

the possibility of applying for asylum and then suddenly disappear, only to be reminded by the author that this is a legitimate—though perhaps not intentional—choice. We stand in unison when they are transformed from “victims” to activists who represent others or go on hunger strike

and win small but important political battles. Ultimately, we get to know them not as strangers, aliens, victims, or deportables but as citizens of Athens—a city that struggles to reconcile violence with the possibility of producing new and excitingly less essentialist forms of belonging.

A Landscape of Travel: The Work of Tourism in Rural Ethnic China by Jenny Chio

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Studies in the anthropology of tourism focus on tourism communication in form of hosts and guests (Smith 1977). Such division often oversimplifies the multiplicity of ethnicity and the complexity of how rural tourism in China is created, shaped, and negotiated. In the ethnographic monograph *A Landscape of Travel*, Chio successfully looks beyond the classification into hosts and guests and presents fascinating insights into a more fluid situation. Through rich engagement with two villages in China—Upper Jidao in Guizhou and Ping’an in Guangxi—and beyond, the study takes a fresh look at the impact of tourism on the ethnicity and identity of villagers and interrelation between leisure and labor of rural tourism in China. Rural and ethnic family life is transformed into a tourism product to satisfy Chinese urban tourists’ imagination. Such a form of tourism echoes the emerging divisions between rural and urban ethnic minorities and Han people, as well as between the poor and the rich, that are embedded in the wider context of national tourism and the ethnic classification project in China.

A Landscape of Travel offers two analytical tools to understand how individuals negotiate their everyday lives in a tourism context. First, Chio encourages readers to view people as being on the move instead of being disconnected from the world outside their isolated village. By tracing villagers who work in the cities as migrants and later return to their home as current tourism providers, Chio explores their dynamic interactions with the outside world and their everyday confrontations within the community. The former’s experiences, knowledge, and skills allow them to understand the motivations and expectations of urban tourists. Second, Chio’s engagement with the notion of landscape motivates the readers’ senses, in particular through visuality as an analytic. Through offering a wide range of examples, from the construction of traditional wood architecture and terraced fields to the sweet talk between tourists–photographers and ethnic female “models,” Chio invites the readers to

understand how the tourism stage is formulated and negotiated through the details of visual investigation.

The integration of mobility and visuality adds texture and complexity to the question of how ethnic tourism becomes commonplace in the daily lives of Chinese ethnic minority villagers. Although ethnic tourism creates similar images national wide, local villagers still endeavor to develop their own specialties (*tese*) when accommodating urban demands. Chio very well illustrates the process of “authentication” of tourism products as a consistent negotiation between villagers and the external world. Through introducing three forms of distances (time, space, and culture), Chio illustrates how tourism imaginaries were shaped and negotiated within and between different groups. The tourist image of “differences” is not solely created by the hosts but, rather, is constituted by all involved people. More importantly, tourism not only affects villagers as an impetus of economic development but also becomes a new form of culture that influences the local value system, expectations, and visions of life. Through recording an anthropological experiment in which tourism stakeholders were invited from one village to another, Chio concludes the study by highlighting the complex nature of tourism. This experimental trip delivers the message that tourism is far from a simple form of consumption and economic exchange—it is a more sophisticated way of searching for a better life.

On the whole, Chio’s work is theoretically dense and empirically rich. Chio successfully demonstrates the complex layers and interrelations between different actors in rural tourism in China. While the power of ethnography has been well utilized to show the depths of the story, the study could have been enriched and expanded even more in two dimensions. First, it would have been useful to have had more discussion on the fluidity of identity and ethnicity of individual actors. Such fluidity is not only based on their mobility and interrelation with others but is also reflected in the habitus, the affects of memory, and their vision of the world. Second, it would have been interesting to add another layer of complexity by involving the international policies and norms. For instance, how the global concepts such as

“heritage,” “sustainable development,” and “ecomuseums” influence the value system of the local rural development during their encounter with outsider NGOs and within their own community.

In conclusion, *A Landscape of Travel* makes a fine addition to the existing anthropological literature on tourism. The book moves beyond theoretical abstractions to the complexity and richness of reality. The monograph is a valuable resource for a range of educational purposes, including in undergraduate classes on the anthropology of tourism and for perusal by postgraduates who are researching tourism

in China. It is highly recommended that readers also watch Chio’s documentary film, *农家乐* Peasant Family Happiness (Chio 2013), as a vivid complement to the book.

REFERENCES CITED

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2013 *农家乐* Peasant Family Happiness. 70 min. Berkeley: Berkeley Media.
- Smith, Valene L., ed.
1977 *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Japan, Alcoholism, and Masculinity: Suffering Sobriety in Tokyo by Paul A. Christensen

Lanham: Lexington, 2015. 182 pp.

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This readable and thought-provoking study of alcoholism in Japan revolves around a fundamental dilemma confronting Japanese alcoholics in their attempts to achieve sobriety. They live in a society that celebrates drinking (p. 42). Their alcoholism is not a violation of social norms but a taking of that norm to “an unsustainable extreme” (p. 98). When they pledge abstinence, they are not just fighting their own disease but also the heavily enforced expectations of their own society. For men particularly, their identity is challenged by their inability to control their drinking and even more so by their refusal to drink after going into treatment.

That cultural confrontation is further dramatized by the character of the available support systems. Most alcoholics turn either to Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) or to the home-grown variant, Danshūkai (Abstinence Association). The AA in Japan makes no concessions to local cultural differences. The central text is a direct translation of “the Big Book,” and the program is based on the famous 12 steps to recovery. This program is imbued with the spirit of Protestant Christianity, and four of the steps specifically reference God, albeit with the rider “as we understood him.” The insistence on admitting one’s own inability to recover and relying instead on a “higher power” is a deeply unfamiliar concept in a country where most people describe themselves as nonreligious and where the principal religions of Buddhism and Shinto lack the personalized God of Christianity.

Christensen observes that the unfamiliar spiritual territory of an AA meeting occasionally can cause tensions, as in one case when an elderly man got up and condemned

the meeting as a waste of time because “it stinks of Christianity” (p. 57). While that is an extreme example, Christensen emphasizes that people who attend these groups are called upon not just to renounce drinking but also to adopt an alien way of thinking about their lives.

The ideology of Danshūkai is somewhat different. For example, the Danshūkai sobriety oath (pp. 150–151) makes no divine reference. However, it does share with AA the stress on the surrender of the self, with its first line reading: “We admit that alone we do not have the strength and are powerless over alcohol” (p. 151). The Danshūkai focuses a quasi-religious reverence on its founder, Harushige Matsumura (1905–1970), whose portrait is often displayed at meetings (p. 138) and whose 50 selected quotations are treated as a key text (p. 22). Christensen observes that many of Matsumura’s dicta are similar to AA maxims, and he consistently stresses the similarities between the two groups rather than their differences—similarities grounded in their spiritual approach to self-improvement.

That said, several other significant differences emerge in the text: the Danshūkai meetings, unlike AA ones, are often attended by family members as well as the alcoholics themselves, for example, and Christensen notes that doctors tend to encourage married men to try Danshūkai but send women and unmarried men to AA (p. 53). Christensen only fleetingly references the work of Richard Chenhall and Tomofumi Oka, who specifically describe Danshūkai’s approach as being imbued with Zen Buddhism (e.g., Oka and Chenhall 2014), and I question his reluctance to distinguish between the two groups. This, and the lack of references to the extensive Japanese-language literature on alcoholism, would be my two main reservations about the book.