojourns of Mori Ōgai, Nagai Kafū, and Kuki Shūzō to Europe and the United States at the nascent of Japan's modernization project were characterized by the painful recognition that the Japanese version of modernity would always remain incomplete, poorly executed simulacra of the true modernity in the West. This lack, in turn, fuels the *akogare*, or an insatiable yearning, for Western metropolis such as Paris and New York. Japanese sojourn to these cities are, then, ill-fated even before it begins, destined for disillusionment. The extreme instances of such disillusionment has been pathologized in the Western/ized medial discourse as the "Paris Syndrom" and "New York Disease."

In this carefully crafted ethnography, Sooudi provides a nuanced portrait of Japanese migrants whose stories of individual aspiration are nevertheless circumscribed by

the collective identity and what is understood to be the quintessential character of the Japanese (*nihonjin kishitsu*). While snapshots of individual migrants and the “thick description” of mundane details of the everyday life in Japanese New York throughout the book gives her account a humanizing tone, her critical eye peers into the migrants’ own triumphalist narratives and the pathologizing discourse of the observers with equal clarity, and concludes the book with a poignant realization: despite their yearning, these Japanese migrants in NYC remain “strangers whose home follows them everywhere, unable and unwilling to cut loose.”

Sooudi’s ethnographic account would have benefited from more attentiveness in two important aspects. In the “Introduction” she proposes a reconceptualization of youth as the agent of radical social change, rather than the source of social “problem” as often perceived in the postrecessionary Japan – an intriguing theoretical possibility, which she makes little use of in the rest of her book. Perhaps those Japanese migrants never fit the bill of the rebel with a social cause. Then it seems worthwhile to analyze explicitly why their vision of transnational migration fails to extend beyond their own personal achievement. Difference among Japanese migrants themselves is another area where a more fine-grained analysis may have been beneficial. Perhaps an unfortunate side effect of Sooudi’s focus on another kind of difference, between “Japan” and the “West,” Sooudi glosses over social, educational, and regional backgrounds from which those migrants hail, and most importantly, largely ignores generational shifts, from the postwar baby boomers, to the *Baburu* generation who came of age during the economic boom in the 1980s, to the “lost generation” who grew up during the decade following the collapse of the bubble economy. Even as they all engage in the journey of *jibun sagashi* (self-searching), the socioeconomic context from which they emerged has many and significant effects not only on the economic and cultural resources at their disposal, but also, more significantly, on how they conceive of their journey in relationship to the shifting conceptualization of “Japan” vis-a-vis the world.

Overall, Sooudi offers a fascinating and evocatively written account of a group of migrants who previously received little scholarly attention, which is a welcome addition to the existing body of literature on Japanese transnational mobility.

Sawa Kurotani

**Stépanoff, Charles :** Chamanisme, rituel et cognition. Chez les Touvas de Sibérie du Sud. Paris : Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 2014. 413 pp. ISBN 978-2-7351-1631-7. Prix : € 35.00

Ce livre ethnographiquement riche et théoriquement ambitieux, vise à proposer du chamanisme une théorie anthropologique explicative et non pas seulement interprétative, en puisant dans les apports récents de la psychologie cognitive et de la pragmatique. Ce que Charles Stépanoff veut expliquer c’est pourquoi le chamanisme, dont certaines pratiques seraient attestées en Sibérie dès le milieu du premier millénaire, persiste sous des formes

variées mais encore observables aujourd’hui. Dans la république turcophone de Touva, son terrain d’expertise, le chamanisme a pourtant connu de nombreuses vicissitudes comme la domination de l’empire mongol prônant le bouddhisme et les répressions violentes de la période socialiste (1922–1991), sans compter les bouleversements socio-économiques contemporains (chapitre I). D’où peut venir cette robustesse ? Selon lui, seule l’identification des opérations cognitives mobilisées dans les cas observés permettra de distinguer les principes stables derrière des élaborations locales et historiques qui, elles, sont variables.

Dans les deux premiers chapitres, l’auteur brosse un tableau des changements contemporains à Touva, une société particulièrement violente, et propose une analyse passionnante du développement de la sorcellerie en milieu urbain en relation avec la sédentarisation de la population, la montée du libéralisme et la transformation du statut des femmes. Il mentionne aussi les nouvelles associations chamaniques, composés de chamanes pourtant tous jaloux de leur individualité et rebelles à toute forme de standardisation. Dans les huit chapitres suivants, ce sont les modèles à l’œuvre dans le chamanisme qu’il s’attache à dégager, en s’appuyant aussi bien sur ses propres observations faites entre 2002 et 2008 à Touva que sur l’ethnographie du chamanisme pré-soviétique.

Les Turcs de Sibérie orientale considèrent toujours, aujourd’hui comme hier, les chamanes comme des êtres différents des gens ordinaires. Ils sont censés avoir une qualité personnelle, innée et secrète, qu’il s’agit d’abord de découvrir à l’aide d’un chamane plus expérimenté, puis de développer jusqu’à ce qu’elle puisse être reconnue par la communauté lors du rituel d’animation du tambour. Cette différence fondamentale entre chamanes et profanes n’aurait pas été prise suffisamment au sérieux par les commentateurs. Or elle oriente toute l’enquête qui est basée sur la distinction des points de vue entre le chamane et ceux qu’il est appelé à soigner, cette distinction étant le moteur de l’interaction chamanique. Aussi l’analyse se déploie-t-elle dans deux directions différentes : la première, cognitive, consiste à identifier les procédures inférentielles qui président à la reconnaissance de cette qualité particulière du chamane par son entourage ; la seconde, pragmatique, vise à comprendre ce qui caractérise un mode d’action spécifiquement chamanique, distinct de celui des autres spécialistes religieux locaux.

Stépanoff commence par rassembler les données ethnographiques sur le caractère intrinsèque et inaltérable de la qualité innée du chamane afin d’asseoir son hypothèse, inspirée des sciences cognitives (P. Boyer, S. Atran), selon laquelle les populations concernées concevaient leur chamane selon un mode essentialiste : elles verraient derrière les apparences diverses des chamanes, présentant tous des traits qui leur sont propres, une même “espèce” chamanique, différente de la leur et cause directe de leurs pouvoirs particuliers. Soucieux de rendre compte de l’accent mis sur la singularité chamanique, Stépanoff poursuit sa démonstration (chapitre 7) pour proposer un raffinement des hypothèses cognitives sur ce sujet (D. Sperber) et suggérer l’existence d’une “essence individuelle” (et non pas