

and 1990s and emphasized greater creativity and individualism as well as reduced hours of schooling.

Another category of worker that needs to be considered in any survey of working life in Japan is the foreign worker. The study in this book, however, is a very focused examination of the role played by Filipino boxers and bar hosts in Japan by Nobue Suzuki with Sachi Takahata and is possibly a bit too restrictive a sample to draw any general conclusions. It is interesting to learn that Filipino boxers are paid to lose matches to Japanese boxers, but one wonders what is special about Japanese boxing that generates behavior that one does not find in, say, sumo.

In the final chapter of the book, Leng Leng Thang looks at the growth in volunteer work, a topic that is not usually covered in surveys of the Japanese employment system, although it has attracted a great deal of interest recently for its role in the development of civil society. The author is most interested in the motivation of the senior citizens in Kobe that she studies. Volunteers appear to be motivated by the desire for self-sacrifice as well as a sense of reciprocity with their local community. With the aging of the population in Japan, this kind of employment will become steadily more important.

This book covers a wide range of subject material and, unlike many monographs on the subject of Japanese labor, it offers a variety of perspectives. The subjects of volunteer work, housewives' activities, and sex workers are also not treated in most mainstream accounts of the employment system in Japan. The balance of topics is not always ideal—one wishes, for example, there had been a chapter on industrial relations. The book does not offer a great many insights that have not been explored elsewhere in the recent literature on Japanese labor, often by the authors of these chapters. Nevertheless, the majority of the issues examined are central to Japanese labor today, and some of the chapters such as Honda's on freeters and Macnaughtan's on women workers are excellent, concise overviews of their subjects that I will be putting on my class reading lists.

Olympic Japan: Ideals and Realities of (Inter)Nationalism. Edited by Andreas Niehaus and Max Seinsch. Ergon Verlag, Würzburg, 2007. 211 pages. €32.00.

Reviewed by WILLIAM W. KELLY Yale University

Since their revival in 1896, the modern Olympic Games have been an enduring contradiction. Both in rhetoric and in practice, more so than all other

international sports championships, the Games have been joyous sports festivals that bring together athletes of the world in goodwill, harmony, and camaraderie. Even the International Olympic Committee (IOC) itself is an early example of transnational, not international, governance because the individual members of the IOC are selected not to represent their nations but rather to exemplify commitment to universal Olympic ideals.

At the same time, the Games are not mere play but are elite contests about winning and losing. From those first Games in Athens in 1896, the quadrennial gathering has showcased and incited the most passionate nationalisms, and the IOC has been mired in national and international politics. The Olympics are not a respite from political and economic rivalries among nations; they are an unavoidable stage for playing out those realities.

This insightful and informative collection of nine essays is an early entry into what promises to be a large field of books about the Olympics occasioned by the 2008 Games in Beijing. It is an important contribution to a small but growing literature on Olympic history in Japan. What all its chapters demonstrate, with a coherence unusual for an edited volume, are the ways in which Japan's engagement with the Olympic movement, its participation in the Games, and its sponsorship of the Games on four occasions have been heavily inflected with patriotic pride and state nationalism. In short, its lesson is that Japan's Olympic experience is quite normal distressingly so to those who may wish the world's largest gathering to move us beyond sordid political realities, but reassuring to those scholars who want to fit Asian sports history within the Olympic experience in a year in which some prejudice has surfaced about the capacities of non-Western countries to fully appreciate the Olympic spirit and ideals. Beyond the obvious but narrow band of sports scholars, the volume should also be of interest to anyone concerned with the forms and functions of twentieth-century nationalism in Japan.

The editors have divided the contributions into three parts. The opening trio of essays considers the perception of and the reception in Japan of the Olympics as organization, as philosophy, and as an educational movement. Wada Kōichi excavates the earliest examples of Olympic news in Japan. The conventional starting point of Japanese Olympic history is 1909, when Kano Jigorō accepted an invitation to join the IOC. Wada exposes a prehistory to this moment, and his most interesting point is the role of several mid-Meiji literary magazines in promoting awareness of and early participation in the Olympic Games.

Unlike world championships in single sports like the FIFA World Cup in soccer, the multisport Olympics are both a movement and a broad philosophy. Often overlooked in the focus on Olympic Games and Olympic sports is the emphasis the IOC has come to place on Olympic education as a way of spreading its philosophy through a host nation, which is responsible

for developing public and school educational programs during and after its four-year Olympiad. The chapter by Matsumoto Naofumi argues that in early 1960s Japan, Olympic educational programs and curricula were used for enhancing national awareness and pride rather than the more global ideals of the IOC. The Ministry of Education developed a program of seven movements that would showcase Japan as host for the rest of the world, with titles such as the Olympic Understanding Movement, Public Moral Enhancement Movement, and even the Traffic Moral Enhancement Movement! At the same time, some local teachers developed rather innovative curricula that used the Olympics to teach about electrification, the railroads, and the Tōkaidō Shinkansen; to practice the techniques and movements of Olympic sports; and to train students how to cheer for foreign athletes. Indeed, it is worth noting that Japan was really the first country to take Olympic education seriously, and its programs have served as templates for subsequent efforts.

Philip Kaffen offers a subtle reading of the second–most famous documentary film about the Olympics, $T\bar{o}ky\bar{o}$ Olympical 1964 by Ichikawa Kon. This is a departure from the book's theme of Olympic nationalism because the film itself resisted the promotional ambitions of the Japan Olympic Committee, which very much wanted a commemorative documentary on the order of Leni Riefenstahl's even more famous paean to Nazi Germany. Through a close analysis of several extended scenes (the hammer throw, the shooting event, and a marathon), Kaffen shows how Ichikawa defamiliarized the athletic body, turning it into a purely visual image, so that it could serve as a medium that connected individual performances with the social context of urban Japan. This is a useful addition to several other critical analyses of this extraordinary film, and Kaffen is especially helpful in demonstrating the influence on Ichikawa of Matsumoto Toshio and the "neo-documentary" style of the Art Theater Guild (ATG).

The Olympics and other international and transnational sporting organizations began in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, but the Olympics in East Asia owe much more to the YMCA than to the IOC. Japan's early international sports participation was at the periodic Far Eastern Championship Games, which began in 1913 and ended with the tenth games in 1934 in the aftermath of Japan's invasion of Manchuria. In one sense, the Far Eastern Games were an expression of American hegemony, an effort to extend the YMCA's Christian notions of fellowship through sports. However, Abe Ikuo shows how the nations of East and Southeast Asia used these games to modernize their sports organizations and to develop their sports practices in ways that hastened and strengthened their entry into the Olympic Games themselves.

Sandra Collins has written in a number of articles and a new book about the 1940 Olympic Games that had been awarded to Japan and were then

canceled as war broke out across Europe, a "non-event" that she shows to be in fact quite eventful. Japan was actually not a favored candidate for the 1940 Games, but the surprising success of its Olympic athletes at the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics stirred sports nationalism in Japan and encouraged the Japanese to push even harder in their bid. In many respects, the 1930s was the decisive decade in Olympic history in which the twin controversies of their European centeredness and their inevitable political nature came inescapably to the fore. In reviewing several of the key debates within Japan and the IOC about the staging of the 1940 Games, Collins demonstrates that these were the first Games in which the staging of the cultural distinctiveness of host-country nationalism was a core concern, and this has remained so to the present moment.

In contrast to the 1940 Games not held, the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo are Japan's most visible and central moment in Olympic history, and their role in showcasing Japan's "return" to normalcy has been much discussed and documented. The question that Christian Tagsold takes up is just how this was marked and managed ritually in the Games themselves. He pays particular attention to the opening ceremony, which generically marks the passage from normal into festival time-space of the Games. In addition, however, the ceremony at the Tokyo Games was carefully choreographed both symbolically and procedurally to posit a transition from postwar recovery Japan to a fully modern Japan.

The earliest participation of Japanese nationals in the Olympics was by a group of nine Ainu who were recruited for participation in the Anthropological Days held at the 1904 Olympic Games in St. Louis. More precisely, these Ainu were part of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, during which the Games were held. As was common for international expositions of the time, a Department of Anthropology displayed groups of so-called native peoples, and one of the anthropologists took advantage of the conjunction of the Olympic Games to stage several days of sporting events that would test and display the "athletic skills" of the "savages." Although the organizers were disappointed at the accomplishments of the native participants (no doubt produced by the natives' lack of interest in such odd contests), American scholars and spectators alike were especially impressed with the politeness and dignity of the Ainu delegation. At the same time, they were troubled to realize that the "white" Ainu had been overpowered by the "yellow" Japanese. It was Frederick Starr, professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago, who was asked to assemble the delegation and who followed them closely in St. Louis. This experience was a primary motivation for the course of lectures on Japan that he began at the University of Chicago immediately after the exposition.

One of the marks of influence in the international Olympic movement has been the ability of countries to have their national sports accepted as

official sports in the Games. Japan lobbied hard and successfully in the 1950s and early 1960s to have judo accepted as the first non-Western Olympic sport, and this was vital to the national pride that was instilled in and through its hosting of the 1964 Games. However, as Andreas Niehaus demonstrates, its success was not unalloyed. By midcentury, judo had become an international sport, with rival organizations and centers of change beyond Japan. It was to the Japanese still a Japanese martial art, and this was part of its appeal to Western practitioners, but it was undergoing much innovation by non-Japanese (including the introduction of weight classes) that threatened its "Japaneseness." Moreover, despite a strong contingent of Japanese entrants, national pride was much wounded when the 1964 gold medal in the open class was taken by the Dutchman Anton Geesink.

Finally, Todd Holden and Itō Rie draw attention to the power of television in constructing Olympic athletes for national audiences. Unlike the more conventional professional team sports, the special challenge of the Olympics for broadcasters is to attract viewers for sports that often are only shown every four years and for athletes who are largely unknown participants. Japan's Olympic broadcast feed is organized by a consortium of NHK and several rival commercial networks. Each network then vies for audiences using the same raw footage, but their common strategy is to generate enthusiasm through intimacy with the biographies and lives of selected athletes. Holden and Itō term this a "casualization" of the athletes, rendering them knowable, admirable, and likeable "children of the Japanese family." In other words, they are figuratively familiarized and quite literally personalized for the national television audience, not unlike the continuing efforts of American broadcasting networks to develop "up close and personal" profiles of little-known U.S. Olympic participants.

In sum, it is hardly surprising that Japan's continuing engagement with the Olympic movement for over a century should have been a tempting modality for pursuing state aims of citizen morale and national pride. Every major Olympic nation has done likewise. There are two caveats, however. One, which this volume documents, is the uncertain success of using Olympic sports for nationalistic and nationalizing intentions, as Japan experienced in 1964 with its unexpected gold medal in women's volleyball and its embarrassing defeat in open class judo and with the world attention garnered by its new bullet train and the propaganda failure of the Ichikawa film that it had hoped to be a lasting testament to its national achievement. Second, the book's theme of sporting nationalism leads us to consider the portentousness of 2008. For a century since 1909, Japan has set the pace and led the race for East Asia into the Olympic Movement. Japan's awards of two Summer Games and two Winter Games brought pride, envy, and motivation to its fellow Asian countries. The Seoul Olympics in 1988 were very much modeled on Tokyo's 1964 plan, although Korean officials had to address very different political realities. China in 2008, however, is determined to replace Japan in the East Asia Olympics narrative, and it has set about to create a very different Games. It cannot escape the perduring Olympic paradoxes (can there ever be such a thing as friendly competition in elite sports?), but China is trying hard to surge ahead of Japan in defining the meaning of Asia for an Olympic movement whose foundations remain deep in the classical West but whose ambitions are for a universal humanism.