Book Reviews

From Comrade to Citizen: *The Struggle for Political Rights in China*. By MERLE GOLDMAN. [Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2005. 286 pp. $22.50; £14.95. ISBN 0-674-83008-3.]

Is it because of too long an association with Chinese intellectuals? Merle Goldman has interiorized the concept of *qianxu* so well that it sometimes carries her away. She would have been well inspired to follow her intuitions and use the title she had first chosen, "From Subject to Citizen," rather than listen to colleagues. Her original title was much better adapted to the reality of the People's Republic. For even though they were called "comrades," the status of the inhabitants of the PRC under Mao was actually closer to that of subjects, deprived of any kind of rights and not authorized to have spontaneous relations between one another.

Merle Goldman can afford to be more assertive as she has been the best in her field for decades, and most people who have followed in her footsteps have a deep respect for her work, which she started when it was far from fashionable.

Her new book is a very stimulating presentation of the pro-democracy movement – which she prefers to characterize as the march towards citizenship – since Mao's death. It is well documented, and every important instance of dissent, every influential petition demanding a reform of the political system is reviewed, which makes her work particularly useful for specialists who have not followed the events which official history tends to neglect, and for the students who want to understand the political dynamics of the reform period.

Merle Goldman shows how the struggle for more freedom by the establishment intellectuals she has been studying for 40 years has started to spread to workers and peasants, albeit on a small scale, since the early 1990s.

She carefully replaces the movement in its historical background. She convincingly shows the continuity of intellectuals' opposition with the Confucian tradition of remonstration, and, when addressing the characteristics of "civil society" of the 1990s, she shows that its attitude towards the state is consistent with the past: "… even in the Republican era, when such laws and a middle class were beginning to develop, associations generally sought to complement and influence state policies rather than to act as counterweights to government" (p. 22). Merle Goldman obviously sympathizes with the struggle led by the various activists and organisers of associations, but her empathy does not prevent her from guarding from excessive optimism. She is well aware of the limitations that a Leninist party can impose on society: "For semi-autonomous and even autonomous groups to survive in China in the last decades of the 20th century, they had to be explicitly apolitical … without any laws to protect them and without the backing of a broad social base or a civil society … politically independent groups could not function openly for very long" (p. 67).

To the common wisdom which states that the growth of a middle class will automatically result in democratization, she replies that "China's growing urban middle class in the last decades of the 20th century had not yet become independent … The role of China's emerging middle class … was fragmented. Unlike in the West, China's businesspeople were not protected by property rights, the rule of law, or the support of a strong middle class, and therefore they were dependent on party connections for their opportunities and survival" (pp. 14–15). And, later "most of China's growing business and professional communities in the late 20th century were co-opted into the official establishment" (p. 228).

Merle Goldman also develops new tools to analyse the movement for citizenship. She creates the concept of "disestablished intellectuals" to qualify the people that some call dissidents, who have lost their position in the establishment because of their participation in the various political protests of the last quarter of the 20th century – especially during the Democracy Wall movement and the 1989 demonstrations – but who have continued to fight for basic freedoms. Of course, as is the case with any kind of typology, one could challenge some classifications: for example, why is Yu Haocheng, who lost his position at the head of the Public Security Bureau's Masses publishing house after June 4th, still considered an "establishment intellectual" whereas Bao Zunxin, who was a senior researcher at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences before 1989, is not? However, controversy over who belongs to which type does not mean that the typology itself is irrelevant. It is very fruitful for analysts.

To express a few reservations, one could say that Merle Goldman overstates the importance of the China Democracy Party (CDP) experience: "The CDP represented what party leaders had feared most since 1980 – a coalition of intellectuals, small business owners, and workers engaged in political activity, reminiscent of Poland's Solidarity movement" (p. 9). She writes that it was the first instance of blurring of class lines, which even involved "a small number of peasants" (p. 21). I find it difficult to admit that the founding of the CDP is the harbinger of the "greatest change in the role of politically oriented intellectuals in the post-Mao era," i.e. the "blurring of the separation between intellectuals and ordinary people" (p. 20). But Goldman does give evidence of this trend in her analyses of the Democracy Wall, and the Beijing Social and Economic Research Institute (SERI) experience.

I find some aspects more arguable. For example, her judgement on the 1980s and on the Marxist humanist intellectuals who played a decisive role in that period is overly severe, whereas it is over-optimistic on the 1990s. The book gives a sense of linear progress, with intellectuals gradually coming out of the mould of "Confucianism" and traditional Marxism, to head towards independence from the Party and mobilization of other classes. Whereas this trend can effectively be found in the historical development – as her presentation of the various petitions since 1992 shows – she apparently minimizes the negative consequences of June 4th and takes no account of the support for the government from a great part of the intelligentsia which had been much more critical of the

Party during the 1980s. If her remarks about the blurring of line between some intellectuals and workers, and the development of right consciousness in the various classes of society are accurate, she seems to undervalue the virtuous cycle created during the 1980s by the alliance of reformists with Marxist humanist establishment intellectuals who had pushed for reform of the political system.

On the other hand, although she notes that many critical intellectuals of the 1990s are old, middle aged or belong to the 1989 generation, she does not ponder the widespread political apathy of the youth. Is this not a sign of the rallying of a large part of the intellectual elite to the Party project?

Finally, it seems that Merle Goldman tends to overestimate the strength of civil society in Eastern Europe (except in Poland). One finds assertions such as, "unlike their counterparts in Eastern Europe who had developed a strong civil society in opposition to the state" (p. 23), or, the Chinese organizations "did not have the broad-based social support enjoyed by their Eastern European counterparts that might have helped them bring down the party-state" (p. 229). What was the strength of Czechoslovakia's dissidents before 1989? It was not much greater than the Chinese *weiquan yundong* that Goldman describes with such accuracy.

Any human endeavour presents drawbacks, but this book is the best that has been published in English on the subject to this day, and whoever wants to understand Chinese politics during the reform era must read it.

JEAN-PHILIPPE BÉJA

Realms of Freedom in Modern China. Edited by WILLIAM C. KIRBY. [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004. xii + 396 pp. $24.96; £16.50. ISBN 0-8047-5232-X.]

The present book is one of a 15-volume series on *The Making of Modern Freedom*. Significantly, only two volumes in the series deal explicitly with the non-Western world. But concepts of freedoms and the struggle for rights are neither foreign to Chinese tradition nor to contemporary Chinese society, as this volume amply demonstrates. The editor has brought together a volume that not only is of interest to China scholars but also will stimulate readers who know little about China.

The volume covers the whole 20th century and teases out the complexity of freedom in China in intellectual, religious, legal, political and economic spheres. This is both the strength of the book and its weakness. It is its strength because this eclectic approach shows the complexity of freedom and how the concept and struggle for freedoms take different forms over the years, in different political environments and in different spheres of life. Taken as a whole the book shows the complex relationship between the individual and the society/state in China; it also problematizes and nuances our understanding of freedom in the Chinese context.

One weakness is that few of the chapters engage with each other, which is often a problem with edited volumes. The book tries to cover the whole century as well as be topically comprehensive, but many threads are not continued in later chapters or periods, and some topics are not covered in much detail. Given that the series is devoted to civil and political freedoms, one would have expected more on freedoms of speech, assembly and political participation. But this is only treated very briefly in William C. Kirby's chapter on the Party-state in Taiwan and on the mainland and in Jean C. Oi's chapter on post-Mao China. Furthermore, some chapters do not deal explicitly with the issue of freedom and the authors could perhaps have been asked to address this issue more directly. The chapter on the Stalinization of China by Arlen Meliksetov and Alexander Pantsov, a very interesting discussion on a little researched but fascinating topic, does not focus or make much of the issue of freedom, although the topic and period easily lend themselves to such a discussion. Some chapters, such as those by Irene Bloom and Wen-Hsin Yeh, although interesting and well written, cover periods and topics that have been covered extensively elsewhere, including by the authors themselves.

An important and refreshing strength of the book is the mixture of chapters on intellectual debates with chapters on legal and social developments. Literature on the topic of freedom often tends to be narrowly focused on intellectual discourses. It is also instructive to relate the chapters dealing with developments and issues in contemporary China with those discussing the Imperial and Republican periods. The chapters that stand out in the volume are those by Madeleine Zelin on economic freedom in Imperial China, Jérôme Bourgon on developments in the field of civil law in the early 20th century, Willam P. Alford and Yuanyuan Shen on debates on the new marriage law of 2001, and Robert P. Weller on religious freedom in China and Taiwan. These chapters provide interesting and original research at the same time as they raise many new areas for future research. One such question is that of the problematic relationship between economic freedom and the development and safeguard of civil and political freedoms. Recent developments in China furthermore underscore that economic freedom often comes at a price, and that freedoms and rights of weak groups, such as migrants and women, often suffer under economic liberalism. This brings us to the important and challenging issue of whether the Chinese state's withdrawal from some spheres of people's lives necessarily means more and equal freedoms for all. This issue is hinted at by Alford and Shen and needs to be taken seriously in future research. The two chapters on legal developments make for many interesting reflections regarding the problems of developing a functioning legal system in a non-democratic political system, the limits of law, and the relationship between morals and norms, customary law, and the formal legal system.

Chinese people's freedoms have sometimes expanded by default, or out of necessity, or simply just come to be tolerated by the state, and they have progressed differently in different spheres of life. Slowly but

steadily the realms of freedom are becoming more institutionalized and better protected in China, although there is still a long way to go. New problems and threats furthermore arise as a result of economic developments and China's increasing incorporation in the global economy.

MARINA SVENSSON

Engaging the Law in China: State, Society, and Possibilities for Justice. Edited by NEIL J. DIAMANT, STANLEY B. LUBMAN and KEVIN J. O'BRIEN. [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005. 240 pp. $49.50; £32.95. ISBN 0-8047-5048-3.]

Engaging the Law in China is an edited volume that examines Chinese law through the lens of two social science approaches – law and society and state-in-society. By placing society and local state institutions at the centre of their research, the editors and contributors move the study of law beyond state-centric and textual-centric approaches. Ultimately, this original approach demonstrates how legal change is a consequence of negotiation and contestation that often transpires in surprising locations.

In the Introduction, Diamant, Lubman and O'Brien suggest that in order to understand how legal disputes arise, scholars should adopt a law and society approach in which mobilization and identity are made the primary focus of study. Accordingly, one of the most important questions in many of the volume's essays is why and how certain individuals mobilize the law to achieve their ends, especially in a regime characterized by underdeveloped legal institutions. As the editors and several of the contributors note, the Chinese government has approached the development of new laws and legal institutions from a highly utilitarian perspective. "The law" is used as a form of social control – be it channelling (and thus taming) increasing social protest or coping with official corruption. And yet, despite the intentions of lawmakers, some individuals, corporations and even government officials are making creative use of new laws to advance their claims. Both political entrepreneurs (including villagers taking advantage of the Administrative Litigation Law and local governments pursuing enterprises to pay pension fees) and support structures (such as coalitions, the media and letter-writing campaigns) play crucial roles in the politics of legal mobilization and counter-mobilization. Legal mobilization, in turn, is based on and can lead to the formation of new political identities, including new legal cultures. Essays by Gallagher and Thireau and Hua powerfully illustrate this point by describing both the different approaches to, and understandings of, the law taken by different workers. A focus on mobilization thus reveals the complex bases for the pursuit of disputes.

Contributors to *Engaging the Law in China* also emphasize the importance of legal institutions and the disaggregated nature of the state in

which these institutions are nestled. Adopting a state-in-society perspective in which regional and local bodies are made central to the research, a number of contributors find that litigation is not the preferred choice for obtaining change. Instead, individuals and corporations pursue their complaints through administrative bureaucratic units (such as the Quality Technical Supervision Bureau), arbitration committees, letters and means offices, and, decreasingly, formal mediation processes. Moreover, overlap and conflict between state institutions shapes the way in which some political entrepreneurs construct their strategies. For example, Tanner finds that police analysts, frustrated by being "sandwiched" between a restive populace and an authoritarian state, are turning to Western social science explanations to understand and cope with social protest; and Mertha shows how foreign companies spur competition among administrative bureaucratic units to enforce intellectual property rights. In both cases, unexpected actors are challenging the dividing line between state and society and drawing on foreign resources to stake their claims. The focus on pragmatic uses of assorted legal institutions rather than on litigation suggests that the practice and development of "the law" in China looks increasingly different from China's own immediate past as well as that of countries with stronger and more independent judiciaries.

While the focus on localized state-society relations is strong in the volume, questions regarding the "law as text" are not altogether disregarded. An important tension within the volume, as well as within several individual chapters, concerns the relative importance of how laws are written and promulgated. In his discussion of veterans, for example, Diamant argues that "laws and legal institutions matter, even if the former are not fully implemented and the latter do not function even close to optimally" (p. 153). Likewise, Thireau and Hua show that for some complainants it is neither the wording nor the strength of the law that matter so much as the law's normative value. For some, "the law" is of most use as a rhetorical strategy. However, much of the research in the volume suggests that not all laws are equal in terms of their importance or impact. As Thireau and Hua note, the stature of the lawmaking body promulgating a law seems to affect its impact. How a law is written, including its provisos (Gallagher) and whether it is marked as a "decision," "order," "regulation" or "rule" (Frazier) also determines its power. Given that not all laws and litigants are created equal, it is interesting to consider the state-made conditions under which new, or strengthened, laws enable marginalized groups to pursue their aims. Also of interest are the conditions under which new laws do nothing, or worse, disenfranchise potential litigants (as is the case for some former state workers, according to Gallagher). Future research may seek to shed light on these questions by drawing more explicit theoretical linkages between centre and local state institutions and the role of "law as text" in the dynamics of legal change.

Engaging the Law in China heralds a rich set of findings in a promising field of study. It not only serves as an important benchmark for future

research on the law in contemporary China but also for studies of Chinese state-society relations, past and present. This volume will make an important addition to any course considering these issues.

KIMBERLEY ENS MANNING

Policing Chinese Politics: A History. By MICHAEL DUTTON. [Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005. xiii + 426 pp. £16.95. ISBN 0-8223-3489-5.]

At a time when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is associated with policies of economic growth and evinces an apparent commitment to a socialist rule of law, foreign observers are called to remember an historical record of Party abuse of legal institutions and processes for political ends. Indeed the Party's own discourse of *zhengfa* (politics and law) as a single-word depiction of the legal reform effort speaks to the resiliency of perspectives mandating the use of legal institutions for political ends. Even as the People's Republic of China (PRC) Constitution contains formal commitments to the importance of human rights and the rule of law, continued evidence of the use of legal institutions as mechanisms for political abuse (including police harassment and physical intimidation of dissidents, suppression of intellectuals, and mistreatment of criminal defendants) invites questions as to whether these are transitory echoes of a by-gone era, or perhaps instead reflect more fundamental priorities and practices of the ruling CCP.

Michael Dutton's history of the role of police institutions in furthering political ambitions of the CCP leadership is a masterful reminder of how far legal institutions in China have come, but also of how deeply entrenched are notions justifying use of public institutions for parochial political purposes. Dutton focuses on the dichotomy between "enemies" and "friends" associated with Mao Zedong's politics of political struggle as an expression of Schmitt's discourse of "commitment politics." Thus from its very earliest beginnings, the CCP's identification of political, military and class opponents as "enemies," justified and indeed mandated the use of police institutions for political ends. Party practices of identifying opponents, dissidents, and even ordinary members of society who fail to conform to Party ideals as "enemies" exemplified a strategy of marginalization and suppression of a category of "other," so as to unify and mobilize those still left within the category of "friend."

Dutton focuses on several key periods of CCP history, beginning with the Jiangxi Soviet period, when institutionalized violence through the practice of political campaign was exemplified in the Futian incident. Dutton examines the prevalence of false confession and the slow realization among the CCP leadership that torture was ineffective to elicit reliable information about political opponents, suggesting parallels to contemporary international policy debates. While violent suppression of political opponents remained evident at Yan'an, Dutton shows how a

shift in focus toward rectification, education and correction made the violence that arose during the "rescue campaign" and related efforts pale in contrast to the Jiangxi period. Dutton depicts how, following the establishment of the PRC, the Party used state institutions to reify a language of revolution and a symbolism of liberation that entrenched the "friend/enemy" dichotomy even while glossing over much of the violence used to enforce it. Dutton sees the "friend/enemy" dynamic as undermining efforts to revive a professional police force, as political campaigns during the 1950s against counter revolutionaries, wayward cadres, and intellectuals reflected ongoing Party ambitions to use legal institutions for political ends. The tension between politicization and professionalization of legal institutions continued in the lead-up to the Cultural Revolution, although by this point political attacks on public security, procuracy and court institutions expressed conclusions that the emerging legal system itself was becoming too professionalized and autonomous from Party control (or at least from Mao's control).

In Dutton's portrayal, the post-Mao period has seen a general shift from the political to the economic as a priority in the use of legal institutions and the police. The extension of concepts of contract to non-economic domains and the monetarization of social relations has seen an increase in the role of private security forces that augment and in many instances supplant public institutions. Applied to contemporary abuses associated with the violence at Taishi Village, suppression of labour organizers, and harassment of environmental and human rights NGOs, Dutton's analysis invites readers to see these in the context of protecting policies and practices of economic growth, rather than as matters of ideological and political conformity.

Dutton's survey of CCP history offers not only a rich treatment of the ways that police institutions have been used for political purposes, but also offers a useful overview of the development of legal institutions more broadly. Throughout, Dutton explains the changing motivations that drove CCP leaders to utilize institutions of law and the police for political ends. Whether in the course of the intra-Party struggles of Jiangxi, the education and reform campaigns at Yan'an, the monopolization of political power and suppression of class enemies of the 1950s, the intra-Party crisis of the 1960s, or the transition from politics to the economy during the post-Mao period, Dutton explains how the "friend/enemy" dichotomy informed and justified the politicization of public legal institutions. Responding to challenges against interpreting Chinese political history by reference to a purported "two-line struggle," Dutton suggests that Mao himself constructed the revolution in terms of the "friend/enemy" dichotomy, and thus generated a discourse of two-line struggle that mandated the intersection of politics and legal institutions.

This is an excellent book that will be useful to all who have an interest in CCP history and the changing role of legal institutions in contemporary China. Dutton's work reminds us of long-standing CCP practices using legal institutions for political ends, even as it deepens our appreciation of

how much institutional reform has actually taken place in recent years. The work is grounded in a rich array of Chinese language sources, while also engaging intellectually with international academic discourses in Chinese studies. At a time when the tension between human rights and political domination remains at the forefront of analysis of the Chinese legal system, Dutton's book invites a sober recollection of the Party's past history of politicization of law, while also permitting a cautiously optimistic view of the future of legal institutions.

PITMAN B. POTTER

The Changing Face of China: From Mao to Market. By JOHN GITTINGS [Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. 330 pp. £18.99; $30.00. ISBN 0-19-280612-2.]

For the better part of four decades, John Gittings has chronicled China's ever-changing social and political landscape. Scrutinizing the Middle Kingdom from the vantage point of socialist humanism, his reportage – in scholarly and popular journals, in a dozen books, and (for two decades) in the pages of *The Observer* – has consistently rewarded his many readers, academic and lay alike, with discriminating observations, penetrating insights, and sensitive analysis. In his latest book, *The Changing Face of China*, Gittings draws on his years of China-watching to present an expert narrative overview of China's long march from Maoist socialism to market capitalism, punctuated by detailed exegesis of key events and developments along the way.

Demarcating the triumphs and tragedies of a half-century of Chinese Communism, Gittings sensibly urges his readers, at the outset, to refrain from easy generalizations or categorical judgments. Following his own advice, he introduces, early on, the intellectual dualism that sets the tone for the chapters that follow. In the first third of the book, which deals with the Maoist period, 1949–76, Gittings treats with appropriate seriousness – and occasional empathy – Mao's project of rural-based development, with its egalitarian, collectivist, anti-bureaucratic ethos. At the same time, however, he decries Mao's autocratic excesses, his destructive flights of economic fancy, and his seeming indifference to human suffering. The result is a sensible, well-balanced account that neither denies Mao's achievements nor overstates his egregious flaws.

The latter two-thirds of the book, dealing with the transition from Mao to market, displays similar qualities of sensibility and balance. Detailing the complex, tortuous political and economic pathway pursued by Deng Xiaoping in guiding China away from the legacy of the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution to "reform and opening-up," Gittings neither gilds the lily of reform by waxing breathlessly ebullient about the "Chinese miracle" nor exaggerates the perilous downside of the reform process (including massive unemployment, corruption, income polarization, and the Tiananmen tragedy). Coolly and impartially, he assays the

costs and benefits of China's impressive, if unsteady, march toward marketization and globalization; not surprisingly, he finds that the balance sheet remains "very mixed." He argues that China's current situation is "a precarious one," and he concludes (unobjectionably in this reviewer's opinion) that because of lingering Leninist structural flaws in the system of governance, China's Communist Party leadership "only has a few years to get it right" (p. 16).

Individual chapters in the book's heftier second, post-Mao section detail the succession to Mao – including the improbable rise (and rather rapid decline) of Hua Guofeng; the origins and early travails of Deng's reform experiments of 1978–79; the intellectual and social tensions that gave rise to student demonstrations, first in the mid-1980s and then, more disastrously, in the spring of 1989; the repressive aftermath of the Tiananmen crackdown; Deng's Herculean 1992 effort to revive his sputtering economic reforms; and the dramatic rebound (and spectacular economic growth) achieved by Deng's successors, Jiang Zemin and Zhu Rongji. Concluding chapters survey China's contradiction-filled socio-political landscape of the early 21st century, including unresolved human rights problems, rising rural unrest, and emerging environmental degradation and public health crises.

Fresh anecdotal material gleaned from recently published sources as well as from Gittings' long years of reporting from Hong Kong and China helps to make *The Changing Face of China* a lively and interesting read. Teachers of undergraduate survey courses and lay readers looking for one-stop shopping to bring them up to speed on contemporary China will find this book much to their liking. Academic specialists, on the other hand, will find little that is novel or unexpected in its 300-plus pages. Most of this ground has been covered before, and there are few surprises.

Unfortunately for Gittings, his book was published almost simultaneously with the recent best-selling, myth-shattering biography, *Mao: The Untold Story*, by Jung Chang and Jon Halliday. In a hastily-added introductory footnote to *The Changing Face of China*, Gittings implicitly acknowledges that the Chang-Halliday thesis (viz., that Mao was an evil, inhuman "monster" who had little or no empathy for China's peasant masses, who shamelessly manipulated people and sadistically inflicted great physical abuse and mental humiliation on those around him) frontally challenges much of the conventional wisdom about Mao's life and times. In rejecting this wholesale debunking of Maoist popular mythology, Gittings seeks to rescue China's socialist "baby" from its toxic Maoist "bathwater."

Though he did not have time to develop his critique of Chang and Halliday's revisionist thesis within the pages of *The Changing Face of China*, Gittings did publish a generally critical review of *Mao: The Untold Story* subsequently, in *The Guardian*. His primary complaint there was that Chang and Halliday had pushed their single-factor "lust for power" argument way beyond its evidentiary basis, leading them totally (and wrongly) to deny that either idealism or ideology played any role whatever in the Chinese revolution. If a second edition of Gittings' book

should ever be contemplated, it will have to frontally address issues raised by Chang and Halliday.

RICHARD BAUM

Managers and Mandarins in Contemporary China: The Building of an International Business Alliance. By JIE TANG [London and New York: Routledge, 2005. viii + 175 pp. $65.00. ISBN 0-415-36363-2.]

In the book, the author attempts to analyse whether business conflicts in China are resolved in much the same way as elsewhere or if they are handled altogether differently. To those who are familiar with Chinese management literature, such as the author, the answer is self-evident, for Chinese conflict management is rooted in Chinese cultural traditions that have proved to be strikingly different from those in the West, and in the recent Chinese experience in establishing socialism with Chinese characteristics that has no parallel in history. Nevertheless, very little effort has been made to examine empirically conflict management in China. The present book fills in the vacuum.

To support the argument for a Chinese way of conflict management, the author chooses to take an ethnographic approach, observing on the spot the daily operations of an international business alliance – a joint construction project between Chinese and German partners in a large city of China. The author spent nearly a year on the construction site in China, following the progress of the construction project from tendering to completion, and observing intensively how conflicts between partners in the project emerged, developed and were resolved. The author won the trust from all partners involved by serving voluntarily as a neutral interpreter, and managed to gain access to first-hand data and materials on the evolution of various events over that period. As a result, the author is able to provide a vivid account.

Through the ethnographic approach, the author reveals some particulars of the Chinese business environment in which conflicts occurred, including the red tape, paternalism and nepotism, limits on contract, involvement of local government officials in business activities, and the Chinese way of thinking about quality, time and management style. The author demonstrates how these particulars have caused tension and conflicts between the Chinese and German staff in the construction project. Jie Tang concludes that China's own history and the circumstances it confronts both domestically and internationally will continue to ensure that whatever business system it fashions will be one with Chinese characteristics, and that Westerners expecting to find in China either now or in the future a system that is a replica of their own are set for a disappointment. They are advised to learn to understand the Chinese business environment in which conflicts may occur, particularly the conflicting pressures to which Chinese managers are exposed, and not to dismiss all practices that fail to comply with the norms of western

business. The conclusion is not surprising to many, but it does strengthen empirically the view of a unique style of Chinese management.

Like many studies that take an ethnographic approach, this book suffers from a lack of theoretical analysis. While much attention is paid to describing the evolution of events, little effort is made to use the empirical case to address important theoretical issues on conflict management of international business alliances, including partner selection, control structure of the alliance, and conflict resolution strategies. Students of international business are left wondering to what extent a Western business partner may adopt a problem-solving approach, a compromising approach, a forcing approach or a legalistic approach proposed in the literature to deal with conflicts in international business alliances in China, and what are the specific conditions under which each of these conflict resolution strategies may work. They are also left wondering what a Western business partner can do in selecting Chinese partners and designing control structures for international business alliances in order to minimize the risks of serious conflicts with Chinese partners. Anecdotal evidence from China suggests that conflicts between business partners are not always as serious as they are in the case presented in the book, and can be avoided or handled very well through, for instance, proper selection of partners and careful design of control structure. Issues like these are as important as issues about the uniqueness of Chinese business environment and Chinese way of conflict management. Unfortunately, the author does not go a step further to develop insights into these important issues.

Despite these shortcomings, this book is an important contribution to the study of international business alliance and Chinese management. Used together with carefully designed questions for discussion and references for further reading, the book can serve as a valuable case study for classroom teaching in business schools.

XIAOWEN TIAN

State and Laid-off Workers in Reform China: The Silence and Collective Action of the Retrenched. By YONGSHUN CAI [London and New York: Routledge, 2006. 193 pp. £65.00; $113.00. ISBN 0-415-36888-X.]

As the first scholarly monograph in English on the politics of Chinese laid-off (*xiagang*) workers, this is a solid book that adds much to our understanding of key aspects of this important topic. Specialist libraries at China research centres will clearly want to purchase it. Although it touches briefly on other dimensions of the politics of lay-offs (mostly in chapters two and three), the book's primary objectives are to advance an explanation of observed patterns of laid-off workers' collective action and to contribute to a refinement of broader theories of social movements and contentious politics in socialist and authoritarian contexts. Cai's

rationalist argument about collective action opportunities maintains that various branches of the Chinese state, in tandem with state firm managers, can influence the cost-benefit calculations of individual workers as to whether potential gains of participation in mobilization are worth the perceived risks. State and management behaviour leads most workers to remain quiescent, but induces a significant minority to take to the streets. In support of this, the author cites numerous Chinese- and English-language secondary sources, and offers quantitative data and quotations gleaned from an impressive survey of 724 workers across 27 localities in 1998 and 1999.

Despite its overall strength, the book suffers from several significant shortcomings. First, Cai (probably out of a desire to protect his respondents) never reveals any details of the localities his survey data come from and does not address the possible role of regional variables in shaping workers' contention. One thing Cai does reveal about his research localities is that provincial capitals and rural counties are over-represented (17 out of 27 total localities). There are also several sampling issues with the survey. Readers are told in the appendix only that "[I]nterviewers chose interviewees based on their personal connections or used the snow-ball method" (p. 132). No further information is given about the sectors interviewees come from, the neighbourhoods in which they live, their gender, age, education level or present occupation (though some of this can be inferred from his various regression results presented at points in the text). Without knowing basic characteristics of his sample, it is difficult to evaluate Cai's claims, based largely on statistical analyses of his survey data, as to which workers mobilize collectively and why.

Secondly, most of the concrete findings are not particularly arresting. Much support and added detail are provided for conclusions that have been published elsewhere or are already part of the conventional wisdom (e.g. that younger, better-educated, workers face better odds of re-employment), but relatively little is counter-intuitive or fresh. A larger problem is that ancillary discussions of aspects of lay-offs other than collective action present incomplete, often one-sided, pictures of key phenomena. One example is the treatment of "mutual avoidance" (*liang bu zhao*), that stresses this as a pathway for workers to engage in "hidden employment" without mentioning either that the mechanism was officially abandoned by 1998 or that it had been an ad hoc and desperate attempt by firms to cancel obligations to millions of suddenly laid-off workers, most of whom never had a chance at re-employment, "hidden" or otherwise (pp. 55–56). Similarly, the section on re-employment service centres (*zaijiuye fuwu zhongxin*, pp. 20–23), glosses over significant regional and over-time variation in how these were funded and administered and mostly leaves out the genuine successes some of them achieved, at least for some workers.

Thirdly, though good at making broad theoretical points, Cai does not always integrate his data into these discussions as closely as he might have. The theory sometimes can appear detached from the empirics, and

some readers may occasionally be left struggling to pinpoint both the key theoretical contributions and their specific connections with the data. For example, the first half of chapter five outlines the management structure of Chinese state firms in great detail, but the remainder of the chapter neither makes larger points about the structure of firms nor uses firm management structure to explain management responses to workers' resistance. Similarly, the extended segments in chapters one and eight comparing China with Poland and other post-communist states can sometimes feel unconnected to the meat of the inside chapters.

Despite these issues, this book is an excellent piece of research and writing that will be essential reading for all scholars of Chinese laid-off workers' collective action. The survey results are the first of their kind to be published in English and are at least on par with similar data published recently in Chinese. By adding new layers of texture to our discussions of both the on-the-ground reality and the theoretical significance of Chinese laid-off workers' contention, Cai has given us a roadmap as we go forward and we all must respond to his work in future research.

WILLIAM HURST

China's Urban Transition. By JOHN FRIEDMANN. [Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. xxv + 168 pp. $18.95. ISBN 0-8166-4165-5.]

John Friedmann, professor emeritus of the University of California, Los Angeles, has had a 45-year career as a specialist on urban and regional planning. The author of a large number of books and articles, his recent publications include *The Prospect of Cities* (Minneapolis, 2002). Friedmann states in the introduction to his latest book, *China's Urban Transition*, that he chose to devote years of his official retirement to a study of China's urbanization not just because of a "lifelong personal interest in Chinese philosophy and poetry" but because "what is happening in China today is, I would argue, of world-historical importance" (p. x).

Designed as "an introduction to China's multiple urbanization processes" (administrative, economic, physical, sociocultural and political) during the reform era, *China's Urban Transition* is intended "for students, scholars, and others who are not China specialists." Its aim is "to synthesize and interpret the pertinent English-language literature" (p. x). During the course of the six chapters that form the body of the text, Friedmann introduces the writings of most (with some notable exceptions) of the main scholars having written over the past decade or so on China's urban transition during the reform era, set against its historical context. On "historical traces" he includes William Rowe and Kam Wing Chan; on regional policies Godfrey Linge and Ezra Vogel; on income inequality and poverty Azizur Rahman Khan and Carl Riskin; on the urbanization of the countryside Jonathan Unger, Jean Oi, Lynn White III and Andrew Marton; on rural-urban migration Hein Mallee, Dorothy

Solinger, Anita Chan, Li Zhang and Rachel Murphy; on expanding spaces of personal autonomy Wang Shaoguang, Philip Huang, Gordon White, Merle Goldman, Elizabeth Perry and Dorothy Solinger; on urban governance David Strand, Zhang Tingwei, X. L. Ding and Fulong Wu. Friedman's basic technique in each chapter is to summarize and quote at length the authors he selects, locating these within an overall structure and discussion that remains "author-led" (to the point of citing Kahn and Riskin's Gini coefficient estimates, for example, for 1988–1995, and not providing any more recent estimates).

While Friedmann has become familiar with much of the relevant literature, a few major absences lead to a somewhat unbalanced portrayal of some themes. The importance of China's history, which the author stresses, would have been more clearly illustrated if he had discussed recent academic discourse on the development of Chinese modernity in the early 20th century, including the growth of commercial publishing and advertising, and the concept of the "modern woman" (for example in Wen-hsin Yeh's widely discussed edited book *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond* (2000)) and picked up on these themes later, given that links are now being made with the first half of the twentieth century (for example in Mayfair Yang's writing on Shanghai's "(Re)cosmopolitanism").

These themes are also largely missing from the chapter on "expanding spaces of personal autonomy" which, while having the stated aim of summarizing "everyday life in China's large cities" during the reform era, barely touches on the growth of a consumer society and culture (apart from some references to increased leisure and to consumer rights), on the importance of Western (particularly American) consumer products and influences in constructing new urban identities, or on changing personal lives and gender dynamics (apart from a lengthy summary of Kathleen Erwin's article on Shanghai advice hot-lines). Jos Gamble's *Shanghai in Transition: Changing Perspectives and Social Contours of a Chinese Metropolis* (2002) and James Farrer's *Opening Up: Youth Sex Culture and Market Reform in Shanghai* (2002), which are not mentioned in the author's text or bibliography, would seem, at least to this reviewer, to be basic reading on China's urban transition in recent years.

In his wide-ranging conclusion, which he describes as "more a kind of stock-taking" (p. 117), Friedmann makes some grand and rather obvious statements. In attempting to identify the nature and severity of the challenges facing China, he states that "the most challenging task is … to move along a *sustainable path of transformation* [Friedmann's italics] between the two poles of ever-present danger: the lapse into anarchy and the reimposition of a totalitarian rule leading to stasis" (p. 117). He also reiterates his contention that what "on a stupendous scale is happening in China today is a transformation *from within*" (p. 120), consciously attempting to provide a corrective to authors who focus on the urbanization/globalization nexus (for example, John Logan, *The New Chinese City: Globalization and Market Reform*, 2001). His own argument, however, appears somewhat one-sided given the ongoing internal-

external dynamics of China's increasing interaction with a global market economy.

China's Urban Transition will be of limited use to the China specialist or student focusing on China. For the non-specialist, at whom it is aimed, the book provides easy access to much of the best-known English-language scholarship on a wide range of issues linked to the nation's urbanization.

BEVERLEY HOOPER

Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space. By WU HUNG. [London: Reaktion Books, 2005. 272 pp. £19.95. ISBN 1-86189-235-7.]

As China develops into a leading global economic power, Beijing is being transformed into a capital city that aims to match and mirror this power. Where Mao Zedong once dreamed that chimneys and smokestacks as evidence of China's industrialization and modernization could be viewed from Tiananmen Square, office blocks, five-star hotels and shopping malls rise in counter-distinction. The architecture is a mix of the monumental and the commercially inspiring. In the Square an Olympic clock counts down to 2008.

This provokes speculation about the future of the Square as a symbol of continuity and legitimacy, or as some sort of theme park or in extremis, a nice piece of property. While there is no shortage of studies of Beijing's urban development, the art historian Wu Hung focuses on the Square. His approach is interdisciplinary drawing upon art history and architecture, urban studies, political and cultural studies but also as someone bearing witness.

Mao's decision to locate the government of China in the old city determined the development of Beijing that carries on today. It could not have been otherwise given the commitment to revolution rather than conservation. As for the Square, it possessed the physical place and symbolic power to sanctify the new republic which had been declared from the rostrum of Tiananmen. What was not countenance was that it would provide, if only intermittently, as in the past the political space for resistance.

Wu Hung identifies three sets of problems: the first are concerned with the structural transformation of the Square and its relationship with Beijing; the second set has to do with the occupation and use of the space by the party-state and by those mounting protests against the party-state; and thirdly representations and images of the Square. These are pursued in five chapters, each of which could stand as a revealing and rewarding study on its own merits.

The Square is viewed as an architectural site and as the integration of the past with the present in chapter one. As such the Square embodies memory identity and history. In chapter two the articulation of authority as represented by the rostrum of Tiananmen and commanding portrait of

Mao is discussed. In chapter three, Professor Wu describes how the Square is used by the party-state to translate and deliver its messages to the Chinese people and the world outside. Citing Foucault's classification of heterotopias he examines the party-state's sponsored mass rallies and a second form described as "exhibition architecture" which he applies to the Great Hall of the People, The Museum of Chinese History and the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall. In chapter four he ingeniously links time and political control from the imperial Drum and Bell Towers, through the advent of mechanical clocks to the countdown clock in Tiananmen Square. Just as the Hong Kong clock was a statement of the party-state's determination to achieve its goals, so must a similar determination apply to the Olympic clock which post-dates Professor Wu's study.

The final and longest chapter of this excellent book is an analysis of the interaction of official and unofficial art with the Square. Post-Maoist China has experienced a wave of counter artists whose works challenge the official images of Tiananmen, Mao's portrait and representation of "the people." More recently performance and installation artists have changed the conceptual approach in Chinese art from depicting to responding to the Square.

Three issues stand out from this broad canopy. The first is the dynamic history of the Square and how it has been adapted to serve the purposes of a succession of rulers. Secondly, for Professor Wu the June 4th protest and the subsequent crackdown was a critical turning point. This is apparent in the analysis devoted to it in the first chapter on the history of the monuments but perhaps more so in the cover design which features Song Dong's performance/photographic project to commemorate June 4th. Thirdly, there have been no major structural changes in the Square since 1977 when the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall was completed. There has been, however, what the author describes as "soft monuments" which amount to an official depoliticalization of the Square. To this extent his perspective of the history of the Square can be viewed as an official testament and response to political change, political development and political stability. The latter, of course, fits the official rhetoric of a market-orientated economy with social stability. This book is "must read" for understanding contemporary China.

ROBERT BENEWICK

Locating China: Space, Place, and Popular Culture. Edited by JING WANG. [London and New York: Routledge, 2005. xiii + 235 pp. £65.00. ISBN 0-415-36655-0.]

This book is the product of a workshop held in June 2001 at Zhejiang University in Hangzhou on the issues of space and place viewed through the lens of popular culture in contemporary China. It is the second volume of a Henry Luce Foundation-sponsored project on

Chinese popular culture. The first volume was published as a special issue of *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* (vol. 9, no. 1; spring 2001). Readers interested in the subject should consult that volume as well.

By its very nature, the study of space and popular culture requires an interdisciplinary approach. The volume has succeeded beautifully on this score. The ten contributors to the book are from "traditional" disciplines such as anthropology, history, geography, literature and language, as well as nascent fields such as women's studies and media studies. The editor, Jing Wang, states that the "volume draws together those distantly related disciplines in search of a common discursive ground" (p. 6). Readers, however, will find that the chapters are well connected and the contributors are like-minded, and, as a result, the book in fact demonstrates that the fields involved are not so "distantly related." The authors' common ground is local or regional popular culture that has national or transnational significance or implications.

At first glance, the volume is uneven in its geographic coverage. Except for Peter Perdue's article on the northwest, Wanning Sun's on Shanghai, and Tani Barlow's on the metaphoric space of the "pornographic city," the volume is heavily on south and southwest China: with Carolyn Cartier's chapter on Shenzhen, Helen Siu's on Pearl River Delta cities (Shenzhen, Guangzhou and Zhuhai), Feng Chongyi's on Hainan island, Tim Oakes's on southwest Guizhou, Louisa Schein's on southeast Guizhou, and Hans Hendrischke's on Nanning, Guangxi Province. But the unevenness of geographical coverage may not have been considered an issue in assembling this work, since collectively the contributors to this volume on "locating China" contend, with a certain irony, that the notion of locality in the binary sense of local versus national should be dislodged in favour of trans-boundary or trans-national approaches. Thus the focus on the south and southwest, or indeed on any area that may be chosen, should uncover sufficient ground on which to build conceptualizations that have broader, if not universal, application to the nation and beyond.

The anchor of the volume is its engagement with contemporary theories from social science and cultural studies, including those of Lefebvre (which, for some mysterious reason, is rendered Léfebvre – with an acute accent – throughout the book), Foucault, and de Certeau, among others. The contributors have applied one or another analytical tool from such theories to various local situations and subjects. A mere glance reveals the variety of the theses and methodologies employed. Carolyn Cartier delves into the "cultural turn" in economic geography to explore trans-boundary processes and regional cultural economy (p. 56). Feng Chongyi relates teahouse culture to the debate over the applicability of Jürgen Habermas's "public sphere" (or public space) and civil society to China (pp. 144–46). Wanning Sun engages Benedict Anderson's "imagined community" and Edward Said's "Orientalism" (pp. 173–74). Peter Perdue provides a brief background to how historians may begin to theorize the role of space and from there he discusses contested identities

within national space as a particular version of social space (pp. 95–96). Tim Oakes sees cultural production as a scaled process in which "powerful social institutions and actors, such as the state, assert and maintain control over social space" (p. 49). Louisa Schein suggests that ethnic minorities in China as cultural producers may consist of what can be called ethnoconsumerism in which identities are creatively fashioned and recast. Helen Siu offers a "regional history" as a significant analytical layer that mediates between entrenched local meanings and the fluidity of global capital, all three shaping the "boundary" between Hong Kong and the Pearl River Delta (pp. 74–75). Tani Barlow analyses an "ephemeral archive" for "smutty" things that escape the surveillance of formal law on decency yet are ubiquitous in quotidian life (pp. 191–92). Hans Hendrischke examines different scales of local products in the process of the marketization of political power and thus questions the conventional dichotomies of local-national and political-economic.

The heavy weight of conceptualization does not prevent the volume from offering rich empirical data. Jing Wang is certainly right in pointing out, after much discussion of theories in the introduction, that "Ordinary Chinese people pride themselves in finding their own space and place in what seems to be a poreless, planned space. What matters to them are practices not theories" (p. 28). Likewise, one may say that while theories can be enlightening and stimulating, to most China scholars what matters first (and perhaps also foremost) is to get a precise and accurate picture of the "practices" on which theories must be based. In this area, readers will find the volume informative. Among the topics discussed are the SARS epidemic and state control, tourism and the reshaping of local culture and identity in the remote mountains of Guizhou, speculation in the luxury housing market in the bustling Pearl River Delta, the succession to the position of the Dalai Lama in Tibet, and Chinese perceptions of the "frontier" in the vast northwest. Readers are also informed about how local tabloid newspapers navigated the treacherous Party-state waters in Nanning, how private recreation operated in public space through commercial nightlife in Hainan, how domestic maids from rural Anhui found a place in the urban jungle of Shanghai, how pornographic publications and smut altered daily life and law, and so on. Despite the post-modern approaches (such as discourse analysis) that a number of contributors have adopted, for the most part of the book readers will not find themselves bombarded with cant and jargon but absorbed with details and nuance, some of which are quite lively and intriguing.

In short, the volume is well balanced in terms of theory and empirical detail. As scholarly exploration of China has been disproportionally concerned with high-level politics, the macro economy, mainstream society, and the superstructure, the book's emphasis on everyday life, grassroots society, disadvantaged groups and frontier identity is refreshing and much needed.

LU HANCHAO

Aging China: *The Demographic Challenge to China's Economic Prospects*. By ROBERT STOWE ENGLAND. [Westport, CT and London: Praeger Publishers, 2005. xv + 135 pp. £16.99. ISBN: 0-275-98684-5.]

This book is based on the author's studies on China's ageing population and on research carried out by the Global Aging Initiative at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC into the present and future impact of ageing on China.

Robert Stowe England aims to demonstrate that ageing in China, the world's largest developing country, will experience a quite different course from that of developed countries or even of countries whose ageing levels are higher than China's. The author tackles the issue from two angles: the demographic impacts on the one hand, and socio-economic and institutional consequences on the other. In the section on demographics, the author argues that China is on the brink of a rapid transformation – caused by increased longevity and a nation-oriented family planning policy implemented for over 30 years – into a high-level ageing society in which old people will make up a large proportion of the population. Since children are almost the only source of support for the elderly in China, especially in rural areas, the rapid decrease in their number will considerably undermine the conventional means of family support. In the socio-economic and institutional section, the author shows that this phenomenon is taking place in a country where the majority of the population have low standards of living and do not benefit from high standards of social security. He argues that China will begin its rapid ageing before it has completed its transition to the level of moderately developed countries. The author discusses the challenges that China is facing in the context of current economic problems such as the ongoing retrenchment of benefits for employees of state-owned enterprises, unemployment, the need for a stronger safety net and for reforms aimed at promoting growth in rural areas, rampant corruption, banking debts, and the necessity of increasing the coverage and costs of social security. All these challenges will probably constrain the benefits of future economic development and cause difficulties for the Chinese government in tackling ageing problems.

According to the author, the ageing of China's population in the 21st century will produce two integrating consequences as far as people's lives and the nation's development are concerned. It will lead to a considerable decrease of living standards for the elderly who will become a huge burden on their families; it will also slow down the economic development. The main argument of the book is to discuss if ageing in China will hinder China's economic development and reform efforts in the first half of this century under the unfavourable conditions mentioned above. The author examines almost all the factors which are likely to affect the improvement of the social security system for the elderly and the economic development, and concludes that the Chinese government faces enormous challenges as it tries to steer a rapidly ageing nation toward a

market economy and orderly integration into the global economy. He argues that ageing will reshape China through its impact on various aspects of society.

As a matter of fact, Chinese scholars in different disciplines look at the consequences of China's ageing in different ways. Chinese sociologists focus on the well-being and living conditions of the elderly as well as on intergenerational relationships, whereas economists turn their attention to the impact of this phenomenon on the nation's economic development and the capacity of economic support to the elderly in future. Interestingly sociologists, in general, tend to be more pessimistic, and economists more optimistic, as can be seen from some interviews conducted by Dr. England in China. The theory embedded in the Chinese economists' argument is that longer life leads to a higher accumulation of assets. However, Robert Stowe England's opinion on the subject differs as he is convinced that China will face enormous challenges as its population is ageing rapidly. This reviewer finds that the author's argument more convincing because it integrates economic theories into the reality of the Chinese situation, especially as it takes into account the relationship between economic and demographic factors. Although it is hard to prove the extent to which ageing will undermine the economic development of China in future, there are some indirect evidences based on what has already occurred in some European countries and Japan, where fast ageing has, to some extent, resulted in a slowing down of the economic development. Such experiences have attracted scholars' attention, including the author of this book, to assess the negative consequences of ageing in China. One of the reasons why Chinese economists have an optimistic view of ageing in china, I suppose, is that their vision is easily blurred by the currently prosperous economic situation. However, the economy cannot be separated from its causes, and Robert Stowe England does attempt to shed a light on the linkage between the ageing of China's population and the country's economic development.

This book will make interesting reading not only for Chinese studies scholars but also politicians, investors and business people. It can be used as reference in teaching in Chinese studies, pension and social security, sociology, gerontology, social demography, developing economics and even business.

XIAOCHUN QIAO

Intellectuals in Revolutionary China, 1921–1949: Leaders, Heroes and Sophisticates. By HUNG-YOK IP [London and New York: Routledge, 2005. xiii + 328 pp. £65.00. ISBN 0-415-35165-0.]

This contribution to Routledge's "Chinese Worlds" series provides readers with an exceptionally well-researched and carefully crafted picture of revolutionary Chinese intellectuals before 1949 that contributes significantly to our understanding of the troubled role of China's intellectual elites in public affairs throughout the 20th century and, indeed, today.

Ip focuses on the elitist self-construction of communist intellectuals in three aspects: functional (as leaders), emotional (as heroes) and aesthetic (as sophisticates). This elitism, Ip argues, assisted the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in its rise to power by contributing both staff and legitimacy to its revolutionary cause; it contributed to the justification of inequality in the PRC, and has even shaped the development of consumer culture in contemporary China. While these last claims are necessarily speculative, Ip provides a rigorous grounding for the main focus and claims of the book concerning pre-1949 revolutionary intellectuals.

The book falls into three major parts, each focusing on one of the three aspects. Chapters two to four explore the self-construction of revolutionary intellectuals from the functional perspective, as leaders of political movements and the Party itself. Ip provides a sound contextual basis by reviewing efficiently the writings and themes of late Qing and early Republican reformers and radicals that shaped the May Fourth picture of intellectual leadership as "elitism engaging with anti-elitism" (p. 42). We get close and intelligent readings of intellectuals' writings, from notables such as Qu Qiubai and Mao Zedong to less well-known activists such as Shen Dingyi and Feng Zhimin. Indeed, one of the strengths of this study is to present Mao (subject of chapter four) rigorously in this comparative context and not as something *sui generis*. Chapters five and six make a careful reading of literary texts (particularly poetry of martyrs and reminiscence *huiyilu* literature) to get at the emotional narratives of intellectual heroism. I found most interesting the third section, on aesthetic self-legitimation of revolutionary intellectuals – the well-known tension between elite arts and proletarian cultural commitments. This long and thoughtful chapter (pp. 145–83) starts out with my favourite sentence in the book: "Communist intellectuals were committed to beauty and the arts" (p. 145). In all, the story told in this book allows us to understand why intellectuals served the CCP for so long in terms of their own, admittedly limited and flawed, agency, rather than simply as victims or perpetrators.

Ip provides a very satisfying study of these issues. The book is a model of engaging the previous literature in a thorough manner, taking up points, as needed, both in the text and in several long endnotes. The specialist is gratified to see this new work actively engage previous understandings and approaches, and the student is afforded a fair-minded introduction to the broader field. Ip is theoretically adventurous and not at all shy about contradicting previous views, but this is done in a sober and reasoned manner. Given the complex nature of this analysis – interpreting the self-construction of others – the author is to be commended for sound source criticism in each section, for example on reading martyrs' poems (p. 90), and assessing materials on aesthetics (p. 148).

In all, Ip's work provides an important contribution to our continuing efforts to understand the role of intellectuals in China's modern history. It provides a good complement to Zhidong Hao's *Intellectuals at a Crossroads* (2003), which provides similar empirical analysis for the

post-1949 period. Together, these books reflect the increasing quality of the field where the ability to digest huge amounts of Chinese-language material is matched by theoretical sophistication and explicit engagement with both China studies and methodological literatures. In Ip's case, this history nicely integrates the Chinese story with Soviet and European communist movement history and literatures. This comes at a price: the text is pretty heavy going at times and so is suitable more for specialists and graduate students than undergraduates. Routledge has made this issue moot, anyway, by its egregious pricing policy. My only quibble is that Ip's interpretive approach parallels much of Kenneth Jowitt's theories about "the Leninist response to national dependency" (*New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction*, 1992), particularly perspectives on the paradoxes (such as "elitist anti-elitism") embedded in Leninism. Engaging Jowitt's and other analyses of Soviet-style or other revolutionary regimes would help us further to understand both the specificity and broader humanity of the Chinese experience.

TIMOTHY CHEEK

Chinese Intellectuals between State and Market. Edited by EDWARD GU and MERLE GOLDMAN [London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004. vi + 298 pp. £65.00. ISBN 0-415-32597-8.]

This volume of essays originated in a conference of the same title held at Harvard's Fairbank Institute in 2001. The transfer of leadership from Jiang Zemin and Zhu Rongji to Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao has been the major political event of the intervening period, bringing with it an apparent toughening of policy towards intellectuals and the public sphere in general. While this in no way detracts from the significance and value of the volume as an encapsulation of the Jiang–Zhu era, it does ring some obvious changes in the way one now approaches it. Was the apparent tolerance of that era only a superficial impression? Does Hu's hardening visage portend no more than removal the "progressive" aura dubiously projected on him? Have the rules of the game in fact altered? Engaged for the most part in summing up the 1990s and its complex cross-currents, the authors may not have had such questions in mind (though their awareness of unpredictable cyclical swings in political sensitivity is clear throughout). In the event, their work is invaluable in setting up useful baselines, and a bit more.

One of the editors' major interests, reflected in the title, is how "the intellectual public space of the 1990s has been greatly enlarged and pluralized" (p. 10). Suzanne Ogden's "From patronage to profits," staying close to chapter five of her *Inklings of Democracy in China* (2002), finds that the state "had to trade control over intellectuals in the cultural sphere for responsiveness to the market, and […] in the social sciences and media for a societal safety valve and for their expertise and ability to offer policy alternatives" (p. 127). Like Geremie Barmé, whose *In The Red* (1999) she cites, Ogden finds that the state gains more than is often

realized from such a deal. Licensed now to promote "non-mainstream" (but not "dissident") values, some of the most creative and prominent thought-workers end up resonating with the state in large part because it continues to offer a haven from the market and its often troubling vulgarity and insensitivity. Intellectuals gained too, and Ogden, here drawing on the work of Cheng Li, is prophetic in noting the rise of a new breed of "public intellectuals" (p. 127). It was their growing claims to a freedom to criticize, prompted not least by the SARS crisis of early 2003, which were to spark increased repression from the government, signalled publicly in late 2004. Ogden's description of them as "both part of the 'establishment' and critics of it" is a little lacking in definition however: this would fit many figures in the past. The "public" label may in part be mere imitation of Western parlance, but there are, perhaps, one or two features of the Chinese usage that bear mentioning. One is that the public intellectuals display more "ownership" of their intellectual products; another is that they speak more as citizens, equipped with rights, than as agents of the political elite or than as academic professionals. Their role is thus a kind of reciprocal adjustment to the rise of citizen movements – and of constitutional rights – from the late 1990s to the present.

Interest in the intellectual's role and its subcategories takes up a large part of the book, with excellent accounts of journalists (Yuezhi Zhao, "Underdogs, lapdogs, and watchdogs"), historians (Timothy Cheek, "Historians as public intellectuals"), the "technical community" (Richard P. Suttmeier and Cong Cao, "China's technical community"), and the Chinese Democracy Party, doomed challenger of one-party rule (Teresa Wright, "Intellectuals and the politics of protest"). Such sociological approaches sometimes risk treating the products, the ideas, images and practices emerging from any such category as arbitrary variables. Xu Jilin's "The Fate of an enlightenment: twenty years in the Chinese intellectual sphere (1978–98)" and Feng Chongyi's "The Party-state, liberalism and social democracy: the debate on China's future" do a great deal to overcome this. Feng in particular provides an incisive vision of the "significance of the emergence of social democracy in China at the end of the twentieth century" (pp. 231 ff.). Feng skilfully places the work of Qin Hui, an agrarian and economic historian at Tsinghua University, in the line of "third way" liberalism. This reviewer would prefer to translate of Qin Hui's *gongtong de dixian* as "common baseline" rather than "shared bottom line;" and, given that Qin's reference to Hayek is deliberate and not entirely ironic, "*ziyou zhixu*" would be better rendered as "order of freedom" than "liberal order." But these are quibbles.

Xu and Feng are themselves committed to liberalism, leaving open the possibility of a bias toward the values of this camp. Geremie Barmé and Gloria Davies' "Have we been noticed yet? Intellectual contestation and the Chinese web" attempts the difficult game of retaining an interest in ideological content without picking winners. Focused on "combative discursive tactics" used in intellectual debates since the inception of the

cybersphere, the chapter is both instructive and enjoyable. Wang Hui, who like his fellow philosopher Qin Hui is a professor in history at Tsinghua University, but who despite his own protests is often labelled "New Left," comes in for some sharp comment – but so do a number of his resentful opponents. It is Chinese "cybercontroversy" as a whole that is found wanting, having advanced too little beyond the terms of politicized and personalized controversy of the recent past. This still holds true, and the non-appearance of Wang Hui or others of his school in a listing of "fifty most influential public intellectuals," whose publication in *Nanfang renwu zhoukan* (*Southern Personalities Weekly*) in 2004 helped trigger the official backlash a month or so later, was an index of its subjectivity, not to say vulgarity and bias.

All in all a rich and balanced contribution to the field, the book will provide a common baseline for scholarship for some time.

DAVID KELLY

The Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in North China. By Thomas David DuBois. [Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2005, xii + 275 pp. $55.00. ISBN 0-8248-2837-2.]

In this innovative and insightful book Thomas DuBois examines the meaning of religious belief and practice for individuals and communities in rural Cang County in southern Hebei. Combining archival sources with detailed fieldwork, he reconstructs in vivid detail the history of religious institutions and networks and interactions between religion and social organization from the late-19th century to the present day. Throughout he stresses the diversity of local religious culture, even between neighbouring villages, which he explains as a consequence of the fact that religious institutions did not generally demand exclusive affiliation and that villagers felt able to draw freely upon the teachings of different groups. Cang County was an area where Christianity was weak, so the focus of the book is on monastic Buddhism, spirit healers and, above all on the different redemptive sects that constituted the heart of religious life in most villages.

In the first and second chapters DuBois ably traces the history of Cang County over the last century and examines the role of the village in the organization and propagation of religion. A fascinating chapter follows on the *xiangtou*, the village healers who use the power of fox spirits to cure sickness. Here the author brings out the importance of stories, in this instance stories of miraculous cures, in spreading local religious knowledge. The next chapter traces the history of monastic Buddhism which had had a considerable impact on local belief in earlier centuries but which had all but died out as a distinct tradition by the late Qing. Cang County remained untouched by the Buddhist revival that took place in Jiangnan during the Republican period.

There is much that is new and stimulating in these first four chapters, but the true novelty of the book lies in its final three chapters, which explore in compelling detail the activities of four different sects. Lumped together by the Communist authorities as *huidaomen*, often qualified by the adjective "reactionary," the author shows just how diverse in terms of doctrine, organization and social appeal these four sects were. The Li sect, a pseudomonastic sect that relied upon highly trained celibate specialists, was extremely popular in Tianjin, especially among the local mercantile elite, but in the Cang region its followers were defined by little more than their abstention from alcohol, tobacco and opium. Chapter Six examines the best known of the redemptive sects, the Way of Penetrating Unity (*yiguandao*), which grew explosively during the period of Japanese occupation. Its teachings were based on the belief that the Maitreya Buddha was about to inaugurate the third kalpa, when the current world would be swept away and replaced by the Homeland of True Emptiness (*zhenkong jiaxiang*). DuBois shows that this apocalyptic vision found a ready audience in the period of war and civil war, but that the restoration of stability in 1949 led to its swift demise. He argues that the latter is proof that the Way never took root in local society, despite its rapid growth, but this may be to underestimate the impact of the intense repression meted out by the Communist authorities in 1950–51, who accused leaders of the Way of collaborating with the Japanese and the Kuomintang.

The final chapter examines two sects that did succeed in planting deep roots in local society in the early Qing dynasty, the Teaching of the Most Supreme (*taishangmen*) and the Heaven and Earth Sect (*tiandimen*). The latter is especially respected for its strong Confucian (and Communist) rhetoric and uncompromising opposition to demonic spirits. Both provide villagers with ritual services, especially for funerals. DuBois argues persuasively that none of these sects was in a position to determine the belief of local communities; rather the latter appropriated their beliefs and practices in ways that met local and individual needs. In contrast to studies that stress the role of religion as a symbolic expression of the village community, DuBois insists that community participation in rituals such as prayers for rain was never more than superficial, all that was required of villagers being a financial contribution to the specialists who performed the rituals on their behalf. He also places unusual emphasis on the relationship of the individual to the sacred, stressing the "degree of latitude enjoyed by the individual in the perception of and interaction with" religious actors and institutions (p. 192). This is illuminating, but could have been strengthened if more attention had been paid to religious activity within the household.

Altogether, then, this is a fecund study in which the author relates his findings to larger debates in the historiography of Chinese religion in consistently thoughtful ways. But the book will be of interest to any scholar interested in how "traditional" culture came to revive so vigorously in the post-Mao era.

STEVE SMITH

Party Politics in Taiwan: Party Change and the Democratic Evolution of Taiwan, 1991–2004. By DAFYDD FELL. [London and New York: Routledge, 2005. 183 pp. £65.00. ISBN 0-415-35973-2.]

In many ways, Dafydd Fell's book on Taiwan's party politics is a welcome addition to the bourgeoning field of Taiwan's democratization. The book provides a first-ever systematic analysis of the unfolding of a competitive party system and the shifting parameters of partisan competition during the island's democratic transition. The book did a remarkable job of integrating qualitative materials with quantitative data. The author complements his meticulous content analysis of party and candidate propaganda with official electoral statistics, public opinion survey data, and a series of in-depth interviews with senior politicians. Together he provides an illuminating picture with many informative narratives of Taiwan's changing political landscape through the vintage lens of party change. Fell attributes the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)'s electoral ascendance to its ability in setting the electoral agenda on its most favourable issues such as social welfare, political corruption and national identity. He argues that a pattern of competitive party politics has rapidly become institutionalized into a state of moderate differentiation, i.e. becoming less polarized but not having merged into indistinguishable catch-all parties. The book is, however, liable to the criticism of seeing the trees but missing the forest. It could have been of a greater theoretical value if it properly identified Taiwan's unique experiences and cast them in comparative light. The book misses two questions of great theoretical importance: First, why among all East Asian Third-Wave democracies only Taiwan has developed a party system with the kind of organizational depth and ideological coherence that resembles their counterparts in Western democracies while in most other countries political parties remain an inchoate amalgamation of clientelistic networks or merely personalized political machine? Second, a related question, to what extent the development of Taiwan's party system has been shaped as well as constrained by the legacy of the long-time dominance of a hegemonic party, i.e. the Kuomintang (KMT)? As a consequence, the book's analytical loci become rather limited and unbalanced. It devotes most of its space to a refined analysis of the evolution of party platform, the changing popular perception of individual party's issue positioning and their shifting electoral fortune. It says very little about how the parties are organized internally, how party members are recruited, how they are linked to organized sectors of the society and different components of the state, how they are being financed and what accounts for their impressive mobilizational strength. Had the book paid some due attention to these important dimensions of Taiwan's party system, the overall picture would look much less sanguine. As a matter of fact, many political analysts would question his conclusion that a healthy interplay of competition has developed and that democracy is thriving in Taiwan. Instead, they would argue that Taiwan's young democracy is burdened with ubiquitous presence of partisan politics in all

organized sectors of the society and suffers from political parties' indulgence in all-encompassing electoral mobilization. The result is an extremely politicized society and an excess of power and penetration of political parties that compresses the unconstrained sphere for public discourse to the minimum and leaves little space for an autonomous civil society, independent media and non-partisan judiciary and civil service to grow. Furthermore, the increasingly nasty nature of the political struggle between the so-called Pan Green and Pan Blue camps has not only brought about a protracted political gridlock that has crippled the DPP government thus far. But it has also eroded the commitment of the contending political elites to due process and democratic rules of game and weakened the electorate's faith in the openness and fairness of the political system. In this sense, the emerging pattern of competitive party politics on Taiwan is in anything but a state of moderate differentiation.

YUN-HAN CHU

Global Taiwan. Building Competitive Strengths in a New International Economy. Edited by SUZANNE BERGER and RICHARD LESTER. [Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2005. xxi + 344 pp. $29.95. ISBN 0-7656-1617-3.]

A Political Explanation of Economic Growth. State Survival, Bureaucratic Politics, and Private Enterprises in the Making of Taiwan's Economy, 1950–1985. By YONGPING WU. [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005. xviii + 410 pp. £31.95. ISBN 0-674-01779-X.]

There are two aspects of Taiwan's development that remain controversial and of wide importance at the present time. One is the nature of the entire post-war trajectory. The other could be summed up in the question: what options for rapid growth has the Taiwanese economy in the next decade or so?

The historical issues hinge on the role of industrial policy; the impact of foreigners through Foreign Direct Investment (FDI); and the nature of the social learning processes that supported the rapid industrial transformation of Taiwan after 1950. The future oriented issues are of wide importance in the sense that all small- and medium-sized developing economies are faced with the problems of competitiveness and survival in a world that has a liberalized economy and where large companies, possessed of huge technological and other intangible assets, increasingly dominate markets. Of the other East Asian Newly industrialized Countries (NICs), Korea is going for direct competition, led by its major corporations now recovering from the Asian crisis. Hong Kong has evolved into an almost purely service economy with serious attendant social and political problems. While Singapore is struggling with its transition from being a foreign-dominated manufacturing economy that has hardly begun to realise its aspirations for a post-industrial future.

Taiwan differs from all these cases. It lacks the scale, industrial base and financial system to go the Korean route, but it has now a remarkable position in the electronics industry. This was largely achieved in the 1990s by virtue of Taiwan's ability to take advantage of the vertical "disintegration" of the global electronics industry. This allowed Taiwanese manufacturers to enter and then upgrade in the industry through the routes of sub-contracting, original equipment manufacturing (OEM) and original design manufacturing (ODM). The de facto opening of China to Taiwan allowed the extension of this path through the relocation of clusters of firms, largely in Shanghai and other cities in Jiangnan.

The two books reviewed here throw much light on all these issues and narratives, both in relation to history and to the future. *Global Taiwan* is the latest of an important series of books from the MIT Industrial Performance Center. Of these, *The Machine that Changed the World* (1990) was brilliant and influential. *Made in America* (1989) largely conventional wisdom and a history soon overtaken by events, while *Made by Hong Kong* (1997), valuable reportage but of minimal influence because Hong Kong lacks critical mass in terms of the wider audience and of the bureaucratic capacity needed to absorb this kind of work. This new book, by contrast, is not only of great academic interest but is addressed to a society capable of using its analyses. The papers, by a wide-ranging group of authors, inevitably focus mainly on electricals and electronics, but there is also an interesting article on the automobile and auto parts industry and, in conclusion, a well-researched paper by Edward Steinfeld that considers some implications of the cross-straits migration of Taiwanese capital and skills.

A number of important facts and suggestions emerge from the study. One is that from the intensive interviewing undertaken it is clear that, in spite of much talk to the contrary, the Taiwanese businessmen are still largely stuck on the low cost rather than the innovative approach to competitiveness. Most of the authors' other suggestions are based on this fundamental point. Among these suggestions the need for reform of Taiwan's low cost/technology-dominated university system is particularly emphasized. The authors also argue that Taiwan's public sector technology transfer/development institutions are showing signs that they have outlived their usefulness. While strongly admiring the historical roles of the Industrial Technology Research Institute (ITRI) and the Electronics Research and Service Organisation (ERSO), they are highly critical of the Institute for the Information Industry (III), which they see as failing to support the private sector and indeed, as acting as an unfair competitor to private firms.

Wu Yongping's book is completely different in kind but equally essential reading for students of Taiwan's economic development. Wu's starting point is that he is critical of the analysis of state intentions and bureaucratic government to be found in the "Industrial Policy" perspective of Robert Wade and followers. He argues, first, for the consistent primacy of political objectives over economic ones, and, second, his description of Taiwan's bureaucratic behaviour shows a state of affairs

far from the world of disinterested Weberian rationality that he considers the Industrial Policy school to believe in. The book includes a detailed history of Taiwanese economic policy making and implementation since 1945, and has a long and important chapter on the small and medium enterprises (SME) sector. The companies in this sector were essentially a by-product of Taiwan's political history and the motor for the export-led boom that started in the late 1960s.

The analysis overdoes the anti-Wade position, reflecting perhaps the book's origins as a thesis. Also, many of the points are known in the literature, particularly that by Taiwanese authors in Chinese. Nonetheless, this account is a valuable corrective and a major contribution to the English-language literature on Taiwan's political economy.

CHRISTOPHER HOWE

Frontier People: Han Settlers in Minority Areas of China. By METTE HALSKOV HANSEN. [London: C. Hurst & Co., 2005. 267 pp. £45.00. ISBN 1-85065-755-6.]

Hansen's book focuses on the central theme of Han settlers in minority areas. It is based on extensive field research in two areas: Sipsong Panna, a Dai autonomous prefecture in Yunnan Province, and Xiahe County within Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Gansu Province. The book addresses an issue which frequently is an object of heated discussions: in-migration of Han to minority areas.

Western as well as Chinese studies on minority areas as a rule focus on developments among local ethnic minority groups or their interaction, or on reactions of ethnic groups vis-à-vis in-migration of Han settlers. The latter themselves are rarely investigated.

Hansen is interested in the consequences of a long-term colonization process, in the attitudes and perceptions of the immigrants and the latter's interaction with local ethnic minorities. The perception of "old home" and "new home," their relations to local ethnic groups and to the local state are major issues the author is concerned with.

Hansen discerns different groups of immigrants and thus breaks up the concept of a homogeneous group of Han settlers in minority areas. In fact, there are deep social cleavages and biases between different Han groups. There are peasants descended from Han immigrants before the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC), "modernizers" who were sent in the 1950s and 1960s in order to take over administrative or professional jobs. Their task was to develop, modernize or "colonize" a locality. There were people who were employed in state or military farms and economic immigrants since the 1980s who wanted to profit from the economic resources in minority areas, hoping for economic advancement.

Accordingly, there are different patterns of settlement resulting in different modes of social prestige and status, of professions and family strategies. The second generation, i.e. the offspring of the modernizers

arriving in the 1950s or 1960s develop a bifurcated identity of "home." Their "old home," the place of their ancestors is not the place were they were born and grown up. Their "new home," in turn, is the place where they live, a place which is not only the settlement area of an ethnic minority but also their own home area.

The immigrants themselves distinguish between *yimin* (immigrants) and *zhibian* (people who came to support the borderlands), they differ between those who arrived in an organized or unorganized way, were qualified or unqualified. And, as Hansen has found out, there exist even regional stereotypes and a division of labour between various migrant groups and cleavages in terms of class, status and access to power.

Here Elias's and Scotson's differentiation between the "Established" and the "Outsiders" comes into one's mind. They have pointed out that people who have lived in a local area for a longer time possess more power than outsiders do. Their power is based on a greater degree of group cohesion and collective identity, more effective local channels of communication, and a feeling of superiority over those who have immigrated from outside the area.

In her book, Hansen is less concerned with the immigrants' "larger ethnicity" of ethnic mobilization but with an "everyday" concept of ethnicity. Such an everyday ethnicity is created by social processes of attribution, which are formed through contacts with other groups. She is concerned with the issues: How does a group think about itself? How do members of that group differentiate themselves from others? What do others think about them?

Between the various Han groups there are no ethnic boundaries but rather social boundaries. Examples of such social differences or boundaries are disparities in educational level, degrees of poverty, differences in living standards, or even the motivations of one's life concept.

Hansen's book provides a detailed and deep-going insight in the issue of Han immigrants in minorities' areas. Students of ethnic minorities or minority areas may extract a variety of ideas for further research on this topic. The findings of her interviews and the vividness of her writing make the book very readable.

There are of course many issues which are of high interest but were not addressed in the book like, for instance, the way members of ethnic minorities perceive the in-migration of Han, or the segregation between various Han groups in terms of residential areas or businesses. Though the crucial issue of identity is strongly related to the feelings and attitudes of Han settlers, it is only marginally addressed. Certainly, the author discerns that time (history) and space (an area as "*home*") are crucial markers of a person's identity and her research gives evidence to the fact that the identity of various Han groups rather functions as a cultural network.

To conclude, Hansen's research has proved that Han immigrants do not constitute a homogeneous group with uniform attitudes, beliefs and identities. Rather, they possess multiple individual identities. Truly, they are all Han. But they may settle in a minority area for a rather long

period, they may have been transferred to an area in the early phases of the PRC, may belong to the second generation of immigrants or may be recent immigrants primarily interested in economic advantages. They may perceive themselves as established people or as outsiders, as Party members or non-Party members, as officials or entrepreneurs, etc. They belong to different Han groups, although they can "switch" between various identities and between different reference frames and boundaries.

This book is a must for all those concerned with the issue of "Han" studies, nationalities, interrelationships and migration.

THOMAS HEBERER

Ethnic Distinctions, Local Meanings: Negotiating Cultural Identities in China. By MARY RACK. [London and Ann Arbor: Pluto Press, 2005. vi + 166 p. $27.50. ISBN 0-7453-1938-6.]

Research on several large ethnic minority groups in China, or the "minority nationalities" (*shaoshu minzu)*, has started flourishing as of late. This has occurred, it must be said, after Chinese state ethnologists themselves have, over the past five decades, produced innumerable commissioned ethnological inquiries with a blend of concerns for national unity, political imperatives related to control over the country's frontiers, but also out of basic curiosity for the Other within. Recent books and articles in English produced by outsiders have added up to this initial corpus, too numerous to be listed here. The *shaoshu minzu* to have attracted the most attention amongst outsiders are the most numerous ones such as the Zhuang, the Yi, the Hui, the Yao and what appears perhaps to be becoming a star group, the Miao with, to my knowledge, five major works produced outside China in the last few years by Nick Tapp, Louisa Schein, Simon Cheung, Wong Chau Ying and Joakim Enwall.

This quick introduction is needed here because while the title of this short book bears no mention of it, it is actually based on research on one particular group, the Miao. As is to be expected when addressing a "minority" of nine million, the very relevance of a single, monolithic, category for such a massive denomination must be questioned. Logically, the author's unambiguous intention in the book is thus "to challenge the usefulness of the category Miao, and by implication other ethnic categorisations" (p. 17). The field research, conducted in 1997, has been located in west Hunan province among the Kho Xiong subgroup, often called "Blue Miao." Rack first roots her subject matter in history by tracing, from administrative and academic work, the roots of the ethnic classification of this and other non-Han groups. That is a strength of the book which puts to fine use a fair number of relevant research pieces on this topic conducted by well-known authors, many of whom focused on other "minority nationalities" of southwest China. Mary Rack then proceeds to verifying how those constructs stand the test of reality today

by observing and discussing specific events exemplifying the vigour of Miao culture in western Hunan, namely New Year festivals and events recorded at the temple of the Celestial Kings. This portion of the book puts to elegant use first-hand fieldwork material presented in the first person in a story-telling style, as is frequently the case in anthropological writing today.

It must be said that the inquiry path which Mary Rack follows here, namely to questions ethnic objectifying in China and to explore, through observations of cultural expressions, the local resonance of such categories among the subjects in or around urban settings of highland southwest China, has been undertaken by several authors before. As such, it should not be seen here as a novelty, be it either in China studies, minority studies, or even in the narrower field of Miao studies. Not unlike Ralph Litzinger, who studied the Yao intellectual, urban elite in the neighbouring Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (*Other Chinas: The Yao and the Politics of National Belonging*, 2000), Rack concludes from her exploration that the "Miao" cognitive category, as inadequate as it may be in more than one way, remains meaningful to the Miao urban elite for reasons pertaining to the politics of identity.

The historical coverage is convincing but shows a few weaknesses, such as bypassing the monographs by Tapp, Wong, and Enwall mentioned above. It also misses on a number of seminal ethnographies of the Miao of China such as those by Samuel Pollard or Inez de Beauclair, which would have helped the author to better underpin her argument, while other, rich texts like Ruey Yih-fu's are only touched on. It is regrettable that the bibliography practically ends in 2001. A map or two and some demographic tables would also be of help.

But to this, the author could probably argue that her point, with this book, was not so much to contribute another stone to the building of Miao studies in China, but instead to illustrate with a case study, her analysis of the overall state-minority dynamics and the intra-group negotiations of identity (not to mention the struggle for survival in a rapidly changing, post-socialist economy) that makes the daily life of the non-Han minorities in China today a constant uphill battle. This it could be said she has accomplished with skill.

JEAN MICHAUD

Reluctant Pioneers: China's Expansion Northward, 1644–1937. By JAMES REARDON-ANDERSON. [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005. xvii + 288 pp. $60.00; £40.95. ISBN 0-8047-5167-6.]

James Reardon-Anderson makes a valuable contribution to the burgeoning literature on the frontiers of China. Focusing on the settlement of Manchuria from the 17th to 20th centuries, he examines three processes: Qing state policies toward migration, the character of the frontier settlers, and the economic changes of the region in the 20th century. Throughout,

he argues that Chinese settlers in this region were "reluctant pioneers," who emigrated from North China only under duress. This was not a place for experimenting with new ways of life, and it was not a middle ground where the emigrants had to live alongside alien cultures. It was hardly a frontier at all, but more like an extension of the North China plain. Unlike other frontier studies which stress adaptation and innovation, the author stresses the powerful conservative impulses of these migrants.

The Manchu Qing rulers, after the conquest, at first encouraged resettlement, but after 1740 banned Han immigration in order to protect the Manchu heartland. The bannermen, however, quickly sold off their lands, so Chinese commercial networks replaced the manorial estates. As in other places, like Taiwan, Qing migration policy was torn between the urge to increase production and the fear of social unrest. After 1850, the Qing actively promoted immigration again, in order to hold off Russian encroachment and generate badly needed revenue. The result was dramatic increases in population, widening gaps of rich and poor, and the rapid growth of a commercialized land market.

The migrants themselves, predominantly from Shandong, did not want to leave home permanently, but parents sent out their young men for several years to collect remittances from newly cleared lands or to escape natural disasters. Railroad construction brought in more migrants, but few of them really wanted to stay. The North China village structure, with its smallholding farms, low commercialization, and strong ancestral and religious ties, did not encourage wanderlust. These North Chinese contrast strikingly with the dynamism of their brethren in South China.

Networks tied the new migrants to their home villages, even after they settled down. They did their best to recreate what they knew of home. Chain migration reinforced homeland ties, and guilds protected community structures. One still has to wonder, however, exactly how strong these northern communities were. Japanese researchers failed to find the very tight Japanese *kyodotai* communities in Manchuria and North China. Chinese village communities were cohesive only sporadically, in times of threat, not organically tied to their soil. The author rightly insists that risk avoidance and caution were not hard-wired into Chinese peasants, but only a result of particular conditions of vulnerability to disaster, banditry and war. Even when the chaos of the warlord period of the 1920s thrust waves of refugees onto the roads, this did not spark a massive permanent migratory trend. Since China had no Homestead Act, too many farmers fell into the clutches of merchants and large landowners, unable to strike out on their own.

The settlers of Manchuria did not create radically new economies, either. They increased exports of bean cake but did not create new agricultural technologies. Investors put small amounts of capital into diverse enterprises rather than constructing large industrial mills. Dalian, under Japanese sponsorship, grew into a major port for the empire while Chinese-controlled Newchuang stagnated. Large landlords grew the same

crops at the same yields as their smaller neighbours. They did invest in sideline industries, but they did not specialize.

Thus the overall theme of this study is the persistence of Chinese ways on new soil. This frontier reflected and intensified the cultural features the pioneers brought with them. Telling comparisons with Russia and the United States bring out the distinctively Chinese character of this settlement process. Russians eagerly fled from the bonds of serfdom to the new free lands of Siberia, as Americans struck out boldly across deserts to settle their West. For the Chinese, Manchuria offered more land, but since it was closer to home, they did not seek a radically new life. These contrasts are clear. What is less clear is how this settlement fits into the broader pattern of Chinese expansion on all its frontiers. In Xinjiang, unlike Taiwan and Manchuria, the Qing state actively promoted settlement, and the settlers had to travel long distances into radically new territory. They remained permanently, most likely with few ties to home, and they lived with Turks and Mongols in a mixed environment. Han settlers in Manchuria faced no genuine cultural opposition from the enfeebled Manchu and Mongol bannermen around them; they could more easily replicate their own ways in familiar surroundings. But the Chinese who crossed oceans to Southeast Asia and the new world also maintained strong linkages with their home villages and at first saw themselves as only sojourners. Yet they settled down in communities that were recognizably Chinese, but widely diverse and adaptable to their new environments.

In explaining this conservatism, I prefer the author's stress on the influence of local ecologies and politics on the possibilities for innovation to his rather abstract invocation of "culture." Guilds, ancestral cults, and village structures by themselves do not inhibit change, but only when supported by a political environment of uncertainty and a state that fails to promote structural change. I like his use of the Manchurian case to refute the simple arguments of Philip Huang and Chao Kang that high population densities blocked agrarian transformation in North China: in Manchuria, densities were much lower, but there too no structural transformation occurred. I would object, however, to the implication that a radical change in structure had to happen for China's agrarian society to become modern. In fact, many of the "traditional" features seen in Manchuria: diversified investment, promotion of rural industry, ancestral halls and guilds now drive the vigorous rural economy today.

As long as we do not take this frontier as representative of all frontier movements, this analysis vividly shows how the Chinese in some new lands brought much of the old China with them. It does not illuminate the sources of radical change, but instead shows how powerful integrative forces held the empire and the modern nation together.

PETER C. PERDUE

Chinese-Australian Journeys: Records on Travel, Migration and Settlement, 1860–1975. By PAUL JONES. [Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 2005. 286 pp. AUD$10.00. ISBN 1-920807-30-6.]

Chinese-Australian Journeys is the 21st volume in the National Archives of Australia research guides series. The author, Paul Jones, is a long-time scholar in the field of Chinese-Australian history and a well-known researcher in the area of Chinese migration to Australia. As a research guide, this publication quite rightly has predictable content and format. It provides an overview of the holdings about Chinese migration and settlement records in National Archives branches around Australia, including brief commentaries, the codes for ordering Archives records, and the amount of material there is (in metres). At over 280 pages, this is a substantial and strong publication that will greatly assist researchers in this field. This publication seems to complement (and perhaps in some ways supersede?) the first Archives guide in the series published in 1997, *Chinese Immigrants and Chinese-Australians in New South Wales*.

Within the fast-growing area of Chinese Australian historical studies, much work has been done using the rich sources of primary documentation and other source materials such as that found in the National Archives; that said, much work remains to be done across a range of topics and regions, particularly in terms of contextualizing Chinese Australian groups within the socio-cultural landscape of particular times. Accompanying this sometimes abundant governmental/institutional documentation are rarer community and personal histories, an imbalance that is being addressed by a number of researchers and initiatives (including the Chinese History of Australian Federation [CHAF] and "Golden Threads" projects, both of which provide unique, digitally archived resources). Adam McKeown, in his introduction to the recent essay collection *After the Rush: Regulation, Participation, and Chinese Communities in Australia 1860–1940* (2004), discusses the timeliness of "a new synthetic history" of Chinese in Australia, and goes on to state that the "emergence of a multicultural Australia is stimulating [researchers] to imagine a new Australian past" (p. 1). I would quibble with McKeown slightly by saying that it is, perhaps, not the *emergence* of a multicultural Australia that drives this work as much as the realization that Australia is not only recently multicultural. This imagination of a "new Australian past" often necessitates a revision of historical threads and Jones' archival guide provides much-needed signposting of the types of resources available.

The book is divided into seven chapters, with an introduction and additional notes by Jones within each one. The first chapter is an overview/introduction to Chinese settlement in Australia and provides a very good summation of issues, key policies and historical events. High-quality black and white images of items, ranging from immigration documents (such as a Certificate of Domicile) and family photographs to a page of a transcribed Security Service interview, grace the research guide at regular intervals. In addition, tables are provided as a quick

reference when there are many holdings of certain types of documents, including material about Alien Registration and Certificates of Exemption from the Dictation Test. As a researcher who only rarely does archival work, I found the guide very easy to understand, and the large amounts of information about the wide-ranging holdings clearly laid out. Entries are arranged thus: archive location, series title, creator of the series, volume of records, brief description of the series, item title and identification number, and a general description of the item. I was very interested in discovering, for example, that correspondence files from 1950 detail the replacement of the term "Asiatic" with "Asian," and discuss the "use of offensive terms in immigration correspondence" (p. 30). Even with the brief descriptions afforded by the format, the level of detail about resources is good.

The guide covers records and documents held in all Australian states and, in the final chapter, Jones also includes resources for research about Chinese in neighbouring island territories. Given that Australia "was closely involved in the administration of Papua and New Guinea and other territories in the Pacific region" (p. 233), this broadening of scope for the guide is useful and relevant.

Chinese-Australian Journeys is a great resource for anyone who is researching migration and Diaspora history, genealogy, and the socio-political conditions for Chinese Australians from 1860–1975. The guide is clearly formatted, providing germane summaries of key events and policies, a reference list for further reading, and contact details for National Archives branches around Australia.

TSEEN KHOO

Shaping the Ideal Child: Children and Their Primers in Late Imperial China. By LIMIN BAI. [Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2005. 311 pp. ISBN 962-996-114-8.]

The focus of this book is on the moral development of children in pre-modern China. The author uses children's primers to demonstrate how Chinese educators used the social and natural environment to shape childhood development. Bai seeks to reconstruct what Neo-Confucian educators believed they were doing and how they tried to achieve their goals. Along the way she describes the educational impact of Wang Yangming and his followers, who stressed the individual development and the moral potential of each person to become a sage. According to Bai, Wang's pedagogy is comparable to John Dewey's educational philosophy.

Bai's seven chapters present three major themes: the history of traditional primers; early Chinese perceptions of childhood; and Confucian intellectual movements and their impact on the education of children. Chapter one summarizes early Chinese notions of the child and the stages of childhood development Confucians emphasized. Chapter two presents a brief history of the traditional primers used in early education, and Bai

describes how their content reflected the three dominant Chinese schools of Confucian thought: Han Learning, Song Learning (Neo-Confucianism), and Qing dynasty evidential research. All three traditions, according to Bai, linked literacy to moral and religious education. She thus concludes that there were no basic changes in educational philosophy from the Song through the Qing dynasties.

In chapter three, Bai ties the humble origins of children's primers to village textbooks, and she shows how Wang Yangming and his followers later infused them with content that stressed the perfectibility of each child. Beginning with chapter four, Bai presents the moral prescriptions for ritual performances and good manners used by Confucian educators, which treated the child as an adult-in-training. Chapter five continues this discussion by tracing the exemplary historical figures described in the primers and how these past exemplars were expected to influence children. Chapter six breaks important new ground by describing the training in literacy and numeracy skills expected of children.

In chapter seven, Bai explains how the Confucian elite's fear of the undisciplined freedom of uneducated peasant children led to a call for popular education. In this way, the need for colloquial primers was tied to the larger educational agenda of civilizing the lower classes. Bai concludes that the goal of indoctrination lay at the core of the primers and Confucian pedagogy, although this was complemented with efforts to convey various kinds of knowledge. Ritualizing the body aimed at controlling the external environment, and schooling internally promoted the child's moral development. In this manner, Confucians used elementary education to shape Chinese society and culture.

Bai also describes how the rise of social Darwinism in the late 19th century influenced reformers such as Liang Qichao, who called for new ways to educate children on the eve of the 1898 reform movement. Liang's vision for modern Chinese education stressed synthesizing Confucian and Western educational practices. Bai also stresses Lin Shu's early 20th-century search for an alternative education for children based on new primers. Bai's account ends on the eve of the May Fourth era, when the iconoclastic denial of Confucian teachings and pedagogy peaked. The subsequent challenge to traditional Chinese notions of child-rearing painted a dark picture of the role of traditional primers in producing totally indoctrinated children, an image that this book seeks to challenge.

Overall, Bai links Confucian primers to efforts to reconstruct an ideal society, but she admits that the primers themselves reveal more about what a child ought to be like rather than what he really was like. We know, for instance, that the rites of male passage from children to young adults in elite families were measured by the number of classical texts that mastered at a particular age. Capping of a young boy between the ages of 16 and 21, for example, implied that he had mastered the Four Books and Five Classics, the minimum requirement for any aspirant to compete in local civil service examinations.

Although Song scholars had criticized the uselessness of rote learning for moral cultivation, one of the ironies of the late imperial educational regime was that it required careful memorization of Song Learning annotations of the Classics to succeed in the degree market. Such rote learning tended to cut against the grain of moral cultivation, because neither the primers nor the examinations could measure morality directly or determine whether the memorization of orthodox doctrine brought with it increased intellectual awakening.

Usually before they entered clan or temple schools at the age of eight, students had already memorized the *Thousand-Character Text* and *Hundred Surnames* primers, which both dated from the Song. In addition, they mastered the *Three-Character Classic*, which was a Song Learning tract from the early Yuan. Altogether these three famous primers contained about 1,500 different written characters within the total of 2,636 graphs in them. Pre-school sessions at home, often under the guidance of their mothers, enabled students to memorize the important sequences and combinations of written graphs that were peculiar to the classical written language. The memorization of primers was reinforced by calligraphy practice.

Estimates of the total number of graphs per Classic have been disputed, but literati educators did schedule the memorization process according to the number of graphs in each. Many characters of course frequently repeated. Wang Chang (1725–1806), a private academy teacher during the 18th century when all of the Five Classics were required in the civil examinations, confidently told incoming students at his academy in Nanchang, Jiangxi, in 1789 that it would take students only 690 days, if they were diligent, to recite from memory the more than 200,000 words in these five texts.

Bai thus underestimates the degree to which repetition as a habit of learning based on reciting and copying the primers was the key to developing the child's memory. The child's ability to memorize was thus highly prized among literati and in popular culture. Legends of men who as youths had committed prodigious amounts of information to memory were often recounted. For those without photographic memories, instruction in mnemonic skills was part of the classical teaching repertoire in imperial China where oral recitation was aided by rhyming characters, four-character jingles, and the technique of writing matching and balanced, antithetical pairs of characters.

Composition and the ability to compose poetry in regulated verse represented the culmination of the transition from childhood to the young student. Apart from the obvious differences in the social status and political power between elites and commoners, one of the key differences between them was that among the former the ability to write took precedence. The male children of elites were in training, via memorization and calligraphy practice, to become a classically trained literatus who could write his way to fame, fortune and power.

Composition, then, was the final stage of a classical education that began by mastering primers. Reading alone was insufficient in such a

cultural context. The limitation, control, and selection of the "writing elite," not the enlargement of the "reading public," were the dynasty's goals. Nevertheless, one of the unintended consequences of the wide use of the primers that Bai describes was an expanding population of functionally literate men and women from the Song period on.

BENJAMIN ELMAN

Peking University: Chinese Scholarship and Intellectuals, 1898–1937. By XIAOQING DIANA LIN. [Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005. 233 pp. $70.00. ISBN 0-7914-6321-4.]

This work of intellectual and institutional history is premised on the author's contention that Peking University played a central role in modern China's intellectual development. Lin agues that early Peking University's scholars helped foster a new relationship between Chinese and Western, and traditional and modern, learning and that they thus transformed Chinese intellectual life in wide-ranging ways. She focuses on scholars' efforts to integrate modern science with the traditional Chinese concern for ethics and treatment of education as a moral enterprise. The book focuses on scholars involved in the humanistic disciplines of philosophy, history and literature; at the end Lin also considers the fields of education, psychology, political science and law, mainly from the perspective of those social science disciplines' only partially successful integration into the new social universe that emerged in the 1920s and 1930s.

Lin first discusses Peking University as an institution; she reviews its founding (in 1898) and its early leaders' visions and also provides information about the school's changing relationship to the state. In the main, whereas before 1911 Peking University was a creature of the Qing government, following the revolution, and especially after Cai Yuanpei took over as chancellor in 1917, it developed greater autonomy from the state and moved toward a progressively more universalistic approach to knowledge. Lin then moves on to a case-by-case study of various academic disciplines. The background history in the first three chapters helps frame the material in the next five, but the more purely intellectual historical chapters, where the book's most original contribution is made, are narrow in focus and are not well assimilated with the broader institutional history of Peking University or with the broader flow of Chinese history.

Intellectual life here seems to unfold in a social and cultural vacuum, perpetuating the myth of universities as isolated ivory towers. Unfortunately, Lin makes only a limited effort to engage existing scholarly work that could provide a fuller historical context for her discussion. There are hardly any students at this school and there is almost no mention of the May Fourth movement or other life-shaping political events. If politics

are present, they are here mainly as something the university's administrators and faculty sought to avoid in their quest to shape an elite institution free from state control and wholly devoted to the pursuit of pure knowledge. While this was certainly one current of thinking, it always existed in tension with a countervailing one that led to the inexorable politicization of university life. Lin is attentive to the powerful pull of nationalism during these decades, but her analysis is limited to its appearance within particular works of scholarship or in efforts to reconstitute the university's curriculum. It is important to understand these instances of nationalism, but readers may be excused for feeling that she has presented a highly distilled version of early Peking University that filters out much of the richness and complexity of the actual place in favour of the abstract intellectual efforts of some of its best minds.

Lin's chapters on the evolution of the various humanistic and social science disciplines display an impressive knowledge of modern Chinese intellectual history and contain much valuable information and interpretation. Her discussion of the rise of historicism and its contribution to the erosion of traditional Chinese thinking in the fields of history and literature is rich and engaging, and her argument that the adoption of Western intellectual sensibilities and methodologies proved compatible with native approaches to knowledge discovery, such as textual exegesis, is nuanced and important. Likewise, Lin's treatment of efforts in the realm of phonology and language reform is highly interesting in that it illustrates an area in which modern Chinese academics remained deeply bound up with pre-modern Chinese scholarly culture even as they sought to apply scientific forms of analysis to their subject matter. Indeed, one of the greatest contributions of this book is Lin's illumination of the embeddedness of early 20th-century Chinese scholarship, especially humanistic, in historically deep, indigenous patterns of thinking. Lin effectively shows that the early 20th century was a time of unprecedented intellectual layering, a point also born out in her chapters on the difficult effort to introduce new academic fields, such as psychology and political science. Lin is no doubt correct that intellectual developments at Peking University had a wide-ranging impact on modern Chinese intellectual life, but she does not spend much time showing how this was actually the case. While in some instances the impacts are clear, in many more readers are left to decipher them for themselves. Here again, the book would benefit from a fuller engagement with existing scholarship.

Finally, though the book is generally well written and clear, Lin was not well served by her editors. Lin's subject matter is complex and requires close attention, which makes it especially frustrating to encounter so many distracting typographical and proofreading errors throughout the text.

TIMOTHY B. WESTON

The Social Life of Opium in China. By ZHENG YANGWEN. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 256 pp. £15.99. ISBN 0-521-60856-2.]

This book is a survey of the consumption of opium in China from the earliest records of its use as an aphrodisiac in the 15th century through to the present. The excellent and growing literature on opium makes such a survey possible. Zheng's distinctive contribution is to focus on consumption, rather than opium distribution or suppression, which generated many of the most accessible materials and have thus been the object of far more study. Zheng makes good use of the secondary literature and combines it with an outstanding knowledge of Chinese and Western-language memoirs, diaries, essays and travel literature, especially for the Ming and Qing periods. The result is a book of real quality that will be particularly valuable to readers who are not specialists in Chinese history and wish to have an authoritative volume on this subject.

The chapters are arranged chronologically, beginning with the Ming dynasty when opium first began to be used as an aphrodisiac rather than a medicine. This sets up one of the main themes of the volume, which is the connection between opium, sexual activities and prostitution. Zheng argues that opium first became a leisure drug as a result of medical beliefs in its efficacy in controlling sexual pleasure. Later chapters detail the gradual expansion of such ideas from the emperors and courtiers who used the drug in the 15th and 16th centuries, through the fashionable elites and courtesans of the 18th century, down to the prostitutes of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Zheng emphasizes that although opium was repeatedly attacked as a vice of the lower classes, it was in fact spread largely by members of the elite, whose lifestyles were imitated by those around them.

A second theme is the importance of the introduction of tobacco in creating a smoking culture. Opium was often smoked in combination with tobacco, either by dipping the tobacco leaves in a solution of opium before smoking them, or because two smokers would take it in turns to use first an opium pipe and then a tobacco pipe. Moreover, the fact that tobacco was very widely smoked, and by women as well as men, created a situation in which opium smoking could easily be adopted by all social groups. Indeed Zheng is right to remind us that it is often difficult to distinguish whether accounts of smoking in historical documents refer to tobacco or opium smoking. Tobacco was an imported crop that quickly became part of Chinese life; imported opium followed a similar path. Zheng argues that the very fact that opium was imported was part of its attraction. It became part of a fashion for foreign goods that swept early 19th-century China. This, she argues, was one of the reasons that many Chinese smokers continued to smoke imported opium, and to pay premium prices for it, even when locally grown opium became widely available in the late 19th century.

A third theme is concerned with why Chinese people smoked opium, when other cultures used other drugs such as alcohol. Zheng's answers to

this question are somewhat essentialist: a shame culture, introversion, a conformist society, and "group-orientedness" in Chinese society. I was not convinced by the historical evidence put forward for these answers, too much of which was drawn from the 20th century, but they do have the real benefit of shifting debate away from the availability of the drug to consumers' reasons for using it. It is to be hoped that further studies will continue to illuminate this point.

Apart from an excessive number of copy-editing errors, which are the responsibility of the publisher, my only problem with this book was with its tone. The opium users who are depicted seem to inhabit an exotic and distant world, far removed from anything we might know or recognize today. This is partly a matter of the slightly archaic language used in the many translated passages, but it is also due to the author's careful avoidance of any judgement on the morality of drug use. Although it is in line with much of the contemporary historiography related to drugs, this has the unfortunate side-effect here of distancing the author, and thus the reader, from the people whose lives are being described. However, this is mainly a query of the style: Zheng's frequent references to the comparative literature on the usage of alcohol, sugar and tea in Europe, should remind the reader that Chinese opium was merely one drug among many, and that this book is a valuable contribution to the study of their history.

HENRIETTA HARRISON

Hawai'i Reader in Traditional Chinese Culture. Edited by VICTOR H. MAIR, NANCY S. STEINHARDT and PAUL R. GOLDIN. [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005, xxvi + 681 pp. $49.00. ISBN 0-8248-2785-6.]

Although the volume under review is clearly the outcome of a major collaborative effort, this new venture into an area hitherto largely dominated by the publications of Columbia University Press achieves an impact much greater than any of its rivals not simply by being more up to date, but also by denying itself something of the blandness of the average textbook and instead reflecting to a refreshing degree the interests of its chief editor. Considerations of language and of non-Han elements in Chinese culture loom much larger here than in any earlier publications, and justifiably so, as the succinct editorial introduction makes plain. Thus the false transparency of the average digest of Chinese culture in English that gives the illusion that representing China in English is linguistically unproblematic is neatly subverted here, in particular by a virtuosic attempt by the chief editor to convey the different feel of vernacular Chinese glosses added to a classical text by publishing a Latin translation of the main text of the *Filial Piety Classic*, produced by an 18th-century Jesuit, with glosses in plain English. A substantial segment of the Tibetan epic *Gesar of Ling* is another unexpected delight, though it should be stressed that the whole volume is packed with pleasant surprises.

At times, of course, delighted surprise may be tempered with a feeling that this volume is perhaps too overtly distinctive – the appearance, for example, of the word "supratopolectal" in the key terms listed at the start of the volume is not an error, since the student needs to know what it means very early on. One hopes, however, that the beginner is familiar with the concept of "morpheme" invoked in its definition. To my eye the suggestions for further reading on religion are somewhat skewed towards religions like Christianity and Judaism that have had more influence in the English speaking world than in traditional China. Economic historians too, who perhaps should not be reading this book anyway, may consider themselves unduly cut down to size by a reading list on "Commerce" of just five titles and nothing at all on agriculture – so far have we now come from the "paddy fields" approach – as against a page and a half of listings on "Gender and Sex."

Even so, there is nothing wrong with being in tune with the temper of the times, and as more and more English speakers, at least in North America, start to tackle Chinese and to discover through travel the rich diversity of the modern nation of China, this volume is timely indeed, and the many contributors to it should congratulate themselves on a job well done. But this book would not be what it is without its most important contributor. In the acknowledgements the chief editor paints a charming picture of how he and his wife have discussed much of the content over meals and walks together. Given the immense energy he has displayed over recent years in bringing a number of vital collaborative projects to fruition – to say nothing of his own ever venturesome personal research – he (and no doubt she) surely deserve to take longer meals, enjoy longer walks together, and perhaps even talk about work a little less.

T. H. Barrett

Peking Opera and Politics in Taiwan. By Nancy Guy. [Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005. xv + 230 pp. $35.00. ISBN 0-252-02973-9.]

My own first experience of Peking Opera (I prefer "Beijing Opera" or *jingju*, but I will follow the author's convention for the sake of consistency) was in a Taipei theatre in 1989. The grandiose, indeed pompous, staging did nothing to facilitate my entry into a musical world which does not lend itself easily to Western ears. It took an extended stay in Beijing and periodic contact with its dedicated opera schools, vibrant theatre performances (for locals and tourists), and the gatherings of enthusiasts in its parks to convince me of the musical and visual riches that the genre had to offer. As Nancy Guy herself explains, Taiwanese performances are lacklustre and amateur, the fruit of a tradition transmitted by half-trained performers who fled with the Kuomintang (KMT) while the main talent stayed in China. When she told Taiwanese performers of Peking Opera that she was studying the genre, they told her to go and study it on the

mainland. So what makes a book on Peking Opera in Taiwan worth reading?

It is worth reading because, arguably, the dilemma of Peking Opera's position on the island encapsulates the wider political problems of Taiwan's position vis-à-vis the People's Republic of China (PRC). As the title makes clear, politics are definitely to the fore in Guy's account, and politics, had I known it then, account for the aesthetic alienation of my first encounter. There is much that should appeal to students of politics in this book, and not too much musicology to frighten them. Musical sound comes some way down the agenda, although when Guy does finally get to grips with questions of style and aesthetics, her grasp is sure, reflecting her long association with the genre. In contrast, for example, with Jonathan Stock's recent monograph *Huju: Traditional Opera in Modern Shanghai* (2003), Guy does not engage strongly with current theoretical concerns in ethnomusicology. The book is strongest in its detailed and involved telling of this curious story, and it draws on a wide range of primary sources: interviews with performers and commentators, news reports and comment, and the large body of academic publications on Peking Opera in Taiwan.

Early on in the book Guy makes the bold statement that politics dictate taste. This bald proposition is problematized as the book progresses, as detailed discussion in subsequent chapters reveals more complex reasons for the rise and decline of Peking Opera in Taiwan. A very readable first chapter traces the history of the genre in Taiwan. The genre flourished under Japanese rule, Guy argues, precisely because it was an expression of Chinese identity. Under KMT rule its popularity declined – Guy links this specifically to the regime's violent and discriminatory policies, and subsequent loss of popularity – yet it was artificially maintained by government support for over 50 years. The reasons behind the regime's support for Peking Opera were fourfold: to compete with the PRC in the field of culture, to re-Sinicize Taiwan after Japanese rule, to continue mainlanders' (i.e. those who left China in 1949) association with China, and to promote Confucian ideals.

These strands are developed in subsequent chapters. Chapter two includes an entertaining account of international tours or "opera diplomacy," including a UK tour in 1958 during which Taiwan's national anthem was played before every performance, provoking articles in the *People's Daily* attacking the "base underhand tricks against New China" committed by Britain's ruling classes. Chapters three and four provide detailed accounts of KMT attempts to direct and control the repertoire, in particular their not always successful attempts to ban "operas corrupted by the Communist bandits."

Guy is most interesting on the developments of the 1980s and 1990s, the main period of her own involvement with the genre in Taiwan, and her descriptions really bring to life the opera scene in Taiwan during this period. Chapters five and six discuss the lifting of the ban in 1988, and the subsequent huge demand for new repertoire from the mainland. Those interested in Chinese music will be most interested in Guy's discussion

of the disjuncture between the two regional traditions when they were brought back into contact after 40 years. Like jazz aficionados, she explains, Peking Opera audiences know where to clap, but audiences in Taiwan were completely confused by the new operas performed by Beijing troupes. Here the perspective from Taiwan, where the repertoire remained "frozen" highlights stylistic changes on the mainland. I would have welcomed a stronger comparative perspective throughout the book, and especially some consideration of the many parallels between the genre's treatment by the authorities on both sides of the political divide, but the Beijing scene seems to be outside Guy's purview; a brief comparison of developments in the 1980s is based on an article by Elizabeth Wichmann ("Tradition and innovation in contemporary Beijing opera performance," *The Drama Review*, 34, 146–178). Taiwanologists will no doubt argue that the island merits study on its own terms, rather than as a comparator for the mainland.

The book makes only brief mention of KMT cultural policies and impact on local Taiwanese culture, history and language: their demotion from education and media, and the punitive taxes imposed on local ritual opera performances. Clearly there is a companion book waiting to be written on the suppression, and the subsequent rise of "Taiwanese opera." In her introduction Guy highlights the irony that her research on Peking Opera comes to an end as the genre in Taiwan faces likely demise, but arguably the withdrawal of extensive government support and control will rather lead to a situation more like other overseas Chinese communities, where a pool of enthusiasts will maintain a range of amateur activities and provide audiences for visiting troupes.

RACHEL HARRIS

Twentieth-century China, an Annotated Bibliography of Reference Works in Chinese, Japanese, and Western Languages: Subjects. 2 vols. Compiled by JAMES H. COLE. [Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2004. xxix + 1427 pp. $225.00. ISBN 0-7656-0395-0.]

Few individuals are likely to acquire their own personal copy of this massive reference work. What one can hope for, however, is that there are still a few old-fashioned librarians about who will buy it, despite the fact that it comes in the decidedly un-sexy format of a 3.8-kilo book and not, say, a CD-Rom or the access code to a dedicated server in a distant corner of the World Wide Web. Hail the people at M.E. Sharpe who stubbornly stick to the proven medium of paper! This excellent and very useful annotated 12,000-entry compilation of reference works published as books, periodical articles and inclusions (i.e. chapters in edited volumes) on China's shorter (1911–present) 20th century will outlive all of us, unaffected as its preservation and accessibility will be by the price of electricity. One day it may even be mined by archaeologists for information on how early 21st-century foreigners divided up the Chinese universe and under what peculiar headings they classified knowledge.

I can already imagine the questions: *Why* in 2004 did "Salt" (pp. 925–26) warrant a separate subject entry (of half a dozen works), but not "Sex"? What kind of quirky anthropology gave birth to the following subject entry header: "*Psychology; Humour.* Note: For *Cartoons* see *Audio-visual Materials*. See also *Gerontology*"?

Twentieth-century China covers only reference works, and not primary sources as such or secondary sources like monographs, research articles, etc. Yet, "reference works" as an intellectual category is defined very liberally by the compiler and ends up including a lot more than one might at first expect. Particularly valuable is the inclusion of chronologies and state-of-the-field articles. Annotations vary in length from a few words on arrangement and coverage to longer commentary on content and information on where particularly rare reference works (including those that only exist in unpublished form) may be located. Chinese-language names are in *pinyin* throughout, and are not translated, although complemented by a character list for Chinese and Japanese titles at the end of the book. Cross-references are plentiful, and the book comes with separate author and title indexes.

Every specialist reader is certain to find a few omissions in his or her narrow field – this is inevitable. I found a handful on the subject of Mao Zedong Thought and a few more on the Cultural Revolution, but on the whole the coverage is remarkably complete and very impressive. James H. Cole's first claim to fame in Sinological circles was an annotated bibliography of reference works on imperial China published since 1973 bearing the simple title *Updating Wilkinson*; one day someone somewhere will no doubt publish an *Updating Cole*, but my guess is this will not be happening in the very near future. Note to reader/user: this is only the first third (on "subjects") of the work as a whole, or so the author's introduction (p. xvii) tells us. An additional two thirds (on "persons" and "places" respectively) are forthcoming and "will be published at a later date." Hopefully they will, though in my experience, an unwelcoming market place can do terrible things to ambitious and grand bibliographical projects. Note to librarians: Buy this book!

MICHAEL SCHOENHALS