

BOOK REVIEWS

Immigration and Citizenship in Japan. By Erin Aeran Chung. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 224 pp. \$65.00 (cloth).

Japan is officially not a country of immigration. It is a country that has long maintained immigration/citizenship policies upholding the ideology of an ethnically homogenous nation. Partly as a consequence, it remains the only advanced democracy that failed to incorporate prewar immigrants and their descendants and thus struggles with low rates of naturalization across four generations of immigrants. Contradictory to Japan's official closed-door policy, however, citizenship practices and rights in Japan appear to be based on the principle that foreign residents are full members of Japanese society. Permanent foreign residents in Japan have rights that are almost on par with Japanese nationals: they have access to a wide array of social welfare benefits, and they can even, though to a limited extent, represent their interests through Japan's system of local assemblies and advisory councils. How do we explain the paradox of a foreign community with substantial citizenship rights and social recognition in an immigrant-hostile country?

By posing and tackling this empirical puzzle, Erin Aeran Chung traces the evolution of Japan's immigrant incorporation regime. Based on fieldwork and in-depth interviews conducted in Tokyo, Kawasaki, and Osaka from 1998 to 2008, Chung's argument suggests that the contradictions between citizenship policy and practices are a product of the strategic interaction between state efforts to control immigration and multigenerational Korean grassroots movements to gain rights and recognition as foreign residents of Japan. While criticizing existing studies—those that approach immigrant incorporation as a unidirectional process by which states integrate immigrants into the polity—for not properly grasping the dynamic complexity of citizenship politics, Chung examines how the agency of “noncitizens” (i.e., *Zainichi* Koreans who are formally excluded from the political process) has voiced their interests and concerns and what intermediate factors have helped them in the process. Chung contends that *Zainichi* Koreans were not passive victims of repressive state policies and social discrimination; rather, they were active and central participants in citizenship politics. Throughout the book, she demonstrates that *Zainichi* Koreans have been mobilized around their

foreign citizenship status, which she argues was part of a strategy to gain political visibility in Japanese civil society for a highly assimilated, phenotypically invisible minority group; and that they have played a pioneering role in expanding the meaning and practice of Japanese citizenship to incorporate those formally excluded from the political process, including new waves of immigrants.

The book consists of five chapters. The author begins by placing the case of Japan in a comparative context (chapters 1 and 2). Not only does she provide rich empirical details of the unique process by which Japan's postwar citizenship policies effectively removed former colonial subjects from the body politic and thereby created a paradigm of citizenship-as-identity and the "Korean problem," but she also offers a theoretical tool to better explain the complexity of Japanese citizenship politics by attempting to view the seemingly idiosyncratic case through a comparative lens. Chung sees that unlike the cases of other advanced democracies, the Korean community's phenotypic and social invisibility lies at the crux of their strategic interactions with the state in Japan. Rather ironically, she argues, the invisibility leads Korean activists to use their legal status as foreign residents for their political empowerment. Chung then provides detailed evidence to support the argument by investigating how Korean leaders used a citizenship-as-identity paradigm to gain political power and to create civil rights movements for foreign residents (chapter 3). In chapter 4, she examines how native-born generations of *Zainichi* Koreans have forced the country to face its diversity and how this has changed public debate on citizenship, diversity, and democracy. She argues that rather than seek to preserve a distinct Korean culture, the new generations have been proactive in bringing about social change in Japan through (1) a local citizenship movement based on the concept of "resident as citizen"; (2) a group-rights movement that emphasizes specificities of the history of *Zainichi* Koreans; and (3) a push for cosmopolitan citizenship in Japan. In Chapter 5, she discusses how these efforts to diversify and expand the meaning of citizenship have provided new institutionalized avenues for the incorporation of recent immigrants and for the country's democratic development.

Chung's study, while empirically rich and theoretically interesting, raises a couple of concerns that need to be addressed. The first concern is conceptual. By using somewhat ambiguous, nonspecified terms, such as "immigration incorporation regime," Chung seems to overlook that immigration policy, for example, is often described as having two different components—immigration control and immigration integration—that often go in opposite directions. That is, it is not empirically uncommon

that restrictive immigration control policies are coupled with liberal immigration integration and citizenship policies, in a country's attempt to socially incorporate immigrants and their descendants who have already become long-term residents. If that is the case, Japan, which is described in the book as an "immigrant-hostile, immigrant-friendly incorporation regime" is not necessarily puzzling. Second, and related, if Korean grassroots movements have indeed successfully influenced public debate on Japanese citizenship to embrace social diversity in Japanese society, as Chung argues, what is indeed puzzling is the democratic state's unresponsiveness to the public and/or the state's ability to uphold its official stance that views Japan as a homogenous nation. Indeed, as the author also noted, Japan's immigration and citizenship policies have remained largely unchanged since their institutionalization in the early postwar period. Perhaps more scholarly attention should be paid to the question of how the Japanese state has been able to insulate itself from challenges from social movements and the changing public discourse on diversity and citizenship.

Notwithstanding these concerns, this book makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of ethnic minorities, immigration and citizenship policies, and Japanese politics. It is particularly noteworthy that this book sheds lights on new generations of Zainichi Koreans who no longer remain a severely deprived minority under the leadership of two insular organizations (Mindan and Chongryun) in Japan, and are instead actively involved in contesting Japanese state policies and social discrimination. This book not only offers a needed update on the changing role of Zainichi Koreans in the post-Cold War era; it is also timely as Japan faces new waves of immigrants.

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Piracy and the State: The Politics of Intellectual Property Rights in China. By Martin K. Dimitrov. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 307 pp. \$85.00 (cloth).

China is often seen as representing a paradigmatic case of a strong state, the last and (possibly) most successful of the authoritarian developmental states of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, when we step outside the special economic zones and when we turn our eyes away from economic development or national security matters, the incapacity of the