

ecológica e adaptacionismo e o uso da crítica à abordagem sociobiológica de Napoleon Chagnon como critério para avaliar o valor heurístico da ecologia cultural. No capítulo sobre antropologia política, por sua vez, a definição de política exclusivamente pelo conceito de poder e sua distribuição desigual certamente provocará discordância de muitos cientistas sociais.

Também seria necessário corrigir algumas grafias de nomes de autores como, por exemplo, *Fredrick [sic] Engels* (80) ou *Margareth [sic] Mead* (85) ou até substituir o nome de *Kurt Vogel [sic!]* por Karl August Wittvogel, o autor de *Oriental Despotism* (1957). Porém, fora estas sugestões formais e de conteúdo que se referem apenas a partes da obra, o autor merece grandes elogios por ter escrito uma nova introdução à antropologia que enriquece o *corpus* atual e que abre a visão dos leitores tanto para novos temas quanto para novos olhares para assuntos antigos. O autor desta resenha já usou o livro em sala de aula e constatou muitas reações positivas por parte dos alunos.

Peter Schröder

**Graburn, Nelson H. H., John Ertl, and R. Kenji Tierney** (eds.): *Multiculturalism in the New Japan. Crossing the Boundaries Within*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2008. 252 pp. ISBN 978-1-84545-226-1. (Asian Anthropologies, 6) Price: £ 42.50

In this volume, the editors publish the results of the conference "Japan: Crossing the Boundaries Within," which was held at the University of California, Berkeley in 2002. The conference dealt with changing perceptions on "foreignness" in Japan. For a long time in its postwar history, Japan has been seen as not welcoming foreigners. The myth of Japan being a "homogeneous" country, in which only one ethnicity, language, and culture can be found, coupled with the notion that the Japanese culture is "unique" in the world, has often led to the idea that Japan did not do well in integrating foreigners in its post-war years.

In defiance to this stereotype, all contributors look at the transitions Japan has undergone in this respect in recent years, and how well the concept of "multiculturalism" (*tabunka kyōsei* in Japanese) has reached the grassroots of Japanese society. The term "New Japan" comes from the idea that the editors believe that Japan is again in a phase of transition, away from the stereotypical image held inside and outside of Japan towards a more open, "multicultural" society. The volume is heterogeneous to its very core, uniting chapters on internationalism in Japanese economy as well as interfaith cooperation in a Japanese city, presenting a broad, mostly anthropological perspective on Japanese society.

In the introduction, Nelson Graburn and John Ertl provide the background to the topic, presenting Japan's way of dealing with the rest of the world both from a historical as well as from a sociological perspective. Graburn and Ertl refer to the concepts of *uchi* and *soto*, the inside and the outside world, which, supposedly "unique" to Japan, define the "Japanese way" of categorizing the world. By nature, foreigners are "outside" of Japan, leav-

ing the "inside" occupied by ethnically Japanese people only, but by coming into the country not just temporarily, foreign residents in Japan subvert these categories. With growing numbers of foreigners, it became increasingly problematic to define Japan as "homogeneous" and so multiculturalism has now become the new slogan.

In the first chapter, Yasuko I. Takezawa looks at the earthquake in January 1995 in Kobe (dubbed the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in Japanese) and its impact on multiculturalism. After the quake, many issues regarding foreign residents in the city of Kobe came up. Although Kobe, one of Japan's major port cities, has already had an image of "internationality" long before the idea was even brought up in Japan, legal issues as to what constitutes a "resident" of Kobe, surfaced on the macrolevel. On the microlevel, as Takezawa proves aptly by participant observation in the Nagata ward of Kobe, interethnic cooperation has increased. Communities that so far had tried to avoid each other were united by the same devastating experience, so that stereotypes were slowly dismantled.

The next chapter by Tomoko Hamada deals with the changes in the public perception of foreign executives in Japan. Focusing on the merger between the French company Renault and the Japanese carmaker Nissan, she describes how well the newly appointed CEO has been integrated into the corporation – and how he was presented as "saving" Nissan (and thus Japanese jobs) from bankruptcy. This new image of the foreign executive was contrary to the common one as a "ruthless job-chopper" (43). Her deductions are based upon interviews with mid-level managers. Although the midlevel managers suffered under the restructuring of the company, most of them gave a bleak picture of the Japanese management prior to the merger – while highlighting the changes the new "international" management had made. Hamada's article provides amplitude of numbers and background, however, her analysis is at times a little short.

In the following, Chris Burgess talks about international marriage migrants in the rural province of Yamagata who might indeed come to act as agents of multiculturalism. For a long time, the Japanese countryside was seen as particularly homogeneous, consisting of farming families only. In recent years, with jobs in agriculture declining and an ongoing migration away from the rural areas, many foreign women have come to live there. While, as Burgess describes, these women outwardly try to accept the status quo, they make small changes inside the home, propagating foreign cultures and diets.

Another example from the rural area is brought forward by John Ertl. He draws upon his own experiences in a village on the Japanese countryside as an international coordinator similar to those in the JET programme (a programme promoted by the Japanese government bringing in young foreigners mainly to teach English and to work in international departments of city offices). Although Ertl felt that he was sometimes being showcased, his overall reception in this rural area was warm, and he feels that these programmes do indeed promote multiculturalism to some extent.

Following up on the theme brought up by Chris Burgess in the third chapter, the fifth again looks at the transnational migration of women. Even though Shinji Yamashita has published widely on this subject, he sums up some of his research. He has interviewed Japanese women going to Bali or California, and Filipina workers coming to Japan. The Japanese women going to Bali find life easier there, whereas those going to the United States often have a harsh awakening. Hoping to escape discrimination in Japan, they go to the allegedly free country of the United States, often only to discover that things are not as good as they may have seemed from a distance. The Filipina women, on the other hand, seem to fill the gaps created by Japanese women leaving their hometowns. Yamashita's analysis as to how women in that sense break boundaries created by men, and will eventually turn the world into a more transnational place, is particularly intriguing.

The next chapter again deals with a migrant minority in Japan, namely those of Brazilians of Japanese descent. As a result of a rigorous policy of keeping the Japanese nation "homogeneous," the entry of the descendants of Japanese people to Japan was considerably eased as they were perceived as being "Japanese." However, as Takeyuki Tsuda states, these people may be ethnically Japanese, yet culturally Brazilian, thus proving to be a challenge to the idea of "homogeneity." Therefore, they were often marginalized and today they are on the way to become a new ethnic minority. Tsuda paints a rather bleak picture of Japanese "multiculturalism" by describing how these Brazilians continue to remain outside Japanese culture and society.

Jeffrey T. Hester's contribution is about another minority in Japan, the resident Koreans (called *zainichi kankokujin/chōsenjin* in Japanese, depending on whether they originate from the South or North of Korea). For a long time, the *zainichi* have been excluded from Japanese society. They were deprived of the Japanese citizenship after the end of the Second World War, when the former colony became independent again, and some of the Koreans in Japan decided not to return to Korea since the situation in the wake of the Korea War was unsafe. With the following generations that are completely socialized within Japan and often speak little or no Korean, but had to retain their status as foreigners (which often meant that they were heavily discriminated against), their position was further complicated. In recent years, there seems to be a discussion among the Korean minority as to whether they should or should not fully integrate into their Japanese surroundings or merely keep their Koreanness as an "extra," since it is no longer negatively valued. Even though Hester sums up the discourse very well, there is very little original contribution. It may have been worthwhile to conduct interviews among the Korean community in order to find out whether the people could actually relate to these ideas.

Keiko Yamanaka turns to a less numerous group of foreigners in Japan, namely those of Nepali visa overstayers. Despite their small number, the Nepali community is vibrant and active. As Yamanaka's research

demonstrates, they are also willingly accepted by their Japanese neighbors because they are hardworking and diligent. They are often employed in small businesses on hazardous jobs, but since they are in Japan illegally, they do not have any rights. However, often their intention is not to stay in Japan but to earn as much money as possible. Although the media often portray these foreigners as criminals, their support groups manage to create a base in Japan. As Yamanaka points out in her detailed theoretical discussion, this is a case of transnationalism from below.

Yet another case of grassroot globalization is described by Yuko Okubo, who looks at the case of newcomer children in an "oldcomer" minority community. Despite the encouragement of diversity within that specific school, the children are actually marginalized by making them participate in compulsory ethnic groups. It does not further integration, but, on the contrary, marks them as different. While, on the one hand, she is right in pointing out that there might be disadvantages for the foreign children, she neglects to look at the Japanese children and how the high visibility of these foreign children does not actually help them to reach a higher degree of intercultural competence.

The chapter by Mitzi Carter and Aina Hunter is on a completely different note, away from classic fieldwork to a critical review of academic perspectives on blackness in Japan as experienced by the two authors. Their article focuses mainly on the works by John Russell who, as an African-American academic in Japan, has published widely on Japanese perceptions of "black people." While Russell comes to the conclusion that these perceptions are more than just a little racist, Carter and Hunter claim that their own experience as women coming to Japan might be inherently different from those of men, and that blackness might indeed be foreignness that is just as marginalized as Asianness and, therefore, easier to relate to for some Japanese simply because it is not white. Although their thesis that it would be worthwhile to conduct more research on this topic is mostly correct, it should not be forgotten that they merely talk about their own experiences, completely leaving out media perceptions on blackness and the appropriation of black TV stars like Bobby Ologun who, despite his fluency in Japanese, is often portrayed as some kind of illiterate semihuman being.

The next chapter by John Nelson is the only one in the volume that does not directly deal with international cooperation but with interfaith cooperation in the city of Nagasaki, and how legal boundaries are crossed in order to establish a culture of memory. While he, interestingly, works out how religious groups have managed to get a religious ceremony into the annual commemoration ceremonies for the dropping of the Atomic Bomb, his article is slightly off topic in this volume.

R. Kenji Tierney's chapter virtually throws us back into the ring of interculturality by looking at how the perceptions of foreign *sumō* wrestlers in Japan have changed, and how the crisis the traditional sport is said to be in is often related to the increasing number of foreign competitors. Despite the fact that *sumō* was initiated as

a sport in order to unite Japanese all over the world, it is now seen as “inherently” Japanese and many foreign wrestlers have fought for proper recognition. Tierney concludes that the crisis of *sumō* cannot be related to the high number of foreigners but to the general loss of interest among the Japanese audience.

The final chapter deals with something completely different. Nelson Graburn looks at the idea of multiculturalism, museums, and tourism in Japan. Apart from describing a “unique” exhibition on multiculturalism in Osaka’s Anthropological Museum, he goes on to discuss theme parks with foreign motives, the so-called *gaikokū mura*, foreign villages. He concludes correctly that all these different manifestations of foreignness within Japan merely display some kind of “domesticized foreignness.”

Overall, the volume is heterogeneous and directed towards the audience in the Anthropology of Japan or in Japanese Studies, since some of the chapters assume too much knowledge about Japan to be easily understood by anyone outside this context. It unites many chapters of different quality and length, some articles are merely nine pages long while others go over twenty, which somehow makes the book appear a little imbalanced.

Some of the chapters appear less carefully edited than others, but in general, all of them aim at a theoretical discussion along different theories of difference, globalization, and belonging. Some of the papers draw on fieldwork conducted years ago, so it would have been worthwhile to also include updates, if possible. Despite the fact that more research on foreignness within Japan is very much needed, and this volume would have been the one academia has been waiting for, most chapters will only be relevant for some academics interested in a particular fields. However, taking some of the articles out of the volume, they do provide an adequate and refreshing discussion in their own area of research.

Griseldis Kirsch

**Gutschow, Niels, and Axel Michaels:** *Growing Up. Hindu and Buddhist Initiation Rituals among Newar Children in Bhaktapur, Nepal*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008. 307 pp., photos, DVD. ISBN 978-3-447-05752-3. (Ethno-Indology, 6) Price: € 64.00

The latest book by these two well-known specialists of Nepal concerns the rituals of initiation. These are rituals through which pass Newar children of the town of Bhaktapur. The city is one of the three previous capitals of the Malla kingdom (1200–1768). It has been bypassed by the economic and social changes that have been taken place over the most recent decades in the Kathmandu Valley. The originality of this book consists in providing detailed descriptions of the rituals, which are very precise, as well as the texts used during the ceremonies by the Buddhist (*vajracarya*) and by the Hindu priests (*brahmins*).

The book is divided into four parts. The first one describes the social topography of the town of Bhaktapur and its ritual specialists; the second gives descrip-

tions of the rituals of initiation which are also *rites de passage*, such as the first feeding of solid food (*an-naprāśana*), the birthday ritual, the first shaving of a boy’s head (*cūḍākaraṇa*), the boy’s Hindu and Buddhist initiation, the Buddhist monastic initiation (*bārē chuyegu*), the Hindu and Buddhist marriage of girls to a god (*ihī*), and the last is ritual of seclusion for twelve days of young girls before puberty (*bāhrā tayegu*). The third part is a conclusion, a theoretical framework (*une mise en perspective*) of the descriptions of the rituals, and the last part is concerned with the texts in old Newari mixed with Sanskrit as well as the translation of the texts into English.

Generally speaking, the anthropologists who have studied the Newar rituals have described the performance of the rituals, the social position of the participants, and the ritual specialists without mentioning the objects used in each particular ritual. For the first time we are provided with illustrations of the objects made by the pot makers and painted by painters with auspicious marks of the Buddhists and the Hindus. The central earthen pot is decorated with images of Brahma for the Hindus and for Buddhists with a blue diamond (*nilavajra*). We also find a detailed description of the eight auspicious signs of the Shivaite which are taken from the painters notebooks. The printed symbols of the gods on paper, which decorate the foreheads of the girls during the marriage, are well illustrated. In the Hindu context, the food is of great importance. It differs at every stage of the ritual and it is described most carefully with beautiful illustrations.

The main characteristic of Newar society is the centuries-long coexistence of Hinduism and Buddhism. The town of Bhaktapur is predominantly Hindu but the Buddhist community has kept its traditions and specificity. The authors clearly indicate the difference between the rituals of initiation of Hindus and Buddhists. It is certain that the gods invoked are not the same, but the performances of the rituals carried out are identical. The authors emphasize the difference of the ritual objects, of the paintings on the earthen pots, for instance, the manner of representing the eyes between Hindus and Buddhists (113). There are maps showing the place where the rituals are performed and the location of the houses of different participants.

The third part of the book, “The Dynamics of Newar Childhood Rituals,” shows that the most important element of the rituals of initiation is the transformation of an individual from a psychological and social point of view. The authors underline the importance of the extended family in Newar society but also in South Asia. The rituals are happenings by which the extended family demonstrates the social status (196). The authors do not refer to the rituals performed by other Hindu communities in Nepal or in India; they refer, above all, to Sanskrit texts. Initiation rituals such as that of Buddhist boys (*bārē chuyegu*) and the collective marriage at puberty (*ihī*) are characteristic of Newar society, and are considered as elements of ethnic identity. Newar women stress their different status from that of the Parbatiya women; their marriage to a god (the *bel* fruit) allows them to avoid