

BOOK REVIEWS

Ellis S. Krauss and T.J. Pempel, eds., *Beyond Bilateralism: U.S.-Japan Relations in the New Asia-Pacific*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003. 448 pp. ISBN 10: 0-8047-4909-4 (hbk), \$70.

Reviewed by Thomas E. Rotnem

Beyond Bilateralism explores the evolving, multifaceted U.S.-Japan relationship in an apparently emerging multilateral context. As such, the authors of this edited volume attempt to right what they aver has been a major defect of recent studies of the topic, i.e., an exclusive focus upon the bilateral nature of the relationship, while ignoring a growing range and number of activities mounted by either side in various multilateral forums.

The study begins with an analysis of key concepts and examines fundamental facets of the preexisting bilateral relationship in historical context. The editors then suggest three largely external forces that have collectively encouraged evolution beyond bilateralism: the demise of the bipolar system, the increasing significance of global private capital movements, and the rise of global and regional multilateral organizations. Later chapters examine in greater detail the particular motives causing Japan to engage the United States in multilateral forums, be they domestic political constraints, the U.S.'s inaction in the face of the Asian financial crisis in 1997, or the long-held desire of Japan to escape the "entrapment-abandonment" dilemma.

Contributing chapters explore aspects of the changing relationship from one of three arenas: security, economic, and multilateral contexts. Many of these chapters (particularly those included in the latter two realms) convincingly supported the volume's underlying thesis: multilateral institutions and, to a lesser extent, non-governmental organizations, play a growing importance in the U.S.-Japan relationship. The chapters also effectively examine the implications of these changes for the U.S. and Japan, as well as the larger region. One interesting finding was the growing realization on either side of the substantial benefits in "forum shopping," particularly in the global trade and finance arenas. Several chapters also noted the increasing attempts by either Japan or the U.S. to gain leverage over the other in economic or trade disputes by forming revolving coalitions with the E.U., China, or other Asian states at such multilateral forums.

At the same time, Saadia Pekkanen's contribution to the WTO demonstrates that, while forum shopping and coalition building may be more oft-used techniques to manage the evolving relationship, domestic political constraints continue to play as great a role in shaping each party's response in the emerging multilateral era as they may have in the former bilateral one. As well, Walter Hatch's chapter on the U.S.-Japanese manufacturing rivalry in Asia proves once again that the key factor inhibiting U.S. exports to the region is the lack of market access; indeed, in those manufacturing sectors that guarantee greater openness, American products compete effectively with their foreign counterparts.

On the whole, however, the volume is less persuasive in arguing the U.S.-Japan relationship has moved away from its bilateral historical roots in the security arena. As the editors may themselves admit, the U.S.-Japan security relationship has scarcely moved in a multilateral direction. Indeed, fears of an expansionist China, the renewed possibility of conflict on the Korean peninsula, and the anemic outcome of the ARF process mitigate against Japan shedding the U.S. security blanket. Still, this section of the volume warrants close reading, particularly Mike Mochizuki's chapter on China's impact upon the larger U.S.-Japan relationship; it appears that "playing the China card" no longer applies only to the *détente* era of the 1970s.

While the authors should be lauded for examining the U.S.-Japan relationship from different dimensions and with varying levels of analysis in mind, the absence of a clearer conceptual focus also detracts from the volume. In addition, although most chapters effortlessly complement one another as well as the volume's central theme, the inclusion of several of the articles appears to have been forced, while at the same time, the subject matter of other contributions (Jennifer Amyx's and Saori Katada's) overlaps to a considerable degree. It is also distressing that for a volume published so recently (2003), only passing mention is made of post-9/11 concerns and their implications for the U.S.-Japan relationship. Indeed, the volume gives short shrift to the issue of North Korean WMDs, the War on Terror, and the ongoing U.S.-Japanese missile defense relationship.

In general, however, the concluding chapter brings together handily the disparate strands of the individual chapters. The editors remind us of the myriad costs and benefits accruing to either power in transforming the bilateral relationship into an incipient multilateral one. As such, the claim is made that multilateralism also does not imply an ever-weakening relationship between the U.S. and Japan; on the contrary, that relationship

may sometimes be made stronger through the use of multilateral approaches to resolving conflicts. Still, as the various contributions to the volume relate, multilateralism is in no way a panacea for the ills that may affect the U.S.-Japan relationship. Furthermore, the volume demonstrates that certain impediments lie in the way of a further deepening in such multilateral structures, not all of them (or the most important of them) emanating from the U.S. side.

Hamaguchi Eshun and Kaneko Satoru, eds., *Tora-san to Nihonjin: Eiga "Otokowa tsuraiyo" no shakaishinri* [Tora-san and the Japanese: Social Psychology of a Movie Series *It's Tough Being a Man*]. Tokyo: Chisen shokan, 2005. 290 pp. ISBN 10: 4-901654-55-1, ¥1,700.

Reviewed by Kinko Ito

Tora-san to Nihonjin is a book of social psychological, comparative, and content analysis of a very popular and famous Japanese movie series *Otokowa tsuraiyo*, or *It's Tough Being A Man*. The Guinness Book of World Records recognizes the series as the longest running movie series in terms of the number of installments. The forty-eight episode series was directed and produced by Yamada Yoji for 27 years from 1969 to 1995, and starred Atsumi Kiyoshi as *Futen no Tora*, or the Vagabond Tora and Baisho Chieko as his half-sister Sakura. The film series was shown in 105 countries and attracted many loyal and avid fans both in Japan and from abroad. Each episode, except the first few, was seen by more than 2 million viewers. The total viewers of the movie series in Japanese theaters easily exceeded one billion. Tora-san truly is one of the most beloved national heroes of modern Japan. The series was also broadcast on TV in its entirety in 2001 and 2005, and its videotapes and DVDs are now available. The Tora-san series, which was produced by Shochiku Co., was a godsend to the declining Japanese movie industry. A major film company, Daiei, which produced such world renowned movies as *Rashomon* and *Ugetsu* declared bankruptcy in 1971, and Nikkatsu, another major Japanese film company, changed its direction to romantic pornography in the same year.

Tora-san to Nihonjin consists of a prologue, twelve chapters, and an epilogue as well as a list of the series, the contents of each installment, and references available in books, magazines, comics, CD-ROM, web sites, etc. Four Japanese social psychologists used the methodology of

“participant observation,” watched the entire series, and discussed in order to answer questions such as, “Who are the Japanese?” “What makes the Japanese so Japanese apart from other peoples of the world?” “What is Japanese everyday life like?” etc. as seen in the Tora-san movie series. This book makes another great addition to a genre of Japanese social psychology called *Nihonjinron*, or theories of Japanese-ness, the national character and the Japanese essence.

Each chapter deals with various aspects of Tora-san’s social psychology, with special attention to his human relations and communication patterns, as well as to the psychology of other supporting characters, social, historical, political, and economic backgrounds of the episodes. Tora-san is a kind-hearted traveling peddler who tells stories and makes funny speeches to those who listen to him at his sales stand, which is usually set up at a festival in some remote town. He cons his unsuspecting customers and sells tacky products. He may recruit some people to perform a role of decoy customers so that others might be interested in taking a look at his products and purchase them. Bohemian Tora-san is forever single, carefree, humorous, bold, and sometimes unpolished and shy. He never seems to want to settle down anywhere with a steady income or with anyone.

The basic plot throughout the series is the same for all the installments: compassionate Tora-san happens to meet a helpless local woman, provides her with assistance, and in so doing falls in love with her. (Pity is akin to love, sometimes.) Tora-san gets really excited about his new-found love, comes home, and boasts about it. Each episode starred a beautiful leading lady who was referred to as a *Madonna*, and the selection of a new Madonna always made newspaper headlines. When the Madonna gets serious with Tora-san, he starts to feel rather uncomfortable and unworthy sometimes, withdraws from the relationship, leaves her behind, and keeps on traveling. Very often Tora-san misunderstands his Madonna who is interested in another man, and he ends up getting jilted. This film series, however, is not only about love stories but also Tora-san’s falling in love with a Madonna, coming home, and his interactions with her and his kin.

According to the authors of *Tora-san to Nihonjin*, the series attracted a huge audience for more than a quarter century thanks to its depiction of warm, close-knit, human relationships within a family (Tora-san, his half-sister, their uncle and aunt, the sister’s husband, and son) as well as a cozy neighborhood where everybody knows his name. This

primary group-like relationship is now hard to find in modern Japan especially in big cities, and the viewers satisfy their craving of warm, human relationships by going to see the Tora-san movie series twice a year. It provides the viewers with a vicarious experience of going back home, and the audience leaves the theater feeling warm, happy, and content.

All episodes also feature the everyday life of ordinary Japanese, an uneventful yet peaceful and comfortable life. The authors of *Tora-san to Nihonjin* argue that the series has calming and healing effects because it makes the audience feel nostalgic for the good old days and provides them with the feeling of warm human relationship that they now crave in a modern industrial society. Many Japanese white collar workers called “salarymen” may feel a bit trapped in their current situation, want improvements in their convenience of their daily life, but they feel ineffable fear at the same time. They have responsibilities to their companies and families, and their roles may not allow them to be truly themselves and enjoy life. They envy Tora-san’s carefree lifestyle. They want to sigh just like the title of the Tora-san’s movie series, “It’s tough being a man.”

Tora-san to Nihonjin also discusses and analyzes the social and historical backgrounds of the Tora-san film series that formed and affected the psychology of the Japanese people during the few decades when the movies were produced. The dialogues and scenes in the movie series also reflect the social events and trends that have taken place since 1969, whether it was intended or not. For example, the price of Japanese sweets that the store of Tora-san’s aunt and uncle sell is an indication of the price index of 27 years ago. In Chapter 3, the book lists some historical background such as the decline of middle- and small-sized industries, the changes in the modern Japanese family as seen in Sakura’s family, especially her son’s growing up, the rise of aging people in self-employed businesses, and shifting attitudes toward the countryside that people in Tokyo long to come home to, etc.

The first three chapters of *Tora-san to Nihonjin* provide the readers with an introduction to Japanese social psychology as seen in the movie series, 11 points of examination, the compositions and features of the Tora-san movie series, historical background, and the localities. Chapters 4 and 6 deal with how the younger generation of Japanese people perceives Tora-san’s movie series. The chapters are based on the data obtained by showing one of the installments to college students at Osaka City University in Osaka. Installment No. 29, “Ajisai No Koi (Love Romance - Hydrangea Flowers)” was shown to 293 students and a survey was conducted. The

authors report on the students' reactions and opinions about the movie, and they also provide a content analysis of the students' comments.

Throughout the latter chapters the authors explore special features of Japanese social psychology focusing on such concepts as *kanjin* (a special notion of Japanese self that exists in a network of social relationships), close-knit human relationships and communication patterns in a primary group, and a *gemeinschaft*-like community where everyone knows everyone. What Hamaguchi calls *kanjin*, or "the contextual" forms a basis of Japanese human relationships, and this can be observed clearly in the Tora-san film series. The Japanese context is generally based on mutual dependence which assumes inevitable cooperation in society, mutual reliance which requires mutual trust and credibility, and regard for interpersonal relationships seen not as a means but as an end. A *kanjin* knows where he or she is in terms of his/her relationships with others and can take the role of others in order to behave properly. The authors of *Tora-san to Nihonjin* introduce various sociological theories by Erving Goffman and Emile Durkheim as well as social exchange theories, symbolic interactionism, and phenomenology.

Ayako Ono, *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and 19th-century Japan*. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003. xxi + 250 pp. ISBN 10: 0-4152-9686-2 (hbk), \$150.

Reviewed by Linda Gertner Zatlin

European *japonisme* has commanded attention during the past thirty-five years. Beginning in the 1970s, Dr. Gabriel Weisberg opened the field with his wide-ranging analyses, capping them in 1990 with a thorough annotated bibliography of scholarly work on *japonisme* that continues to be the point of embarkation for young scholars. His exhibitions and accompanying catalogues, from the 1975 *Japonisme: the Japanese Influence on French Art, 1854-1910* for the Cleveland Museum of Art to the recently opened (2004) *L'Art Nouveau, La Maison Bing* for the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam, continue to add to our knowledge. In contrast, outside of James McNeill Whistler, studied by American and French as well as British writers, there has been a paucity of scholarly studies of the influence of Japanese art in Britain during the last half of the nineteenth century. This relatively new subject for scholars boasts studies of E. W.

Godwin, Arthur Lazenby Liberty, Christopher Dresser, and Aubrey Beardsley. Toshio Yokoyama's ground-breaking *Japan in the Victorian Mind* (London, 1987) explores the social effects of Japanese art and artifacts on English culture. There is wide room for studies of textiles, tableware, furniture, interior design, fashion design, children's book illustration, graphic art, painting, and decorative art. British collectors of Japanese applied arts and those who purchased Japanese-influenced art and objects merit their own monographs.

Artists have been the prime object of scholarship, and Ayako Ono has studied four artists who worked in England: Whistler, Mortimer Menpes, an Australian, and George Henry and Edward Atkinson Hornel, the latter two part of the artistic group known as the Glasgow Boys. Her purpose is "to consider how western artists understood and accepted Japanese art as a source of inspiration," a task she accomplishes primarily by examining their paintings (p. xvi). Ono's first chapter uses the lens of exhibitions of Japanese art and objects in Britain to focus on the manner in which a taste for this radically different art was built. Her brief survey of English artists and craftsmen who adopted facets of Japanese style and technique includes enough names and brief descriptions of English and Scottish artists, craftsmen, and merchants to whet the palate for more studies. Chapter 2 belongs to a study of Whistler's *japonisme*, ground well-trodden. But Ono brings a fresh – because it is a Japanese – perspective to this material, and her deft analysis considers what Japanese techniques Whistler tried to adapt in his paintings and the degree to which he succeeded. Her most valuable contribution in this chapter, however, is her examination of Whistler's inclusion of Japanese objects in her work and her relation of these objects to his "attempt to produce subjectless paintings" (p. 66).

Among the artists Whistler influenced was Mortimer Menpes, and Chapter 3 explores the combined influence of Whistler and European artists on one hand, and on the other, Menpes' encounter with Japanese art during his trips to that country. Like Whistler, Menpes did not understand Japanese painting techniques. Consequently, he merely imported trappings of Japanese art into his realistic paintings and graphics. But back in London after his second trip to Japan, he adventurously built a studio and home according to what he perceived as Japanese style and decorated it with Japanese fittings. In this fascinating chapter Ono discusses Menpes' studio-house, his acquaintance with the prominent Japanese painter Kawanabe Kyosai, as well as Menpes' photographs of Japanese subjects, and their

relation to his subsequent work. Chapter 4 takes up George Henry and Edward Atkinson Hornel. Like Menpes, they were interested enough in Japanese art to take a joint trip to Japan where they collected over 400 souvenir (for export) photographs of the type called *Yokohama Shashin*. In varying degrees these scenes of daily life influenced their art, with Henry gaining a “genuine awareness of Japanese colour,” while Hornel effectively used a “European manner to create his own original style when treating Japanese subject matter” (pp. 124, 129).

In addition to these chapters there are ten appendices that document the furnishings of Whistler’s home on Tite Street; his collections of oriental porcelain and blue and white china; Raphael Collin’s (flavorlessly translated) recollections of the great Japanese art dealer Hayashi Tademasa; a transcription of a supposed Japanese citizen’s view of Commodore Perry’s arrival in Japan; the 1888 London exhibition of 177 pieces of Menpes’s work; the 1903 show of his collection of 265 works by Whistler; and the Yokohama Museum’s forty-nine etchings by Menpes. Rounding out this group are Hornel’s 9 February 1895 lecture on Japanese life and art, the 20 June 1894 interview of Henry on the same subject, a letter to Hornel, and a glossary of terms.

This is an interesting book even though the group of artists examined is somewhat eccentric. As mentioned above, Whistler has been much studied and his relation to Japanese art has not been ignored. Furthermore, he and Menpes worked in London, and Henry and Hornel in Glasgow, but Ono presents no reason for this grouping. Was it her residency at the Whistler Center that led to her choice, or some other compelling, but unmentioned, reason? Moreover, while Ono presents much information, she is not guided by some of the larger questions. For example, was there a difference between Whistler and Menpes and the Scottish artists in their acceptance of Japanese influence – in other words, regional differences? How did the shifts in the English attitude to things Japanese during the last half of the century affect their views? What do sales of these four artists’ work tell us about *japonisme* in Britain? What part did Japanese artists working in Britain play in the phenomenon of *japonisme*? Most important is the lack of discussion of Japanese sources. With the exception of Whistler, these Westerners met Japanese artists and photographers on their trips to Japan, as Ono documents. But a reader who threads through her mention of these meetings and therefore yearns to know what the Japanese art world thought of the three Western artists is greatly disappointed; that material is lacking – whether it is due to lacunae in the

records or the author's omission is not made clear. In addition, abundant and inexcusable typographical errors stud the pages. Nonetheless, the material is interesting – perhaps even more so in Japan where this study recently won Ayako Ono a prize.

James L. Huffman, *A Yankee in Meiji Japan: The Crusading Journalist Edward H. House*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003. 328 pp. ISBN 10: 0-7425-2620-8 (pbk), \$28.95.

Reviewed by Daniel A. Metraux

A small group of Western teachers and advisors played a critical role in Japan's rapid modernization during the Meiji era (1868-1912). They assisted in the development of modern industrial, educational and political systems and of a formidable military. Some of these Westerners also introduced Japan to their native lands through their books, articles and public lectures and acted as a critical bridge between Japan and the West.

Scholars have written a considerable number of monographs that have rescued many of these persons from obscurity. I have read many of these works, but am most impressed with James L. Huffman's 2003 biography of American journalist Edward H. House (1836-1901). Huffman labored for over three decades tracking down every scrap of information available in the United States and Japan to reconstruct the life of House. The result is a magnificent biography that reveals both the strengths as well as the foibles of one of the outstanding foreigners in Meiji Japan.

House left his native Boston in 1858 to become a reporter for the *Tribune* in New York. He quickly became one of the star journalists on what was then the most influential newspaper in the United States. Choice assignments included coverage of John Brown's trial and execution in 1859 and Japan's first diplomatic mission to the United States in 1860. House's fame as a rising journalist brought him into contact with a number of public and literary figures including Mark Twain with whom he developed a long-lasting and deep friendship (the Twain friendship finally broke down in a very ugly public quarrel late in House's life). He also enjoyed good friendships with Walt Whitman, Artemus Ward and other luminaries.

During the 1860s House developed a fascination for Asia, so much so that he contributed short stories featuring Asian topics to American magazines. He yearned to visit the East and finally persuaded the *Tribune* to

send him to Japan as America's first regular correspondent there. House became an avid student of Japanese history and culture and, unlike some of his Western contemporaries, portrayed Japan as a most progressive and civilized nation struggling to maintain its dignity and independence against unwarranted encroachments by Western imperialists. House's regular dispatches, which were first carried back by ship and then telegraphed from California to New York, conveyed this very favorable image of Japan to his American readers. House soon gained the reputation as one of the leading journalists reporting on Japan in the early Meiji era.

House soon made numerous contacts with leading Japanese officials, who were impressed with his fair reporting and willingness to listen to the Japanese version of events. There were several English-language newspapers in the Tokyo-Yokohama region run by foreigners that expressed a *gaijin* view of life in the 1870s, but no foreign outlet for Japanese views. Members of the Japanese government therefore determined to open their own English-language paper in 1877, *The Tokio Times*, with House as its editor. For the next three years until the paper's demise House argued persuasively for such issues as Japan's need for tariff autonomy and eventual acceptance as an equal among nations. James Huffman suggests that House's editorial work clearly presented Japan's own worldview to the West in a highly coherent manner and helped advance Japan's endeavor to win her place among the nations.

Concerning the contributions that House made, Huffman notes:

House mattered for the contributions he made, and he mattered for the issues his life illustrated. The former is easier to describe, though arguably less important. As a young member of Horace Greeley's stable of brilliant *New York Tribune* writers, he helped to shape U.S. images of the zealot John Brown and introduced the first Japanese visitors (1860) to U.S. readers; he also played a pivotal role in sending Mark Twain's national career into orbit....During his early years in Tokyo, he was among the most important of what one scholar has labeled the "teachers of the American public," helping his fellow countrymen form positive views of Japan with articles that challenged the strange-inferior-Oriental narrative. In this regard, Japan's early image as an advocate of justice resulted in part from his accounts of the *Maria Luz* episode, and his book on Japan's 1874 expedition to Taiwan still shapes the standard narrative of that episode. Within Japan

itself, House was a pioneer in the development of orchestral music and sent his students off into a stunning array of public posts. And in his most important role, as crusader, he more than anyone else induced [the U.S.] Congress to return the Shimonoseki indemnity to Japan and articulated, like no other writer in English, the case against the unequal treaties. Foreign Minister Mutsu Munemitsu called House the “one who laid the groundwork” for treaty revision, “the one we should call the grand old champion” (pp. 270-271).

House’s work did much to promote America’s and the West’s largely very favorable image from the 1870s through the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. His writing as an apologist for Japanese imperialism in the late 1800s also had a role in smoothing the West’s reaction to Japanese expansionism at that time.

House had a genuine concern for the welfare of the needy and the lives of women in Japan. During the late 1870s and early 1880s he opened, taught in and managed the Hausu Gakkō (House School) that offered training in math, reading, writing and sewing under the instruction of himself and a Japanese instructor. The school was praised by observers for its innovations and principles and for its help to over three dozen needy girls, some of whom later rose to positions of prominence in Japanese society.

Huffman gives us an in-depth view of House’s personal life – his very painful fight with gout that landed him in a wheelchair given to him by the powerful political leader Okuma Shigenobu – and his deep relationship with a young woman, Aoki Koto, whom he adopted as his daughter when as a girl she was on the verge of suicide.

Huffman’s work also gives us a very vivid portrait of life in Japan in the late nineteenth century. Huffman has drawn upon House’s voluminous writings and on hundreds of letters between House and major figures in both the United States and Japan. The book is brilliantly researched and written in a clear lively manner. It would be ideal for use in a college course on modern Japan.

Bruce L. Batten, *To the Ends of Japan: Premodern Frontiers, Boundaries, and Interactions*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003. xiii + 337 pp. ISBN 10: 0-8248-2447-4 (hbk), \$44.

Reviewed by Yuki Takatori

Who are the Japanese? And how did Japan come into existence? These questions have captivated and inspired the imaginations of scholars and laymen alike, yet, to arrive at an answer, which presupposes a knowledge of quite diverse but intricately connected fields of study, has never been simple. *To the Ends of Japan* is Bruce Batten's intrepid attempt to do so. It presents a comprehensive picture of Japanese contact with the external world and, in the process, it challenges the traditional view of the Japanese identity, i.e., that racially and culturally, Japan has remained the most homogeneous of nations, existing within stable borders and (until recently, on the historical scale) in complete seclusion. Batten, a professor of Japanese history at Ōbirin University in Tokyo, has employed the tools of a variety of disciplines – history, geography, anthropology, archaeology, and sociology – to present his case, and he has tackled an enormous and far-reaching subject by breaking it down into topics that are more manageable and accessible.

The book is divided into three parts. Part One, "Borders," consisting of three chapters, takes on the riddles of state, race, and ethnicity, all of them long the subjects of controversy and heated debate. Part Two, "Interactions," is divided into six chapters dealing with the issue of Japan's contact with East Asia and the rest of the world in the areas of politics, commerce, information exchange and the military. Part Three, the final, single-chapter section, provides analyses of the relationship between the "social power" and the "contested ground" of frontiers. Each chapter begins with a set of questions to be addressed therein, followed by an introduction to the general theoretical framework upon which that chapter's reasoning rests.

Batten's central thesis is that "Japan was never isolated from its external environment but always functioned as part of a larger system – East Asia for much of pre-modern history, and the world as a whole in more recent times" (p. 235). As the starting point of his argument he counters the widely-held belief, the "one-nation, one-people" myth, that Japan is a nation consisting of a single ethnic group that speaks one language, and is further unified by an agricultural system dominated by the cultivation of rice. He

shows that the Japanese are of a less uniform nature than they are willing to admit: historically, the country has been home to various minority groups, the largest of them the *burakumin* ("village people"), followed by the Koreans and Chinese, and the Ainu. He goes on to reveal another layer of complexity in the social fabric by touching upon the longstanding differences between the "Westerners," who lived west of the Fossa Magna (a geological rift that cuts across central Japan), and the "Easterners," distinguishing characteristics which have probably existed since pre-historic times (pp. 60-61).

Of equal significance as the lack of homogeneity are Batten's findings that Japanese borders were never static, that Japanese territory was always fluctuating, with rapid expansion phases and slow growth phases occurring alternately. (Here, he makes an important distinction between boundaries and frontiers: the former is linear, abrupt, clearly defined, and "inner-oriented," whereas the latter is zonal, gradual, ill-defined, and "outer-oriented" [pp. 24-28].) He demonstrates that territorial fluctuation was most notable in northern Japan (the present-day prefectures of Hokkaido, Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, Akita, and Aomori), which remained a frontier throughout the pre-modern era.

That Japan was never detached from the external world becomes obvious from the extent of its continuous interactions with the outside, even in its period of diplomatic isolation, beginning in the early seventeenth century and ending in the mid-nineteenth century (pp. 141-142). David Wilkinson classified Japan as a separate and autonomous "civilization" (equivalent to Chase-Dunn and Hall's "world-system"), at least militarily and politically, but Batten argues that although Japan maintained some degree of autonomy in some respects, it was "always embedded within a web of relations" as "part of the Chinese world-system," and never constituted a "fully-developed world-system in its own right" (pp. 146, 227-229). He buttresses his contention with observations concerning not only political and military interactions, but also the transportation of bulk as well as prestige goods, and the transmission of information and technology. In his discussion of the level of mutual cross-border contacts, the author draws from the work of social physicists, who rely on mathematical models to account for human behavior. Although this reviewer does not subscribe to the notion that behavioral patterns can be reduced to formulas, equations, decimals, *chi*-squares, and the like, it is nonetheless comforting to know that the models have "been found to accord with empirical data on all

manners of human movement” regardless of time, place, and culture (p. 144).

In military and politics, the scale of interactions “pulsated,” that is, there were periods of large scale frequent interactions and those of small scale infrequent interactions, and crucially, the pulsation was a result of external, rather than internal, conditions that placed Japan within larger Asian networks, not at the center of its own network. The trade in prestige goods behaved similarly, within a network that extended beyond East Asia to all of Eurasia, and perhaps globally. By contrast, the limited flow of bulk goods did not exhibit the tendency to fluctuate, being subject to domestic events. As for the movement of information, it is quite fascinating to learn that, even during the Edo era, Japan managed to remain at all times current on world affairs. All in all, these observations eloquently frame a theme recurrent throughout the book, of a Japan that was a “subsystem of a larger Asian system,” not a world-system of its own.

Batten’s theses and conclusions are persuasive; however, a few topics and details are underdeveloped, absent, or misinterpreted. For one, the importance of the role language plays in the formation of ethnic identity is not examined in depth. The presentation of linguistic evidence would have given additional support to the claim of an East-West divide within Japan; similarly, the dual characteristics seen in the Japanese language (Malayo-Polynesian phonologically and morphologically, but Altaic syntactically) would corroborate the dual origins of the present-day Japanese people. In the opinion of the reviewer, without a common language it would be extremely difficult, though not impossible, for members of a group to identify with one another both religiously and culturally. Batten states that it is easy enough to find examples of ethnic groups that do not share a common language, but gives none (p. 117). (The post-Diaspora Jews are a possible candidate, since, prior to the founding of Israel, they used Hebrew almost exclusively for purposes related to religious observance, but their employment of Yiddish and Ladino as lingua franca would appear to weaken the case for them.)

In the section on Ancient Japan (pp. 28-34), some reference to the controversy over the mysterious Yamatai Country should have been included, for the precise location of the Yamatai (somewhere in Nara or north Kyūshū) would affect the timetable of the emergence of the first centralized government in Japan. Finally, in the section on territorial expansion, the characterization of the Kwantong Territory (i.e. Manchuria),

leased to and later becoming a puppet state of Japan, as one of Japan's "colonies" (p. 55) might raise the eyebrows of many historians.

These quibbles in no way diminish the value and strength of *To the Ends of Japan*, which is a valuable addition to the slim body of scholarly works addressing the diversity of the Japanese people and their extensive contacts with Eurasia and beyond prior to the modern era. Its insights into the questions of "What is Japan?" and "Who are the Japanese?" should enlighten those who tenaciously hold firm to the myth of a Japan as a land apart, possessed of a culture and people unique in their purity and sameness.

Cristina Rocha. *Zen in Brazil: The Quest for Cosmopolitan Modernity*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006. xii + 256 pp. ISBN 10: 0-8248-2976-X (hbk), \$37.

Reviewed by Ronan A. Pereira

The localized site is Brazil, a country of over 180 million people that accounts for almost half of South America's area, population, and economy. The core subject is the diffusion of Zen Buddhism there as a result of global flows of people, ideas, images, technology, and suchlike. However, the scope goes beyond the title *Zen in Brazil*, as it is suggested by the subtitle: *The Quest for Cosmopolitan Modernity*. In the author's own words, this case study is used not only to elucidate the contemporary transnationalization of Buddhism, but also "to deepen our insight into the interplay of the global and the local, the articulation of modernity vis-à-vis tradition, transformations in Brazilian society, the process of creolization of beliefs, and the historical anthropology of modernity" (p. 3). This ambitious task is supported by a wide range of theoretical categories (i.e., modernization, globalization, creolization, Appadurai's *scapes*, Bourdieu's *habitus*), a critical debate on the scholarly literature of Buddhism, transnational production and flow of cultural goods, and a multi-sited field.

In Chapter 1, Rocha establishes a web of surprising connections among Brazil, Japan, Zen Buddhism and the discourse of modernity. She shows that in the early twentieth century the Brazilian elite desperately longed to enter modernity while at the same time attempting to construct an identity for Brazil as a white and Western nation. In this context, the modernizing Meiji Japan became a successful model to be followed and Japanese immigrants were hailed as the "whites of Asia" and an asset to

help Brazil get closer to modernity. In presenting the lives and rhetoric of some Zen missionaries (*kaikyōshi*) in Brazil, Rocha shows that they were invariably informed and aligned with the discourse of modern Zen “that has been packaged to assert Japan’s own modernity vis-à-vis Western cultural hegemony” (p. 61). Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that while Rinzai Zen was the first and most successful Zen sect in the West due to the propagandist effort of D.T. Suzuki and the Kyoto School philosophers, Sōtō Zen predominates in Brazil.

Shifting the focus away from the *kaikyōshi* and pursuing a deeper discussion on modernity, Chapter 2 addresses the role of intellectuals in introducing into the country an idealized image of Zen. On the one hand, this process was informed – as in many countries – by the Romantic Orientalist ideas associated with a mystical and “exotic East,” on the other hand, it was used to perpetuate a tradition of social markers used for class distinction in Brazilian society. Thus, instead of having a first-hand approach to Japanese culture and Buddhism through the Japanese immigrants, Brazilian intellectuals tended to seek inspiration in cultural centers in the West such as France (until WWII) and the United States or, later on, in Japan. Rocha supports her arguments by tracking down the presence of the “Orient” in the Brazilian literature, the popularization of *haiku* and its association with Zen, the role of non-Japanese Brazilian intellectuals in “bridging the local and the global.” She concludes that “from the late 1950s onward, elite intellectuals saw their knowledge of Zen not as a form of cultural resistance, but rather as a tool enabling them to demonstrate both their role in Brazilian society as translators and interpreters of overseas avant-garde movements and their prestigious position as cosmopolitans. These claims gave them the cultural capital necessary to reinforce and maintain their own class status in the country” (p. 73).

In Chapter 3, Rocha situates Zen within the Brazilian religious field in order to profile its sympathizers and adherents. Here again the idea of modernity is crucial. First of all, the author argues, “modern Buddhism – constructed by Asian elites as compatible with science and thus superior to Christianity – was adopted by Brazilian intellectual elites in opposition to what was perceived as a mystical, hierarchical, dogmatic, superstitious, and hence traditional and “backward” Catholic Church, the religious tradition into which they were born” (p. 91). Next, the very feature of religious practice in modern times – “pluralization of faiths, privatization of choice,

and turning to the self as the main source of meaning” – favored the association of Zen with modernity and, thus, its adoption by Brazilians.

Additionally, the Brazilian religious field itself showed other favorable characteristics that both help the acceptance of Zen and shaped the way it has been practiced and constructed in this country. That is, the Brazilian religious field has been, if anything, plural and complex, with a recurrent transit from one religion to another. Zen reception has also been paved by esoteric traditions, Kardecist Spiritism and the Brazilian Umbanda, which hold key concepts for Buddhism such as karma and rebirth/reincarnation – though with distinct interpretations. The New Age movement of the mid-1980s and 1990s, added Rocha, helped the late 1990s boom of Buddhism among the white, upper- and middle-class professionals.

In Chapter 4, following a previous description of the role of Sōtō Zen missionaries and non-Japanese Brazilian intellectuals in propagating Zen, the author uses Arjun Appadurai’s five scapes that accounts for transnational cultural flows in order to explore the role of the cultural industries in familiarizing Brazilians with Buddhism. On the one hand, Brazilian mass media (mediascapes) – reflecting the North American “Tibetan chic” – triggered a Buddhist boom in the late 1990s, in a way that it came to be associated with “urban cosmopolitanism, class distinction through taste, and the construction of the imagined worlds of the exotic other” (p. 128). On the other hand, high speed technoscapes such as the Internet have further propelled the interest in Buddhism beyond the great urban centers. As a result, Zen became more than a new spiritual option for Brazilians. It came to encompass “all Oriental, exotic beliefs, practices, and techniques employed to achieve wisdom, harmony, tranquility and inner peace.” It has also been used as an adjective to connote cool, savvy, cosmopolitan, chic, calm, collected, peaceful, and/or alternative lifestyle people.

According to the author, Buddhism appealed mainly to elite groups such as liberal professionals, intellectuals, and the bourgeoisie. Here is the clue: for many of these practitioners, Buddhism became “fashionable,” identified with a desirable, modern, transnational religious consumption flow, a way to equate oneself with the developed world and its upper classes while, at the same time, detach oneself from and feel superior to the rest of the “backward,” unrefined, superstitious Brazilian population. This explains why, in most cases, Brazilian Buddhists have not been active as “engaged Buddhists”: taken chiefly as an inner quest for peace and wisdom, Buddhism is also employed to establish social distinction and identity.

The last chapter is the crowning of Rocha's debate on modernity. While discussing her field data, she demonstrates that the depiction of Japanese and Japanese-Brazilian Zen practices as "traditional" and of non-Japanese Brazilians as "modern" is quite deceptive. She not only found creolizing processes in both groups, but also came across much transit among and porosity in them. The ethnic group not just perpetuates the traditional role of Japanese Buddhism as a provider of funeral rites; some Japanese Brazilians actually have joined Zen meditation groups in their search for alternative spiritual practices. Conversely, there is a rise of rites of funeral, memorial, wedding and even "baptism" upon demands of non-Japanese Brazilians. As Rocha stresses, these rites have been "creolized by Catholic practices."

Surprisingly, the author talks of a non-Japanese Brazilian monk who gives Brazilian indigenous names to his disciples' babies instead of traditional Japanese dharma ones. As she discusses the "dialogic relation" of these two groups, Rocha sets a strong critique of the literature on Western Buddhism. In short, she questions the need to create a separate set of opposed congregations such as Western/Asian, convert/ethnic, modern/traditional. "(A)ren't some Westerners asserting their own practice as superior to the 'backward,' 'ethnic' one? Isn't this approach an endeavor to 'civilize' Buddhism?" (p. 191), asks the author. In doing so, she becomes a critic as much as an active conversant with the scholarly literature on Buddhism and the transnational production and flow of cultural goods.

In the past decades, many claims have been circulated to explain the complexity of and the multiplicity of flows in the worldwide integrative process of "globalization." Though the Western predominance is always acknowledged, it has also been suggested that there is a subtle and ongoing process of "Easternization of the West" (Colin Campbell), which implies a reverse flow from the periphery/Asia to Western countries. Cristina Rocha's book expands on this picture by showing that global flows also occur between peripheries. That is, some peripheries can also become regional "centers" as illustrated here by Brazil becoming a reference and center of information on Buddhism for Latin America and Portugal. Additionally, this book has the merit of being a pioneer case study on Buddhism in the West as it moves away the traditional focus on North America and Europe to Brazil, where Buddhism has a small but solid and growing following.

Overall, I believe this book is well-written, carefully researched and based on a sound and updated bibliography. Minor weaknesses that one might encounter here do not jeopardize its high quality. For instance,

occasionally the reader may wonder if Rocha is speaking about Buddhism in general or Zen. Rocha states that Buddhism appealed mainly to the white, intellectual, upper middle class as it became fashionable and trendy. This is most certainly the case of Zen and Tibetan Buddhism. However, my own research on Sōka Gakkai in Brazil reveals that this group is making a breakthrough among the middle and lower classes. A possible explanation is that, although Zen has been appealing for many people as a technique for a better quality of life (particularly as a stress reliever), Sōka Gakkai is more pragmatic and “down to earth,” promising to solve all kinds of problems through a simple ritual of chanting the *daimoku* – which is even simpler than sitting and meditating.

In a country with an immense and long-lived social inequality, plagued by corruption, violence, inefficient presence of government agencies in basic services such as healthcare and education, the sector of the population most affected by this situation is probably turning to Sōka Gakkai in a similar way it has been using the services of other popular religions, such as the Kardecist Spiritualism and Umbanda. Rafael Shoji has also noted a regional popularization of Shingon’s “consultation and blessing” rituals among non-Japanese, predominantly middle-class Brazilians in a city surrounding São Paulo. This group visits Shingon temples mainly in an attempt to solve problems related to health, unemployment or family disharmony. The concept of sangha or spiritual development through meditation or esoteric practices is distant, if not absent among these Shingon “clients.” These two cases are quite contrasting and complementary to the situation depicted by Cristina Rocha in regards to Zen in Brazil.

In essence, this book, which is originally Cristina Rocha’s doctoral thesis, confirmed the impressions I had of her previous articles. She has a beautiful style of unfolding the subject that combines a captivating description of events, rituals, anecdotes and interviews with a sharp and creative analysis. Thumbs up to the editor of the University of Hawaii Press’ *Topics in Contemporary Buddhism Series* for having picked this fascinating, intelligent, informative, creative, and (re)commendable book for publication.

Duncan Ryūken Williams, *The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005. xiv + 241 pp. ISBN 10: 0-691-11928-7 (hbk), \$55.¹

Reviewed by Steven Heine

This long-awaited volume by Duncan Williams is based on his outstanding Harvard University doctoral dissertation, “Representations of Zen: A Social and Institutional History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Edo Japan” (2000), also recommended to readers since it contains valuable material which did not find its way into the book version. *The Other Side of Zen* makes a great contribution to our understanding of the history of Zen in the early modern or Tokugawa (Edo) era of Japanese history (1600-1868). It goes a long way toward filling a crucial historical gap between William Bodiford’s seminal work on the Kamakura era (1200-1600), *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (University of Hawaii Press, 1993), and works on the Meiji era (1868-1912) including Richard Jaffe’s *Neither Monk Nor Layman: Clerical Marriage in Modern Japanese Buddhism* (Princeton University Press, 2001). It also complements Helen Baroni’s *Ōbaku Zen: The Emergence of the Third Sect of Zen in Tokugawa Japan* (University of Hawaii Press, 2000).

Williams has two overarching concerns, one specific and one general. The more specific concern is to explain how Sōtō Zen rose from a relatively small school at the beginning of the Tokugawa era to become the single largest school of Buddhism in Japan by the early eighteenth century. In dealing with this issue, the approach in *The Other Side of Zen* is particularly notable for making the most of recently disclosed sources that reveal the role of Sōtō Zen as a popular religious movement. “Indebted to the many local history and temple history projects that have emerged in the past twenty years,” Williams points out, “the representation of the Sōtō Zen tradition offered here was made possible by newly discovered letters, temple logbooks, miracle tales, villager’s diaries, fund-raising donor lists, talismans, and tombstones” (p. 123).

The second, more general concern is with moving interpretations of Zen away from an emphasis on the image of Zen monks serenely

¹ This review was originally published in *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* 12 (2005): 84-87.

entranced in meditation, which was in fact rarely practiced by Tokugawa era Zen priests, to an emphasis on their performance of diverse kinds of ritual practices. Eschewing a focus on the great literary Sōtō monks of the era, such as Manzan Dōhaku and Menzan Zuihō, who are examples of what he calls “‘ceramic plate priests,’ extraordinary exemplars brought out of the cupboard of the Sōtō Zen tradition in terms of proselytization...or on special occasions” (p. 119), Williams concentrates on the aspects of Zen that negotiated boundaries between this world and the next through funerary ceremonies, between illness and wellness through healing rites, and between the other-world and practical benefits through pilgrimages and talismans.

I will first consider the substance of Williams’s findings regarding popular religiosity in the middle chapters of the book (Chapters 2-5) and then comment briefly on the value of his social historical approach for the discourse, or in this case anti-discourse, concerning the nature – and different sides – of Zen as emphasized in the opening and concluding chapters.

Following the discussion in Chapter 1 on the significance of undertaking a social historical analysis (part of Williams’ more general concern), the next chapter shows how several key factors that unfolded at the dawn of the Tokugawa era attracted followers and bolstered the number of parish households. These factors included the participation of Sōtō Zen in the anti-Christian campaign and the implementation of the temple-registration system. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Sōtō school “was able to retain this membership generation after generation through a set of ritual and economic obligations that bound the parish household to each of its nearly 17,500 parish temples” (p. 22). At the end of the second and throughout the third chapter, Williams explores the role of Zen as part of “funerary Buddhism” (*sōshiki Bukkyō*) in bestowing posthumous ordination names (*kaimyō*) and developing other forms of managing the dead, carried out in large part as a means of fundraising.

The price to be paid for the expanded role of the death cult, Williams shows, is that Sōtō Zen helped legitimate methods of discrimination against social outcastes and women. The result was the fostering of an apparently hypocritical outlook whereby some parishioners (upper-class males) were guaranteed the attainment of a state equal to that of Buddha at the time of death, while the downtrodden were instructed to expect immense suffering without relief in the afterlife. In supporting the role of the *Ketsubonkyō* (Blood Pool Hell Sutra), which damned women to a

state of pollution, priests informed the sufferers that only the efficacious cleansing rituals and chants of the Sōtō school could provide salvific powers, performed on demand as initiated by significant family donations.

The fourth and fifth chapters analyze various ways that Zen offered other avenues for parishioners and adherents to receive the benefits of its rites. In a detailed case study of the prayer temple at Daiyūzan Saijōji temple in Odawara, Williams gives a fabulous depiction of religious life involving pilgrimage routes to festivals and the acquiring of potent talismans to cure ailments, ward off misfortunes, and gain practical benefits. These practices are centered on the ceremony for displaying a hidden deity (*kaichō*), the statue of the flame-engulfed Dōryō *tengu*-goblin riding on a flying white fox. This section is followed by a careful analysis of the importance of the manufacture and sale of “sacred medicine” in the Sōtō school, in particular, the panacean herbal pill, Gedokuen.

The use of Gedokuen as a cure for everything from fatigue and flu to gonorrhea was originally based on a legend of Dōgen’s recovery from illness during his travels in returning from his trip to China while accompanied by Dōshō through the intercession of the rice fertility deity, Inari. Williams points out that this account appears in the *Teiho Kenzeiki*, the 1753 annotated version of the traditional sectarian biography, the *Kenzeiki*. “What is striking here,” he writes, “is that none of the handcopied versions [from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included in a critical edition edited by the modern scholar Kawamura Kōdō] includes the story about Dōshō and the medicine” (p. 94). However, this is not so startling because Kawamura has demonstrated that it is just one of over a dozen discrepancies between the original *Kenzeiki* and the more hagiographical entries in the *Teiho Kenzeiki*. The chapter includes two other fascinating case studies of temples in Tokyo, one involving the “splinter-removing” Jizō (Togenuki Jizō) enshrined at Kōganji temple and the other dealing with smallpox prevention talismans associated with Mawari Jizō at Senryūji temple.

Regarding the book’s more general concern with focusing attention on the role of popular religiosity in the spread of Sōtō Zen, Williams does an admirable job that contributes to the anti-discourse of deconstructing the stereotypical view of Zen as remote and reclusive. However, the book could perhaps benefit from a more sequential rather than purely thematic structure which makes it difficult for readers to get a sense of the chronological development of the Sōtō school.

I question the title, derived from an influential article on medieval Japanese culture by Barbara Ruch. By using the definite article and singular noun, rather than “Other Sides of Zen,” – or even “Sides of Zen” – Williams implies that there is a “first side,” but what is this? If it is the notion of meditative Zen, then he is far from the first to challenge the apparent simulacra that has been constructed around the tradition. If the first side of Zen is the Rinzai school as the subtitle might suggest, or the elite monks of Sōtō that are not discussed here, then he needs to develop a more nuanced view. This is hinted by the comment regarding the Daiyūzan deity to the effect that beliefs in “this Zen monk-turned-tengu attest to the power and vitality of Sōtō Zen prayer temples that reveal a different side of the Sōtō Zen tradition from both the austere monasticism and funerary Zen.” Indeed, save for the Manzans and Menzans – although it should be pointed out that Menzan himself was the one responsible for inserting unsubstantiated hagiographical elements in the *Teiho Kenzeiki*, including the Gedokuen legend – Williams has exposed the reader to a rich range of materials revolving around multiple perspectives of what it meant to practice Tokugawa era Zen Buddhism. We need not even ask which side he is on.

Marie Højlund Roesgaard, *Japanese Education and the Cram School Business: Functions, Challenges and Perspectives of the Juku*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, 2006. 203 pp. ISBN 10: 8-7911-1491-8 (hbk), \$65.

Reviewed by Steven E. Gump

“The term *juku*, which is already listed in the *American Heritage Dictionary*, is circulated in English written and verbal communications as a word, though italicized, that requires little explanation among those who have some knowledge of Japan.” Thus wrote sociologist Keiko Hirao in 2007.² But Marie Højlund Roesgaard, author of *Japanese Education and the Cram School Business: Functions, Challenges and Perspectives of the*

² Keiko Hirao, “The Privatized Education Market and Maternal Employment in Japan,” in Frances McCall Rosenbluth, ed., *The Political Economy of Japan’s Low Fertility* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), pp. 170-197.

Juku, wrote her book precisely to offer some explanation of a concept that, in the West, is often misunderstood – even among those who have some knowledge of Japan. Roesgaard, deputy head of the Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies at the University of Copenhagen, argues that institutions known as *juku* in Japan are varied and diverse; thinking of them only as “cram schools,” as the term has historically been translated and conceptualized, is incorrect. Moreover, she argues that, without *juku*, the regular system of schooling in Japan would not be able to function. Even though *juku*, as private businesses, fall under the auspices of the Japanese Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (*Keizai Sangyōshō*), Roesgaard investigates two triangular relationships: one among the school, family, and community; and another among *juku*, regular schools, and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (*Monbukagakushō*, hereafter Ministry of Education).

The major contribution of Roesgaard’s book, a study of the function of academic *juku* in Japan, is the typology she offers of various kinds of academic *juku*. Using eight variables, she goes beyond Rohlen’s 1980 distinction between *shingaku juku* and *hoshū juku*³, and diagrams a continuum of four categories of academic *juku*: *shingaku juku*, the most “cram-like,” which offer ability-based courses for exam preparation; *hoshū juku*, which offer remedial lessons on content covered in school; *kyōsai juku*, which offer individualized instruction to students who may not be going to regular school; and *doriru* (lit., “drill”) *juku*, which concern practicing basic skills, often by correspondence, with little to no one-on-one instruction. The purposes of various *juku* are different enough that some children, based on their needs, attend multiple *juku*. The eight variables Roesgaard uses to construct her typology are atmosphere (competitive versus relaxed), focus of courses (school curriculum versus entrance exams), relation to school, academic ability of students, teaching material, size, admission procedures, and advertising (commercial versus word of mouth). A useful table (table 1.2, p. 34) offers a snapshot of the eight variables across the four *juku* types.

³ Thomas P. Rohlen, “The Juku Phenomenon: An Exploratory Essay,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 6/2 (1980): 207-242. Note also, as Rohlen describes, the presence of non-academic *juku* (offering, for example, abacus, calligraphy, music, and swimming lessons). Such *juku* are mentioned by Roesgaard but not considered in her discussion.

Roesgaard sets forth this typology in the first part of her book, after a contextualizing introductory chapter that could have benefited from more discussion of the history and Asian antecedents of contemporary *juku*. (See Rohlen, cited above, for more detailed background.) The second part involves case studies of three of the four *juku* types she identifies: *shingaku*, *hoshū*, and *doriru juku*. Here she relies on visits to various *juku*, interviews with teachers and *juku* representatives, promotional materials, and information from *juku* websites. (Remarkably, all seven website addresses for *juku* presented at the end of the bibliography are valid as of June 2007; none of the other URLs I checked from her citations or references was still valid.)⁴ In these chapters, she describes nine individual *juku* – many of which, especially among *shingaku* and *doriru juku*, have become national (and even international) franchises. Many *juku*, however, typically those of the *hoshū* type, remain localized and small in scale, often operating out of private residences. As Rohlen had done before her, Roesgaard also comments on the beneficial secondary role that some *juku* play as daycare centers and local meeting places for schoolchildren.

Some of Roesgaard's interviews were conducted as long ago as 1996, and much of the survey data upon which she bases some of her other conclusions are old, as well. (Without the least bit of hyperbole, she refers to a poll conducted in 1985 as “a bit dated,” p. 123.) And although she considers the politics behind some of the statistics she cites (see, e.g., p. 151), some of her public-opinion sources seem not to present a complete picture of the scene she sets out to describe. But in the third and final part of her book, where she considers the present and future of *juku* education vis-à-vis Japanese politics and, especially, curricular reform, her commentary feels more current. In this section she discusses an issue that is apparent throughout her book, namely, that “the existence of *juku* challenges the ideal of equality in access to education” (p. 173), as set forth in the 1948 Fundamental Law of Education. *Juku* attendance is not free, after all, with annual per-student fees at the most elite *shingaku juku* exceeding ¥1 million (over \$8,200, at June 2007 exchange rates). “As in many other countries all over the world,” Roesgaard concludes, “it is the case in Japan that a strong family economy will offer wider options in education” (p. 165).

⁴ Interestingly, given the fact that *juku* are not administered by the Ministry of Education, some *juku* websites have “.ac.jp” suffixes (equivalent to “.edu” in the United States), though most have “.co.jp” suffixes (equivalent to “.com”).

In her presentation, Roesgaard focuses on elementary school students, despite the fact that a greater percentage of middle school students have historically attended *juku* as preparation for high school entrance exams. Her argument is that the Ministry of Education's implementation of the five-day school week in April 2002 and the ensuing reduced curriculum in public education have increased interest in private education at the middle school level. Thus, as greater numbers prepare for private middle school entrance exams, *juku* attendance by elementary school students is growing. Moreover, "it is generally considered impossible to pass entrance examinations at the more prestigious private middle schools without *juku* attendance" (p. 61). Somewhat frustratingly, though, Roesgaard ignores commenting on the public-private divide in Japanese education until midway through her book, where she finally explores the costs of private middle schools and the perceived advantages students at such schools have at progressing up the so-called academic escalator (see pp. 89, 100).

Roesgaard's presentation would benefit, I believe, with more detailed attention to day-to-day activities at the various *juku* she describes. Rohlen does a commendable job describing the "typical" *juku* (with average numbers of students, teachers, days and hours attended per week, subjects studied, etc.). Perhaps because Roesgaard's agenda is to disabuse us of the "ideal-type" mentality with respect to *juku*, though, her presentation lacks a depth of richness that would help readers better understand the goings-on at different kinds of *juku*. For example, Roesgaard is not specific about when and for how long various *juku* activities take place (though, excepting *kyōsai juku*, the reader assumes they primarily take place after school, on weekends, and during school vacations); nor does she provide more than a small handful of specific examples of the various forms these activities may take.

Although no standards exist, I craved more information on teacher backgrounds and preparation. (Kumon Kyōshitsu, one of two *doriru juku* Roesgaard profiles, licenses its teachers after they have completed one year of training and passed an exam. At other schools, *juku* instructors may be part-time workers and may include university students.) And perspectives from students – and additional perspectives from parents – would have been a welcome addition to the book. Rohlen explores the social meanings and implications of sending one's children to *juku*, ideas Roesgaard does not particularly tackle; but I nonetheless finished Roesgaard's book wanting to know more about what it really is *like* to attend *juku*. Granted, Roesgaard approaches *juku* from a sociological perspective; perhaps rich description of

the “lived experience” I was seeking would have its place in an ethnography of *juku*. Methodologically, I was also curious as to how Roesgaard secured her interviews, since she offers no metadiscourse on her research process.

Overall, though, Roesgaard succeeds in presenting a new and useful framework for understanding *juku*, institutions reflective of Japan’s “credentialist society” (*gakureki shakai*) that sit at the junction of business and education. Her predictions about the future of education in Japan – notably, the ways in which *juku* should continue to grow to compensate for perceived shortcomings in the public education system – speak to for-profit educational enterprises around the world, making her work of value to students and scholars not only of Japanese studies but also of comparative education.