

with “initial evidence of toxicity” (188), whereas the United States does not regulate such chemicals until evidence of harm is available. This absence of responsibility in the United States being placed upon corporations who produce carcinogenic products and governments who do not adequately regulate ensures that cancer remains a private, individual event, “rather than a communal effort and responsibility” (199). Chapter 9 marks the denouement of the book and covers the author’s post-patient life:

The whole experience of cancer – attending the Look Good workshop, wearing the wig and not wearing the wig, having the port put in and having it taken out, trying on the prosthetic breast and taking it off – was a process of figuring out how and where and when to pass within a slew of identities and communities. (212)

Though Jain has critiqued the “face” that cancer patients are expected to wear, she ends *Malignant* without judgment, acknowledging that we all need to feel as though we belong to social groups.

Jain’s mention of ACT UP’s activism in the book is a small thread, but this begs the question: Where is this anger and power for demanding cancer-free environments and more effective treatments today? *Malignant* has provided us with questions to generate meaningful knowledge going forward, and it is time to start asking them.

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**Satsuka, Shiho**, *Nature in Translation: Japanese Tourism Encounters the Canadian Rockies*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015, 263 pages.

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In the intriguing ethnography *Nature in Translation: Japanese Tourism Encounters the Canadian Rockies*, Shiho Satsuka explores the ways that Japanese tour guides in Banff, Alberta, translate culturally situated knowledge about nature for tourists and for themselves. Satsuka traces the lives of several guides who emigrate from Japan in search of Canada’s “majestic nature,” often represented in the Japanese media as idyllic. Inevitably fraught with tensions and contradictions, the practice of cultural translation is shown by Satsuka to entail frustrations and misunderstandings that entangle the guides in larger webs of political, economic and historical currents, shaping and reshaping their experiences and perspectives.

Banff National Park is Canada’s eldest and one of its most revered protected areas. Established in 1885, the park now

attracts close to 5 million visitors annually, some of whom come from Japan to experience a piece of Canada’s seemingly endless “wilderness.” The job of the guides is to translate concepts authorized by the park’s governmental representatives into terms that their customers can appreciate and take some enjoyment in. For many of the guides, success means easing the tension inherent in cross-cultural translation; Satsuka details how the guides describe their concerns and the troubles associated with learning concepts that were foreign to them at first. A successful guide makes the effort seem effortless and translates ideas in exciting and interesting ways using stories and their personal images as tools of the trade.

“Landscape” (28–29) is one such concept, which had no counterpart in Japanese until its introduction during the 1890s by philosophers influenced by Western thought. The introduction of the concept of landscape in Japan ran parallel to the introduction of other concepts such as freedom and subjectivity, which remained marginal in Japanese culture until recently but provide a constellation of meanings often employed by the guides in their translations. Satsuka deftly describes how ideas such as subjectivity percolate into the language and behaviour of those who become guides and visitors to the park through their encounter with Canadian norms and ideals of nature interpretation. Many of these concepts are now a part of popular culture in Japan, expanding hand in hand with the growing popularity of international tourism and adventure tourism. While they are used often in conversation, however, these concepts lack stable definitions, and people’s understandings often differ from one another’s, leading to misunderstandings and, at times, conflicts.

To provide some background, Satsuka explores the beginnings of Japanese mountain climbing traditions and how ideas about nature became entangled with notions of individuality. These became expressed in newly adopted Western concepts as climbers attempted to summit the world’s highest peaks, travelling internationally and returning with new ideas. The important role played by borrowed Enlightenment concepts (such as subjectivity and individuality) in popularizing mountain climbing in Japan during the early twentieth century is juxtaposed with the corporatism of Japanese culture. The juxtaposition exposes the guides’ views of Japanese life as stifling individuality, and of life in “majestic nature” as more authentic and free. The guides often explain their move to Canada in terms that echo the words of Ohashi Kyosen, a Japanese pop culture icon who is largely credited with the promotion of travel as a middle-class endeavour and as a goal of retirement. In his television programs and at his store in Banff, where Japanese tourists are welcomed and catered to, Satsuka explores Ohashi’s promotion of what she calls “populist cosmopolitanism” (67). This form of populist cosmopolitanism circumvents ethno-nationalist sentiments and instead encourages people to free themselves from bonds to corporation and family, which prevent the feeling of independence, and encourages, as well, the desire to become “[someone who] stands on [one’s] own feet” (64). The sense of freedom as a form of self-actualization that spread during the 1990s is closely linked to Enlightenment values and stands apart from traditional Japanese notions of interconnection and communitarian values (117). Nevertheless, it is this sense of freedom as an expression of individual liberty that the guides search for in the vast landscapes of the Canadian Rocky Mountains.

Following the guides through their training, Satsuka describes the frustrations felt by many who worked for a particularly popular and established company run by a Japanese expatriot. The intensely “Japanese” or even “Zen” training style of the company’s owner runs contrary to the guides’ expectations of “‘rational,’ ‘modern,’ and ‘transparent’” (107) working conditions in Canada, leading many to conclude that the company is more Japanese than many contemporary companies in Japan. Satsuka carefully explores how the guides describe these cultural differences, attending to the ways that their descriptions reify boundaries between distinct ontologies while attempting to bridge those differences. An example occurs in the discussion of one guide’s frustrated attempt to decipher the meaning of “ecological integrity,” which leaves him asking, “What happens to a guide’s ecological integrity?” (183). He continues this line of thinking, exclaiming, “[My] brain is full of fragmented patches caused by environmental disturbances! [My] ecological health is in danger due to various environmental stressors!” (183). The tension he expresses in his exclamations expose the supposedly universal discourses of ecological science and conservation biology as being culturally situated. Attention to this helps Satsuka decentre Western perceptions of nature and to politically situate such ostensibly neutral scientific discourse in the history of the colonial West.

In later chapters, Satsuka discusses the impact of gender on the tourists’ and employers’ treatment of and opportunities given to guides. The guides’ intentional manipulation of their image is described by Satsuka as being a process of “co-modification,” (96) where they become the commodity they hope to sell by embodying the qualities associated with individuality, freedom and nature. For female guides, this presents an added complication whereby femininity is expected to be downplayed, as a gender-neutral self-presentation is desired by employers as a sign of competence. While the men polish their knowledge and linguistic abilities, the women are regarded as having a much larger set of obstacles to overcome if they are unable at first to appear physically competent. Smaller bodies and higher-pitched voices are described by employers as less desirable traits in guides, and employment opportunities are strictly controlled in relation to the confidence that employers place on the guides’ abilities. It is in this thoughtful discussion of gender in the tourism industry where the pressures associated with “co-modification” of one’s self-image are seen to weigh heavily on the formation of subjectivity, and Satsuka explores this compassionately. Some guides remain deeply unsatisfied with their self-image, even as they gain some success through their efforts; they later realize the trap that conforming to gendered expectations has become in their quest for self-actualization.

Satsuka segues between the necessity of macro-analysis of cultural, historical and socio-economic currents, and the micro-analysis of guides’ personal experiences, carefully attending to the connections between these scales. Scaling up from cultural constructs, such as gender, and back down to guides’ personal decisions helps situate the guides within the tourism industry while situating the industry in a global socio-economic and political context. The strength of the ethnography is in this detailed evocation of the connections between personal experience and cultural forms. It does, at times, become bogged down in description, but this is ultimately for the best, as the text benefits from the arrangement of these descriptions.

Given this, there is room for an expanded discussion of translation that is passed up, and there are fruitful theoretical connections that could have been drawn between ethnohistorical studies, as well as affect studies, which seem to present missed opportunities.

As the author argues, translation shapes perceptions of cultural difference, causing both culture(s) and difference(s) to become reified in the process, instantiating a contradiction where the impossibility of perfect translation is exposed in the act of overcoming a cultural difference that endures even after the effort to erase it (32). Much more could be said on this, though Satsuka does well to ground the discussion ethnographically, avoiding the disembodied “thought experiments” of Western philosophy. Overall a very enjoyable read, *Nature in Translation* ties the anthropological study of tourism to the study of the environment in productive and original ways.

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**Massé, Raymond**, *Anthropologie de la morale et de l'éthique* Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2015, 340 pages.

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Les rapports entre morale et anthropologie s'étendent, au XX<sup>ème</sup> siècle, sur deux versants : soit celle-ci s'engage à faire de la première son objet d'étude, contribuant ainsi à une anthropologie de la morale ; soit la pratique anthropologique devient, par une dynamique inverse, l'objet de critiques d'ordre moral. Le premier ensemble agrège des travaux dont le principal apport scientifique est d'extraire la question morale de son environnement théologique et philosophique pour la faire comparaître socialement et historiquement, selon une approche initialement défendue par E. Durkheim et L. Lévy-Bruhl. Plus récente, la critique morale de l'anthropologie naît avec l'apparition de rejets du colonialisme, parfois à l'intérieur de la discipline elle-même, comme c'est par exemple le cas de la célèbre conférence de Michel Leiris, « L'ethnographie devant le colonialisme », prononcée en 1950.

Confrontés à des situations ambiguës mettant à mal l'assurance d'un relativisme méthodologique pourtant revendiqué (Hatch 1983), ou à des codes éthiques institutionnels s'imposant à leurs exigences de recherches, les anthropologues éprouvent la morale non plus seulement comme un objet d'étude autonome, mais sur le mode de la conflictualité entre des normes et des dispositifs d'enquête.

Raymond Massé indique dès le seuil de son ouvrage qu'il ne se propose pas de traiter des retombées morales de l'anthropologie, mais bien d'envisager celle-ci comme un « lieu de production de discours à la fois constructifs et critiques sur la morale et l'éthique » (p. 14). Il s'agit pour l'auteur de produire une synthèse introduisant aux débats d'un domaine en cours de structuration, pris en tension entre la philosophie et les sciences sociales. Sa démarche n'inaugure pas un retour à une anthropologie de la morale insouciance, précisément parce qu'un de ses intérêts majeurs est de mettre en lumière la transition menant de l'anthropologie de la morale à une anthropologie de l'éthique. Ce travail synthétique est servi par une érudition conjuguant réflexions théoriques et études de cas, ce