Takayuki Tatsumi, *Full Metal Apache: Transactions between Cyberpunk Japan and Avant-Pop America.* **Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006. 241 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-3774-4 (pbk), $22.95.**

Reviewed by Natsuki Fukunaga

A cyborg cat set against a futuristic Tokyo introduces the world to Takayuki Tatsumi's *Full Metal Apache: Transactions between Cyberpunk Japan and Avant-Pop America.* The body of the cyborg cat is semi-transparent; therefore, the boundary line between the body and the background is vague. It is this blurred boundary line which is one of the themes of Tatsumi's book. In this book, noted Japanese science fiction critic and professor Takayuki Tatsumi compares pop culture, literature, and science fiction novels in Japan and the United States with a focus on five different areas: theory, history, aesthetics, performance, and representation. Tatsumi's historical analysis of literature and art theories provides a new perspective on the complicated relations between Japan and the United States.

As a main discussion, Tatsumi emphasizes using a necessary tool, the concept of "creative masochism," to understand the complexity of the relationship between Japan and the United States in postmodern society. Tatsumi argues that postwar Japanese identity is beyond the traditional binary opposition of Orientalism and Occidentalism; instead, it is best described by creative masochism as "a sensibility across which the cultural clash of Orientalism and Occidentalism plays out" (p. 28). This creative masochism includes the self-reflexive identity that was created from the situation of being passive and dependent on the United States after World War II. Tatsumi suggests that creative masochism reflects "the history of postwar Japanese mental condition" (p. 167), and it helps one understand postwar Japanese industrialization as a radical transformation from distraction to creation, instead of copying what the United States offers.

Tatsumi applies the concept of creative masochism to literature and art theory as well. In Chapter Eight, Tatsumi analyzes a science fiction novel, *Virtual Light*, written by William Gibson, who often uses Japan as a setting for his science fiction novels. *Virtual Light* begins in Tokyo but then moves to San Francisco where the Bay Bridge has been disabled and closed to motorized traffic following a huge earthquake. Former hippies and homeless people gather to live on the bridge, and eventually a "bridge" community is created. This bridge has lost its original function as a

transportation system, is re-appropriated, reused, and thus, the existence of the bridge becomes a symbol of reconstruction in this novel. Tatsumi points out that Gibson describes two recycling aspects in *Virtual Light*. One is reusing a space after the earthquake, and transforming it into a community. Another is the recycling of the Japanese art theory called "Thomasson," a term coined by Japanese avant-garde, Neo-Dada artist, Genpei Akasegawa in the 1960s. This term comes from the description of a baseball player from the United States, Thomasson, who was expected to play an active part in Japanese baseball but failed to do so. Later, the term Thomasson was used to describe "hyper art," something that exists without any particular purpose and seems to be useless, but it exists in order to be found as an art that was not created intentionally. This kind of art makes you wonder and gives you opportunities to deconstruct the status quo. Tatsumi suggests that the bridge in *Virtual Light* symbolizes Gibson's attempt to "bridge" the distance between Occidentalism and Orientalism, San Francisco and Tokyo. These two recycling aspects share the unintended creativity that arises from the negative, passive situation as found in creative masochism.

Tatsumi discusses another example of creative masochism in Japanese society in Chapter Eleven. The scrap metal thieves, people who stole scrap metal from a destroyed weapon factory in Osaka during the 1950s and 1960s, are called "the Apache." The Apache risked their lives to exchange the scrap metal for money. These metals, which may have been used for killing, were reused and contributed to the industrial reform in Japan. Therefore, the Apache is an example of creative productions emerging from a devastating situation. Tatsumi suggests that reanalyzing an existing theory and reconstructing its usage according to the appropriate time period, described in Japanese art theories such as Thomasson and the Apache, has an important role in Cyberpunk literature.

Cyberpunk emerged from a literary subgenre of science fiction, and it describes hard-edged, high-tech that is beyond the existent science fiction. Tatsumi also analyzes the Cyberpunk movement that arose in the 1980s in the United States and accelerated the spread of avant-garde works in the popular culture. According to Tatsumi, avant-garde artists and art products were found at different times in Japan and in the United States. However, Tatsumi finds a synchronicity between American and Japanese works in post-Cyberpunk literature. Tatsumi indicates that this radical and highly chaotic approach in Cyberpunk provides a space for creative negotiations between non-Western and Western countries. Therefore, it is not surprising Tatsumi argues that most avant-garde art is found in the

science fiction genre including popular culture such as literature, film, and anime in the postmodern society.

In *Full Metal Apache*, Tatsumi introduces provocative ways of reading texts and works of art by connecting literature in Japan and the United States. Readers can learn about several art theories including Thomasson, Neo-Dada, and the Apache while enjoying the analysis of science fiction writers such as William Gibson and Richard Calder. Tatsumi also offers readers an excellent list of Japanese literature and art by Kunio Yanagita, Yasutaka Tsutsui, and Shuji Terayama. Although this book is a challenging theoretical piece, it should appeal to a wide audience ranging from scholars specializing in literature, literary criticism, cultural studies, popular culture theory, science fiction literature, film studies, Asian studies, and Japanese-U.S. relations and history to a general audience who enjoys readings in these fields.

Full Metal Apache offers readers an interesting look at the possibilities of the postmodern society we live in and its future. Tatsumi's challenge of deconstructing simple binary oppositions in our society reveals the intertwined and fuzzy relations between Japan and the United States, as metaphorically represented in the cyborg cat on the front cover of this book.

Ian Condry, *Hip-Hop Japan: Rap and the Paths of Cultural Globalization*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006. 245 pp. ISBN: 0-8223-3692-0 (pbk), $22.95.

Reviewed by Xuexin Liu

This book is a lively ethnographic interpretation of Japanese hip-hop based on findings from the author's intensive fieldwork in studying various aspects of the hip-hop movement. The author draws the ethnographic material from an array of sites termed *genba* (referring to all-night dance clubs, actual sites of the Japanese hip-hop scene), where hip-hop is enacted by a myriad of diverse committed groups and where the performative and social networking features are observed. The author's idea of *genba* is crucial not only for the ethnographic description and interpretation of hip-hop Japan, but also for the central analytical themes of the book. Sites of *genba* are the places where the author's fieldwork takes place. As described in the book, a particular site of *genba* is such a place where collective activities of record companies, media, artists, fans and so on have performative effects and where the complex global and local

linkages that operate in different artists' work can be observed and analyzed. Rather than employing dichotomous analytical categories such as global/local, producer/consumer, complicit/resistant to study the hip-hop phenomenon in Japan, the author proposes a method of investigating the interaction among various factors, such as culture industries, creative artists, and active fans, which drive new cultural styles. As assumed in the book, it is the intersecting power lines and their connections, rather than oppositions, that produce transnational popular culture. The opposition between globalization and localization is such a simplistic or false dichotomy that it fails to provide insight into how culture is changing in Japan, what hip-hop means to young Japanese, and how culture is changing worldwide today. To describe and explore the hip-hop movement in Japan, the author suggests that *genba* offer a transparent window through which some cultural processes and performative and media contexts can be studied for broadening our understanding of the mutual construction of global and local cultural forms beyond any single dichotomy to include other factors such as record companies, media, artists, and fans in dynamic feedback loops.

With these larger issues in mind, this ethnography captures the contexts in which hip-hop is developed in Japan and how rap songs with their diverse messages are performed in various *genba*. It aims to give an insider's view of how hip-hop is integrated into Japanese popular culture with its distinctive and diverse features. For the reader to understand these contexts, the author organized the book into seven successive chapters, each of which details the development and different aspects of hip-hop in Japan by focusing on a central analytical theme. In addition to some descriptions of break-dancers, deejays (DJ's), and graffiti artists in hip-hop Japan, the author concentrates on Japanese rappers and their lyrics because it is rap that has become the most commercially successful in Japan, and is most deeply intertwined with the Japanese language. Taken together, these chapters reveal the paths of cultural globalization through *genba* and describes the ways diverse groups produce what the author calls "hip-hop Japan."

Chapter One, "Yellow B-Boys, Black Culture, and the Elvis Effect," shows how Japanese hip-hop enthusiasts debate the significance of racial differences and transracial alliances and discusses why race forms a part of Japanese hip-hop. According to the author, Japanese rappers create their own distinctive approaches to race and protest in Japan, and they identify themselves in a differently configured racial matrix in the context of a possible transnational cultural politics of race.

In Chapter Two, "Battling Hip-Hop Samurai," Condry describes the three eras of hip-hop in Japan. The first era (1984-1994) reflects Japanese hip-hop enthusiasts efforts in clarifying what hip-hop is for a Japanese audience. The second era (1994-1995) witnesses the opposing viewpoints of party rap and underground hip-hop and what Japanese hip-hop should be. The third era (after 1999) demonstrates regional and stylistic approaches to hip-hop in Japan.

Chapter Three, "*Genba* Globalization and Locations of Power," elaborates and extends the idea of *genba* globalization by showing how hip-hop performances in various sites of *genba* demonstrate cultural flows and media power. This chapter explores the motivations for diverse hip-hop in Japan and the contrasts between party rap and underground hip-hop regarding their respective fans, language, gender, and markets.

Chapter Four, "Rap Fans and Consumer Culture," is a discussion of Japanese hip-hop fandom in terms of the *otaku* (isolated and obsessed fans) as symbols of Japan's popular culture. The author situates the discussion in the context of consumerism in Japan.

Chapter Five, "Rhyming in Japanese," examines the relationship between the uniqueness of the Japanese language and identity as implicated by Japanese rappers.

Chapter Six, "Women Rappers and the Price of Cutismo," discusses the important role of women emcees in Japanese hip-hop with a focus on female artists' language and identity.

Chapter Seven, "Making Money, Japan-Style," examines the market of hip-hop in Japan by investigating the determining role of the artists and the controlling power of big media in promoting hip-hop and its market.

These chapters show several important findings. First, cultural globalization and localization can proceed simultaneously, and transnational flows do not necessarily result in homogeneity of world culture and processes of localization do not simply make foreign styles distinctively domestic. The opposition between globalization and location turns out to be a false dichotomy that fails to capture the interaction between transnational flows and cultural settings, the connection between hip-hop scenes and a wider diversity of styles in Japan and worldwide. Second, the contingent and networked interaction between the power of culture industries and the organic creativity of underground artists and active fans plays a significant role in developing and promoting hip-hop in Japan and throughout the world.

This book provides particularly interesting insights into Japaneseness and its interaction with hip-hop globalization. It offers a groundbreaking transcultural study of popular culture through ethnographic explorations of the local. The author's ground-level observation of diverse hip-hop in Japan and relevant analytical themes offer sharp insight into the transnational flows of cultural influence and their social and cultural outcomes. This book is fascinating, authoritative, and informative to those who study the history and development of Japanese popular culture and the evolvement of today's world popular culture.

Hideaki Matsuoka, *Japanese Prayer Below the Equator: How Brazilians Believe in the Church of World Messianity*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007. ISBN: 0-7391-1379 (hbk), $60.00.

Reviewed by Daniel A. Métraux

Many observers in the West tend to view the concept of globalization as the spread of Western culture to the rest of the world, but the situation is in fact far more complex. Many of my American college students have become passionate about aspects of modern Japanese pop culture and today, several new Japanese religions such as Soka Gakkai, Seicho-no-Ie and the Church of World Messianity have found strong support from hundreds of thousands of non-ethnic Japanese throughout the world. Professor Matsuoka Hideaki's *Japanese Prayer Below the Equator: How Brazilians Believe in the Church of World Messianity* is a fascinating case-study of this Japanese religion's rapid growth in Brazil.

The Church of World Messianity (*Sekai kyūsei kyō*) is a prominent Japanese "new religion" founded in 1935 by Okada Mokichi (1882-1955), who derived many of his new faith's teachings from Oomoto kyo, an older "new religion" he belonged to at an earlier date. Greatly influenced by traditional Japanese Shinto, the heart of the religion centers around the concept of Jhorei (loosely translated as "God's Healing Light"). Okada is said to have received a divine revelation which empowered him with Jhorei, permitting him to channel the light of God into other people to remove illness, poverty, and strife throughout the world. World Messianity's aim is to "realize Heaven on Earth," which means "a world without sickness, poverty and war" (p. 50).

While the Church of World Messianity (COWM) is far smaller than large Japanese new religious organizations like Soka Gakkai, its claims of a following of 800,000 in Japan and Brazil make it one of the larger new religions in Japan. Like several other of Japan's New Religions, World Messianity has made a major attempt to proselytize its faith in Brazil, which has one of the largest expatriate Japanese populations anywhere. Seicho-no-Ie and Perfect Liberty claim 2.5 million and 350,000 members respectively, placing them ahead of the 300,000 members claimed by COWM.

Berkeley-trained Japanese anthropologist and psychiatrist Matsuoka Hideaki has done extensive fieldwork in Brazil focusing on why a Shinto-based Japanese religion would find acceptance in a vastly different culture in Brazil. Contrary to what one might think, COWM has the highest percentage (sixty percent) of non-ethnic Japanese out of all the Japanese new religions in Brazil. A key reason for this development is that starting in the 1950s, the first COWM missionaries from Japan immediately focused on propagating their faith to non-Japanese communities. Conversions came slowly, but increased very sharply in the 1980s and 1990s, once COWM began developing strong roots in various Brazilian communities.

Matsuoka lists five factors that have contributed to the strong success of new Japanese religions in Brazil:

1. Adoption of Portuguese
2. Training of non-ethnic Japanese-Brazilian clergy
3. Adoption of the Brazilian way of life and thinking
4. Support from Japanese headquarters
5. Respect for the relationship between Brazilians and Japanese and/or Japanese culture.

The fact that COWM closely adheres to one through four on this list can partially explain its success in Brazil.

Cultural adaptation, however, is not the only reasons why these Japanese religions achieve success. My studies of Soka Gakkai activities in Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, Australia and Canada indicate that the Gakkai's emphasis on individual self-empowerment to attain one's goals in life and achieving benefits (including greater happiness) here and now have won it a large following among better-educated, younger, and more self-motivated natives. Matsuoka makes a similar discovery about COWM. He

quotes Brazilian followers who are attracted by the religion's doctrine "that human beings can change their lives by themselves" (p. 161).

Matsuoka's work is valuable not only because of his study of COWM in Brazil, but also for his extensive introductory analysis of the history and significance of Japanese new religions in general. Because of these extensive background comments, this study is accessible not only to the specialist, but to the general reader as well. The research and bibliography are superb and the writing is clear. The author's experience of being on a COWM pilgrimage bus that was hijacked by four thieves and the surprising reaction of the pilgrims to this situation makes for fascinating reading. The only really disappointing section of the book is the very brief conclusion which fails to really discuss the significance of many of Matsuoka's findings.

Jeffrey Lesser, ed., *Searching for Home Abroad: Japanese-Brazilians and Transnationalism*. **Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003. ISBN 0-8223-3148-9 (pbk), $21.95.**

Reviewed by Ronan A. Pereira

The book organized by historian Jeffrey Lesser is a collection of nine chapters written by scholars from different nationalities and fields. It deals with ethnicity and identity issues of migrants with Japanese ancestry in Brazil and Japan.

Lesser opens the book with a chapter that provides an overview of the history of what he calls the "identity building and homemaking" of Japanese and their descendants. Facing mixed messages and reactions from the Brazilian society at large, this minority group constructs and uses a multifaceted identity that clearly expresses its desire to find a legitimate niche within the Brazilian nation. As Lesser points out, the Japanese had, in general, a success story in Brazil, and indeed managed to create an image of a people who went to Brazil to contribute to its development in different fields. Notwithstanding, many Nikkeijin feel out of place in Brazil and feel Brazilian for the first time after going to work in Japan as *dekasegi,* ethnic Japanese people who have migrated to Japan. While others feel like foreigners in Brazil as much as in Japan.

Shuhei Hosokawa focuses on the attempt made by the late journalist Rokurō Kōyama (1886-1976) to unite the divided postwar Japanese-Brazilian community and, at the same time, find a legitimate

space for it within the Brazilian culture and society by postulating an ancestral link between the Japanese and the Tupi, a Brazilian native group that has been almost completely annihilated and that became a symbol of Brazilian nativism. Relying less on modern linguistics and charging his findings with a romanticist and nostalgic view, Kōyama sustained the Japanese-Tupi connection not only in terms of physical resemblance and cultural similarities (e.g. respect for the ancestors), but also, and above all, of linguistic compatibility and common Polynesian origin. The result is that Kōyama's "Tupi-Japanese-Brazilian world articulates the sociopolitical, affective, and ideological conditions of the Nikkeijin community. It is 'true fantasy' embedded in the mythicohistorical consciousness of a minority group" (p. 40).

Koichi Mori's chapter on the Okinawans and their descendants calls attention to an important issue, which is the internal diversification of Japanese diaspora in Brazil. In spite of discrimination and unfavorable circumstances that led to a temporary ban to Okinawan migration to Brazil in 1919, they became the most numerous among the pre-war Japanese immigrants and nowadays represent almost ten percent of the Japanese-Brazilian community. Mori shows that some Okinawan leaders reacted to the discrimination and stereotypes propagated by mainland Japanese precisely through the logic and discourse of the dominator. That is, the subjugation of Okinawa to the Japanese nation supposed a concerted effort to eliminate the pre-modern and "primitive" aspects of Okinawan culture in face of the modernity of Japan. Accordingly, Okinawan immigrants had no better choice than to get rid of these "backward" elements and strive to make themselves better "Japanese" at the same time as searching to be incorporated and accepted in the Brazilian society. The centennial history of the Okinawan Brazilians shows episodes of negation and revival that led to the formation of a repertoire of cumulative identities that has been employed on a regular basis, depending on the social context.

The starting point for Joshua Hotaka Roth's article is the absentee-balloting system instituted for the first time by the Japanese government in 1999 for Japanese citizens living overseas. Contrasting to the American context where immigrants' cultivation of "nostalgia for ancestral homeland" may be easily subject to stereotypes and accusations of "equivocal loyalties," Roth states that, "In the Brazilian context, voter registration for Japanese elections expressed both a strong identification with Japan and a means of effectively engaging the Brazilian context" (p. 104). This identification, the author says, is charged with contradiction and

ambivalence as many *issei* (first generation) feels like the legendary Urashima Taro, that is, on traveling back to Japan after prolonged residence in Brazil, they feel somehow distant from and frustrated with the profound changes of postwar Japan. In addition to the Roth's arguments, it is a fact that the American "politics of ethnicity" is something alien to Brazilians. Moreover, Japanese absentee ballots have not even been noticeable in Brazil's public opinion. First because, despite the constant possibility of being subject to criticism and xenophobia, the impact of the phenomenon is minimum as it is reduced to a small fraction of the Japanese-Brazilian community. Next, because this community has long conquered a positive image in Brazil as contributors to its development and possessors of desirable cultural traits and links to the model nation Japan.

Chapters by Karen Tei Yamashita, Ângelo Ishii, Takeyuki (Gaku) Tsuda, Keiko Yamanaka, and Daniel T. Linger consider the phenomenon of *dekasegi*, each one from a different perspective. The first underlying question is why members of the Brazilian urban middle class decided to go to Japan beginning at the end of the 1980s as low-prestige factory workers. Next question is how they have been coping with this situation and redefining their identity.

Ishii identifies the macro context for the *dekasegi* phenomenon in the "increasing globalization of labor market that combined with chronic Brazilian economic crises and a labor shortage in Japanese industry" (p. 76). Defining the phenomenon as a personal, political, cultural, and ideological construction, Ishii finds a primarily economic motivation as the most recurrent one among these Brazilian migrants. For some, this is manifested as "an attempt to construct in Japan a typical Brazilian middle-class life;" for others, the migration "was more a way to prevent a decline in social status" (p. 77). Yet Linger and others suggest that, for some, the experience of *dekasegi* becomes a way to solve identity issues. This is evident in the case of Linger's interviewee Moacir, an unmarried sansei (third-generation) who identifies himself with everything Japanese and makes a self-conscious and ardent effort to connect to Japan, and to eventually become a Japanese citizen.

What about the situation of *dekasegi* life and working conditions? The authors depict a scenario of hardship at work, a host of personal or collective malaise and psychological disorder (such as ethnic disorientation, hallucination, aggressive and delinquent behavior, and others), lower status and negative image of blue-collar workers, and impossible upward mobility in Japan. With much humor, Yamashita highlights the cultural and social

differences resulting in a conflictive relationship between the *dekasegi* and their host society. However, Yamanaka shows that problems have arisen on both sides of the equation. That is, when the Japanese government established in December 1989 new "long-term resident" visas to people of Japanese ancestry without Japanese citizenship up to the third generation, it expected to supply Japanese industry with much needed inexpensive labor force, reduce illegal immigration, ward off unwanted foreigners (from South and Southeast Asia) and, above all, preserve "racial" and class homogeneity. The Nikkeijin, however, brought in a distinct and alien culture and identity which became the basis for socio-cultural enclaves in cities such as Hamamatsu and Oizumi. Many Nikkeijin also expected to have privileged access to Japan's highly advanced economy and technology, but were disappointed as they were treated as lower-class migrants from a third-world country. Or, as Tsuda indicates, the *dekasegi* became an immigrant minority that is marginalized ethnically and socially due mainly to cultural, linguistic, behavioral, and occupational differences with the Japanese. Parenthetically, Yamanaka found out that an increasing feminization of Nikkeijin migration provides various benefits for the Japanese side. Being placed mainly in factories, this non-citizen underpaid workforce not only diverts demands for organizational and cultural reforms to eliminate gender inequity, but also exempts "both employers and the state from responsibility to provide them social welfare, social security, and health benefits" (p. 187).

Some *dekasegi* seek to solve their social alienation and marginalization by returning to Brazil as a way to recover self-esteem and solve professional/class identity conflict. Conversely, others extend their stay in Japan while redefining their identity, establishing cultural markers, and setting aside time and space to ritually celebrate their "Brazilianness" and criticize the host society. As Ishii states, they combine a blue-collar, "'poor,' hard-work routine on weekdays tempered by the re-creation of a 'Brazilian way of life' and a 'middle-class, decent lifestyle' on weekends and holidays" (p. 82).

Similarly to their forefathers who went to Brazil as temporary sojourners, most *dekasegi* intended to return to Brazil after making enough money to restart their lives in a better situation. However, Tsuda notes that the settlement process of these Brazilians is quite advanced with many deciding to remain in Japan indefinitely or even permanently, even though they tend to cling to their separate Brazilian identity and culture. Such a decision was reinforced by the fact that the *dekasegi* realized in the past

decade that the days of their negative image as "losers" in the 1980s and 1990s are over. They became the object of economic and political interest in both countries because of their large number and the amount of money they represent (in 1996, they remitted $2 billion USD to Brazil and contributed annually to an estimated $250,000 USD in taxes to Japanese government).

Tsuda concludes that "migration is not always a transitional rite of passage that separates migrants from their home society in order to incorporate them into the host society" (p. 153), as he has found different patterns among the *dekasegi*. Linger goes even further as he questions the ideological charge of terms such as "diaspora," specifically when applied to Japanese-Brazilians. At best, he adds, Japanese-Brazilians are "a dual diaspora, suspended between two possible homelands" (p. 211).

Although the nine chapters have a balanced proportion of analyses of Nikkeijin in Brazil and Japan, the book certainly provides a better understanding of the *dekasegi* situation. In general, the book is consistent and informative, in tune with Lesser's other books, which are becoming a reference often quoted in the studies of Japanese-Brazilian studies. I could only find minor typos and a few doubtful statements. For instance, on page 49, the annexation of Okinawa by Japan is said to have happened in 1897 when it should be 1879 (clearly a typo!). Also, on page 11, Lesser contradicts information provided by other authors when he affirms that, "What the Shindo Renmei[1] did *not* promote was a return to Japan." It is true that some Renmei leaders declared to the Brazilian police – possibly as a way to get shielded against police repression to their organizations – that all they wanted was to unite Japanese and Brazilians to work together for the advancement of both countries. However, the late anthropologist Francisca Vieira[2] found messianic features in such a secret and nationalistic society as

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[1] *Shindō Renmei* [League of the Way of the Emperor's Subjects] is one among other organizations that were established during the World War II as a response to the material deprivation and spiritual disorientation experienced by the Japanese-Brazilians in the 1930s and 1940s.

[2] Francisca I.S Vieira, *O japonês na frente de expansão paulista* (São Paulo: Pioneira/EdUSP, 1973), p. 239, n. 21. Takashi Maeyama also published a book exploring the millennial features of these secret societies. *Imin no Nihon Kaiki Undo* [Return to Japan Movements among the Japanese Immigrants] (Tokyo: Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 1982).

she came across references about ships that would take the immigrants back to Japan, a victorious nation where they would suffer no more oppression or deprivation.

As happens to many collective books, there is a need to find the connecting axis for the papers. The title of this work suggests the very fluid concept of "home" as an umbrella for papers with different approaches and conclusions. The editor opens the introduction with a careful reasoning: "Is home a place or a state of mind? Is it both? Does a person have multiple homes or just one? Can home change rapidly, like the weather, or is the process of homemaking and home breaking a constant one?" (p. xiii). The fact is that "home" partially overlaps here other traditional concepts such as homeland, identity, and ethnicity, without much elaboration. A particularly good aspect of the discussions is that they show the internal diversity of the Japanese-Brazilian identity. Overall, however, the book organized by Jeffrey Lesser is valuable food for thought, particularly when one hundred years of Japanese immigration is celebrated in Brazil.

Yuji Ichioka, *Before Internment: Essays in Prewar Japanese American History*. Gordon H. Chang and Eiichiro Azuma, eds. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006. xxviii + 360 pp. ISBN-13: 978-0-8047-5147-6 [ISBN-10: 0-8047-5147-1] (cloth), $50.00.

Reviewed by Daniel A. Métraux

Yuji Ichioka (1936-2002) has prepared a brilliant volume of essays on Japanese-American history in the 1920s and 1930s. *Before Internment* is a sequel to Ichioka's 1988 work, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrant, 1885-1924.*

Carefully edited by two gifted historians, Gordon H. Chang and Eiichiro Azuma, this posthumous work examines the cultural divide between and the intergenerational experiences of the native-born *Issei* and American-born *Nisei* communities between World War I and Pearl Harbor.

Ichioka's essays introduce us to a kaleidoscope of individuals and topics which when read together present an intense look at the problems and conflicting issues facing Japanese immigrants and their children in the prewar era. They had to confront intense pressure from white society, which overwhelmingly rejected them on racial grounds. "This racial animus toward the Japanese, unlike that toward the blacks, included a white fear

that Japanese had superior traits, which made them formidable opponents against whom Americans could not compete" (p. 25).

Ichioka brilliantly places the Issei and Nisei within the context of the anti-Japanese era in which they lived:

> On the one hand, Japanese immigrants constituted a powerless racial minority. Denied the right of naturalization, they were unable to participate in the American political process to defend themselves. On the other hand, the anti-Japanese forces commanded overwhelming power and influence. They included among their number organized labor, the American Legion, various native groups, local Granger organizations, many local and state politicians, and much of the news media. In the face of such racist opposition, often of a violent nature, Japanese immigrants could only appeal to an abstract sense of American justice and fair play (pp. 252-253).

Issei and Nisei also had to contend with conflicting loyalties between their country of origin and their new home, at a time when the United States and Japan were spiraling towards war. Many influential Americans shared an inherent distrust of Japanese-Americans, fearing that they were a potentially subversive element in American society that would come to the aid of Tokyo in the event of war. Ichioka demonstrates that some of these fears were not unfounded because there were a number of Japanese-Americans who supported and, in a few cases, even worked for their mother country before and after Pearl Harbor.

The focus of the book is on the Nisei generation that grew up between the wars. Ichioka studies in great deal the attempts by Issei and by the Japanese government to teach Nisei about their native culture and language. They created Japanese language institutes and offered scholarships so that Nisei could tour Japan, but as a whole, Nisei were far more influenced by American cultures and values which they encountered in public schools. Ichioka notes that these schools "so successfully socialized the Nisei to American values that the Nisei became largely acculturated to American culture and society" (p. 46). As a result, many Nisei faced an intense cultural dilemma in the days before Pearl Harbor, when Japan was fighting a brutal war in China:

> Issei leaders expected them to champion Japan's case in China and chastised them when they did not. On the other hand, if they stood up in defense of Japan, their loyalty to the United States came under a cloud of suspicion, making any public rationalization of Japan's side in the Sino-Japanese War impossible (p. 46).

Ichioka demonstrates the complexity of Japanese-American life and their relationships with both Japan and the United States through a series of beautifully researched individual studies. We meet Dr. Honda Rikita, a former Japanese soldier and doctor, who later set up a highly successful medical practice in Los Angeles. His suicide, while undergoing FBI questioning after Pearl Harbor because of his alleged pro-Japanese sympathies, gave the Japanese great ammunition to substantiate their portrait of the US as a racist society. We are introduced to the infamous 1941 Tachibana Espionage case as well as the case of Kazumaro Buddy Uno, a Nisei who migrated to Japan in the 1930s to become a pro-Japanese journalist and propagandist. We also encounter Louis Adamic, an American writer who embraced the inclusion of all minorities into the American mainstream, including Japanese, as well as James Yoshinori Sakamoto, a journalist who first sought to build a bridge between the US and Japan and who then became a fervent American nationalist after Pearl Harbor.

Ichioka was well-placed and trained as a scholar when writing this book. A founder of the UCLA Asian American Studies Center and adjunct Professor of History at UCLA for many years, he first coined the term "Asian American" to unify previously diverse Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Filipino groups. Ichioka's first book *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrant, 1885-1924*, received positive reviews and several awards.

Before Internment is a majestically researched and written masterpiece that describes Issei and Nisei life between the wars in a brilliant manner. The only real flaw is a rather annoying repetition of various incidents and biographies, but the editors ask for our indulgence. Ichioka was unable to finish the work before his sudden and untimely death and Chang and Azuma have decided not to tamper with the integrity of Ichioka's work, even if it was only about ninety percent done. An introduction and an epilogue by the editors place the book in the context of the times.