

Book Reviews

The Changing Identity of Chinese in Japan: Their Multidimensional Acculturation (in Japanese) By Guo Fang. Tōshindō, Tokyo. 1999. 306p. ¥4400

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Today there are over 250,000 ethnic Chinese in Japan. Among this growing number are third and fourth generation ethnic Chinese as well as those who have arrived recently. It is, therefore, difficult to simply lump all under the rubric “ethnic Chinese in Japan.” Each generation and each new wave of immigrants adds a new layer to the complexity of the term “ethnic Chinese in Japan.” Research on this expanding and varied population has, up to now, focused almost exclusively on the economic activities of the ethnic Chinese communities in Japan. There has been little work on subjects such as community, identity, or family structure. Guo Fang’s work admirably steps in to fill this gap. Guo Fang conducted fieldwork in the Kobe area for six years while working on her dissertation at Kobe University. She then spent four additional years completing this book which, while based on her dissertation, adds much new material. The book is the fruit of extensive fieldwork and study and a welcome addition to the study of ethnic Chinese in Japan.

The book is divided into six chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter serves an introduction to the themes discussed and methodologies used. The second chapter presents the early history of ethnic Chinese in Japan. She traces the beginning of ethnic Chinese society in Japan to the opening of the Nagasaki port in the end of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, she posits that the model of ethnic Chinese society in Japan that exists today stems directly from that period. The rest of Chapter Two shows in detail how changes in the relationship between Japan and China shape the ethnic Chinese communities in Japan.

Chapter Three concerns the development and changes within the ethnic Chinese society in the modern period. Guo Fang sheds light on the changing structure of the ethnic Chinese communities, based on an examination of changes within the population that took place between 1862 and 1997 due to fluctuations in the policies and attitudes of the Japanese and Chinese governments and people. She also uses statistics regarding naturalization to show that ethnic Chinese have begun to naturalize in far greater numbers than ever before. Based on these various statistics she generates a model to describe changes within the communities. The model is split into three categories: “elderly ethnic Chinese,” “middle aged ethnic Chinese,” and “young ethnic Chinese.” Within each category she describes the area of origin, the education level,

the mother tongue, and other basic factors and, laying them side by-side in a chart, clearly shows the generational variations present.

Chapter Four, "Changing Marital Patterns", introduces rich interview and survey based material on the ethnic Chinese communities and the changes they have undergone. Following on the tripartite model introduced in Chapter Three, Guo provides a thorough outline of changes in marital patterns within the three groups identified. Among other things, patterns of partner selection, and wedding forms are compared. She has, furthermore, gathered a wide variety of special wedding documents, such as marriage certificates and the like. Wedding customs are discussed in great detail, from the type of invitation sent, seating arrangements at the wedding, the places chosen for the ceremony and wedding party, to the nationality of the guests.

Chapter Five is titled "Changing Identities." Here Guo addresses the critical issue of "identity". The tripartite model is once again used, this time to explain changes in identity. Those who came to Japan before the war, the "elderly ethnic Chinese," maintain a society based on blood and district relationships and, therefore, have a sense of "ethnic identity." "Middle-aged ethnic Chinese" experienced discrimination during the cold war, and therefore, have a sense of "national identity," even if they were not born in China. "Young ethnic Chinese" became adults after relations between Japan and China were normalized, and therefore, have a "transnational" identity. Guo has developed three different types of identity, "ethnic", "national", and "transnational" to match her tripartite model. In support of this model she introduces the results of a survey conducted among ethnic Chinese in Kobe, and examines "international" marriages (here meaning marriage between Japanese and Chinese nationals).

Chapter Six is about the ethnic Chinese communities and the Kobe earthquake. Guo describes the rescue and rebuilding efforts by ethnic Chinese community. Furthermore, she discusses the problems ethnic Chinese communities, and more broadly foreigners in general, face in Japan.

Guo attempts to analyze the changes in identity of ethnic Chinese in Japan through an examination of their history, changing community structures, and nationality. She especially focuses on the topic of marriage, which is a deeply private matter and thus very difficult to examine thoroughly. However, Guo has done an admirable job of gathering information through surveys and extensive interviews. She has filled in a major gap in our knowledge of contemporary ethnic Chinese in Japan. Her tripartite model makes accessible the vast amount of material she gathered. It provides a clear picture of cross-generational changes within the community from a variety of angles.

However, there are also several limitations which need to be addressed. First, the title of the book is "The Changing Identity of Chinese in Japan." Yet, an older ethnic Chinese community is primarily addressed whereas the ethnic Chinese from Taiwan and recent mainland immigrants, who make up the majority of ethnic Chinese in Japan today, are not discussed. The questions of identity these groups face and their impact on the older generations must also be addressed in a work on "Chinese in Japan." The author is aware of this problem, but after a brief mention in the introduc-

tion, she does not give it further discussion. An examination of the larger community may be too much for one work, but the title implies that the conclusions of this work are broadly applicable even though it is clear that they may not be so.

Second, Guo's model provides much useful data, but her conclusions regarding identity are difficult to support. Identity consists of many interconnected facets. "Ethnic" and "national" identity are held simultaneously. There are also "religious", "cultural", "gender", and "occupational" identities. Guo's model, however, makes a clear cut across generational lines. "Elderly ethnic Chinese" are characterized by "ethnic identity," "middle aged ethnic Chinese" are characterized by "national identity," and "young ethnic Chinese" are characterized by "trans-national identity." The model thus overly simplifies the question of identity.

Finally, Chapter Six provided many interesting details on the response of the Chinese communities to the Kobe Earthquake, but did not sufficiently link the data to the overall question of the identity of Chinese in Japan. It, therefore, stands isolated from the rest of the text.

The heart of Guo's work lies in her examination of marriage practices among ethnic Chinese in Japan. She provides us with a vast amount of useful data and analysis. The study of marriage in ethnic Chinese communities has been rarely touched on by other scholars. Guo's work blow a fresh wind into ethnic Chinese community studies. I look forward to more by her on this subject.

Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries. By Jacques Gernet, translated by Franciscus Verellen. Columbia University Press, New York. 1995. 441 pages. \$21.00, paper.

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There are many temples near International Christian University in Tokyo where this journal is produced. Jindaiji, the largest by far, attracts hundreds of visitors to the area every week. A small industry of noodle shops, coffee shops, and stores has grown up around the temple to service these visitors. They rent their space from the temple. Just down the hill from Jindaiji is Saikoji, a much smaller temple. Yet Saikoji, too, plays a role in supporting the local economy. It re-instituted a pilgrimage to the seven gods of luck in cooperation with six other temples, the city office, and the local train line. Buddhism plays, and has long played, an important role in local economies. Furthermore, as Gernet demonstrates, it played an important role in the development of market economy concepts.

Long after Gernet's work first appeared 1956, the subject of Buddhism's relation-