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Debito Arudou

Embedded Racism: Japan's Visible Minorities and Racial Discrimination. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2015. 349 pp. \$49.99. ISBN: 978-1-4985-1392-0.

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Embedded Racism: Japan's Visible Minorities and Racial Discrimination by Debito Arudou presents some interesting examples of racial discrimination in Japan. Whereas other authors of Japan have written about Japan's changing demographics or changing Japanese identity, Arudou uses cases of racial discrimination against people who are "visibly different" in Japan to bring together a discussion of the two.

Arudou argues that racialized physical appearance can be a defining factor in who is seen as "Japanese" in Japan and who is not. He then shows "how these racialized notions of 'Japaneseness' are 'embedded' as part of social norms and rules through the national discourse" (p. 11). The strength of this book is the link between the micro-level, in many cases based on the author's personal experience of living in Japan for more than 20

years, and the larger macro-level, particularly analyses of the state in terms of Japanese laws but also how they are put into practice. It is a brave critique of Japanese society and its failure to look outward in its demographic and economic development. The book will, no doubt, add to a lively discussion already afoot in Japanese studies, critical race studies, and critical mixed race studies of racism in Japan.

After an introduction, which is a quick summary of critical race studies, Arudou begins the book by contextualizing the historical development of racialization in Japan (chapter 2). Chapter 3 builds on his earlier work (Arudou 2006). On businesses with "Japanese only" signs in Japan. Chapter 4 moves to the macro state level to analyze how Japanese blood is clearly linked to citizenship and its rights and privileges. Chapter 5 shows how "Japaneseness" is unevenly enforced in education, visa regimes, and security issues, depending on how Japanese one looks. Chapter 6 moves to crime and legal cases to see how people who are seen as "foreign" can be treated differently depending on their status. There is some conflation here that a non-Japanese citizen and visible minority status are always equated. Chapter 7 looks at media representations of foreigners and shows how they are sometimes linked to national narratives of the differences between "foreigners," who are to be feared and can be seen as possible criminals, and Japanese, who are loyal, law abiding, and peaceful. Chapter 8 shows how human rights activists in Japan are working to fight against discrimination using the United Nations and other human rights paths to argue for rights for those considered "not Japanese" in Japan.

The book's concluding chapters make the most interesting contribution to the field in my view. Arudou builds on the work of critical race theory to show how micro interactions, such as being refused entry to a hot spring in Japan because one doesn't "look Japanese," are directly linked to more macro-level practices embedded in law, Japanese government state practices, and media images. Given Japan's shrinking population and more tenuous position in the global economy, Arudou argues that Japan must wake up and recognize the resource that non-Japanese in Japan can be for the future of Japan. Although the author narrowly defines race throughout the book as only being a "visible minority" and "not looking" Japanese, the work might benefit from a discussion with other literature within the field of racial studies that understands race as not just a bodily experience based on phenotype, but one that is also constructed by discourse.

The strongest part of the book, in my view, is chapter 5, which illustrates how “Japaneseness” is enforced through legal and extralegal means. The examples of visa regimes and even exclusion from sports and other contests through educational institutions show how everyday racism leaks into larger organizational practices, often without challenge. It would be interesting to know why and how this might be changing in the past few years with, for example, two mixed-race “Miss Japan” beauty queens, chosen to represent Japan as a nation, at international beauty pageants. It would also be interesting to contrast the examples in Arudou’s book with examples of “positive” discrimination for those who don’t look Japanese in Japan and/or an analyses that focuses on the differential treatment of non-Japanese in Japan based on gender and socioeconomic status.

The book is clearly written and seems to be aimed primarily at undergraduate students, as it makes an important contribution for those wishing to understand racism in Japan better, and it compiles interesting documentary legal data about the history of cases of discrimination in Japan. The book would easily also suit courses that address global conceptions of race and ethnicity and how these are changing in Japan at the both the micro- and macro-levels because of globalization.

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Robbie Shilliam

The Black Pacific: Anti-colonial Struggle and Oceanic Connections. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015. 264 pp. \$23.99. ISBN: 9-7814-7253-554-2.

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Robbie Shilliam’s *The Black Pacific* excavates a set of connections that link Black and Māori people of Aotearoa (New Zealand) that expands the historical work on the Black Pacific. In an introduction, nine brief chapters, and a conclusion, Shilliam describes political, spiritual, cultural, and artistic exchanges between Black and Brown people with a focus on the politically formative times of the 1970s and

1980s. His theoretical framework contests subaltern framings of (post)colonized people to instead highlight their agency through the practice of “grounding,” or the cultivation of knowledge of “deep relation” between of the children of Legba (Black people) and the children of Tāne/Māui (Māori of Aotearoa). In pursuit of decolonial science of “deep relation” (p. 13)—an approach that refutes the segregationist practices and racism of colonial science—Shilliam provides a temporal look back to historical anticolonial interconnections between Black and Brown, African diasporic, and Māori and Pasifika peoples. By “doubling back” in time, he unearths “a deep, global infrastructure of anti-colonial connectivity” (p. 3) that is binding and can help repair colonial wounds.

In consecutive chapters, *The Black Pacific* excavates personal, political, spiritual, and cultural connections between members of the African diaspora with Māori mostly in Aotearoa, but also in the heart of the Empire (England), Ethiopia, and Jamaica. Stretching back in time, Shilliam articulates cross-overs between the origin stories of African and Oceanic people with a focus on Māori. Urbanizing Māori politically identified with Black Power, taken up by Māori and Pasifika (Pacific Islander) activists who founded the Polynesian Panthers and included gangs, like Black Power. These multigenerational activists earned audiences with politicians, critiqued capitalism, and developed community-based services similar to the Oakland-based Black Panthers’ 10-point program. This book also contributes to religious studies in its expansive treatment of the spiritual and religious connections of the church, the arrival of Black Liberation Theologists in Aotearoa that articulated resistance to racism, and the resonance and practice of Rastafarianism. A section on the arrival of the Black British reggae band Keskidee reveals art and especially reggae music as a central expression of Māori identifications with Blackness. In each chapter, Shilliam’s theoretically oriented approach to united politics and careful attention to tensions and contradictions unfold in the narratives of Black people who interconnect with Māoris on their travels.

Shilliam has been challenged about his (in)attention the racial landscape and taxonomies Europeans developed across the Pacific that elevate Polynesians as being closer to whites than Melanesians, so named for their dark skin. Rather, his analysis takes into account the racialization of Polynesians with a specific focus on Aotearoa. Readers, especially those less familiar with Aotearoa, could, however, benefit from a contextual and more grounded