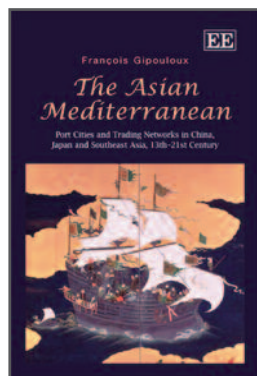


Book reviews



François Gipouloux,
The Asian Mediterranean: Port
Cities and Trading Networks in
China, Japan and Southeast Asia,
13th-21st Century, translated by
 Jonathan Hall and Dianna Martin, Chel-
 tenham and Northampton, MA, Edward
 Elgar Publishing, 2011, 407 pp.

ANGELA SCHOTTENHAMMER

In 2009, François Gipouloux published his *La Méditerranée asiatique. Villes portuaires et réseaux marchands en Chine, au Japon et en Asie du Sud-Est, xvi^e-xx^e siècle* (Paris, CNRS Éditions), providing scholars for the first time with a general Braudelian synthesis that compared the European and the Asian “Mediterraneans.” He distinguished three different Mediterranean spaces: the European Méditerranées of the *repubbliche marinare*, the Hanseatic League in the Baltic Sea, and the Asian Mediterranean comprising the Sea of Japan, the Yellow Sea, the South China Sea, the Sulu Sea, and the Sea of the Célèbes. The present volume is basically an English translation of the French version published in 2009. I say basically because the book constitutes a slightly updated and revised version of the French original. I previously criticised Gipouloux’s analysis of historical periods, saying that it “frequently remains general and seems to have drawn basically on older publications. In this context, it is astonishing that there is almost no mention of the more recent publications concerning aspects of an Asian Mediterranean (including those of my former research team at Munich University), as well as more specific topics of historical phases that are discussed, even though they were published before 2008. Consequently, the historical part of this book does not really represent the actual state of scholarship and knowledge.”⁽¹⁾ In his English edition, Gipouloux has reviewed recent literature and has at least updated the bibliography as well as some references. The 12 maps that were originally published as a coloured set in the middle of the book are definitely better in the French version, having been replaced with simple black-and-white maps in the English edition.

The volume is divided into five main parts with a total of 20 chapters. Part 1 (The Models of Expansion without Borders: The European Mediterraneans) introduces the general geographical, political, and economic framework and then discusses the two European “models of expansion without borders,” the European Mediterranean republics (*repubbliche marinare*), and the Hanseatic League. With Part 2 (Early Outlines of an Asian Mediterranean: The Predominance of Tributary Trade), Gipouloux moves to the “Asian Mediterranean,” emphasising government monopolies – in contrast to the free private trade of the European Mediterraneans – and discusses the role of tributary trade and smuggling. A special section is dedicated to Japan

and its reluctance to simply follow the Ming Chinese “tribute order.” Japan initiated her own system and “selectively closed” herself off from the outer world – it is refreshing to read that Gipouloux is aware of the fact that this closure was not a complete and total one. The last section of this part summarises the characteristics of the Asian “maritime system,” which, according to Gipouloux, appears as an interwoven, complex network of Chinese, Japanese, and also Western activities based on a limited number of large emporia. I would like to highlight here that he correctly views Ming China’s maritime trade proscription as the reason for the rise of piracy and disorder and not vice versa, as is often claimed (“The policy of banning maritime trade, the purpose of which was to prevent exchange, had unexpected consequences: the blockade of all commercial activity along the coast of China led to a state of disorder caused by pirates,” p. 108).

Part 3 (The Overlapping of Western and Asian Trading Networks) brings the Europeans onto the arena. Gipouloux speaks of “overlapping networks,” thus explicitly criticising the idea that while the Europeans advanced dynamically or even aggressively, Asian countries passively endured European dominance. The section briefly discusses the changes the advent of the Europeans brought about for Asia’s maritime system, eventually leading to the forced opening of ports. He particularly analyses Singapore, Hong Kong, and Shanghai as “outcomes” of a prolonged interaction between Chinese and foreign traders. The focus definitely lies on developments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; early European expansion is only briefly discussed.

Part 4 (The Arena of Re-Globalization: The Second Birth of the Asian Mediterranean) treats the rapid economic development of modern coastal cities, “born” this time of the reform programme of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Gipouloux focuses especially on the competition between Hong Kong and Shanghai as commercial and financial centres (in contrast to the industrial manufacturing sector). The Mao era is only very briefly referred to, the emphasis lying on developments after 1984. Again Gipouloux links tradition with modernity: in his eyes, the reform policies of the Deng Xiaoping era “reactivated the mechanisms linking market and urbanisation, which had appeared under the Sung from the 10th to the 13th centuries” (p. 181), while during the early Communist era the port cities “experienced a long period of hibernation” (p. 173). In the Braudelian sense, Gipouloux describes the emergence of an East Asian economic corridor (see map 17.1, p. 262). Geography, economy, and international relations constitute a transnational, maritime area, the modern “Asian Mediterranean,” with its respective integration of the hinterlands into the network system.

Part 5 (The Asian Mediterranean and the Challenges to State Sovereignty) examines the challenges this East Asian economic corridor creates for state sovereignty. “External dynamic forces” cause “China’s economic space to break up and re-form” (p. 3), a development that eventually causes China to increasingly turn towards maritime Asia and to open up. Despite certain protectionist measures, which Gipouloux considers side effects of its economic transformation, China is becoming more open, more maritime, more cosmo-

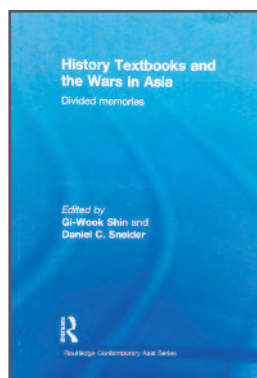
1. See my book review published in *T’oungPao*, Vol. 96, No. 4, 2010, pp. 581-585.

politan – in other words, a “flexible empire” linking up with the Zheng He expeditions of the early fifteenth century (p. 4). China is now challenging the other economic powers adjacent to the Asian Mediterranean.

The Asian Mediterranean (or its French original) is definitely the first work to not only link the past with the present, but also to provide a more general Braudelian synthesis of the Asian maritime world, along with comparisons with two historical examples of European Mediterraneans and pulling together a great deal of relevant information. This alone undoubtedly deserves much credit. Nobody has dared or made the effort to write such a synthesis before.

The strength of Gipouloux's argumentation, however, lies not in historical China but in the present, especially in the decades after the gradual opening of China with the reforms of Deng Xiaoping. I would therefore recommend this book to anyone who is interested in a general Braudelian synthesis of the Mediterranean in a real global context, to scholars who look for similarities between not only Asia and Europe but also past and present, and to those who want to know more about the economic development of modern Chinese port cities – including cities such as Hong Kong or Singapore – and parallels between Chinese and other Asian port cities located in the Asian maritime corridor as portrayed on map 17.1. It is definitely a must for global historians with a focus on Asia. The historian of China will not find much new information, although he/she will be satisfied to read Gipouloux's correct assessment of past developments, such as the causes of the Zheng He expeditions or the Ming maritime trade proscription, which are sometimes obscured in writings on China's history. We learn that although China, or Asia in general, with few exceptions, does not have a tradition of free cities or something comparable to the Hanseatic League in Europe, it has become a “flexible empire” (p. 4) due to its inexorably developing coastal cities (p. 328).

■ **Angela Schottenhammer is full Professor of non-European and world history (focus China) at the University of Salzburg, Austria, and research director of the Indian Ocean World Centre and adjunct professor at McGill University, Canada (Angela.Schottenhammer@sbg.ac.at).**



Gi-Wook Shin and Daniel Sneider (eds),
History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia,
New York, Routledge, 2011, 312 pp.

YVES RUSSELL

Since the publication of *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia* in 2011, territorial and historical disputes among China, Japan, and Korea have hardly subsided. On the contrary, current disputes (regarding sovereignty over the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands, visits to the Yasukuni shrine by members of the Abe government, disputes over history textbooks, etc.) are often rooted in the divided memory of a “past that does not go away,” thus

preventing firm and lasting reconciliation. Following on from the first part of a research project⁽¹⁾ entitled “Divided memories and Reconciliation” by the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC) of Stanford University, this book edited by Daniel C. Sneider and Gi-Wook Shin examines historical reconciliation in the region by “understanding how historical memory has evolved in each country and has been incorporated into respective master narratives” (p. 8). The Shorenstein APARC team translated and studied school history textbooks from Japan, South Korea, China, Taiwan, and the United States.

This book makes two major contributions to existing literature on the problem of history textbooks in East Asia. The first is to present in parallel form 70 pages of excerpts from textbooks (in Part Two). The published extracts cover eight controversial themes from the 1931-1951 period: 1) the Nanjing Massacre; 2) the atomic bombing of Japanese cities; 3) origins of the Korean War; 4) Pearl Harbor; 5) forced labour and comfort women; 6) the Manchurian Incident; 7) economic development under Japanese rule; and 8) the Tokyo war crimes tribunal. This section is a rich source of first-hand information on the discourse and vocabulary used in national textbooks (three to five versions were used for each country) to describe the same events. It was decided to select textbooks widely circulated and used in each country and not the extremist ones (such as the Tsukuru-kai “New History Textbooks” in Japan, which are deemed revisionist), but regrettably there is little information on the chosen editions. The lay reader has to wait for the contribution by Alisa Jones (Chapter 7) to learn of the context and evolution of history textbook production, although no precise light is shed on the texts analysed. Similarly, it is only in Chapter 8 that the selection of themes is explained: they were identified as controversial by a Japan-China-Korea committee on common history teaching materials, which was charged with coming up with a common textbook published in 2005.

The second contribution of this study is the inclusion of American textbooks; Shin and Sneider believe that reconciliation in East Asia needs US participation: “The United States has been deeply involved in Northeast Asian affairs since 1941 and even before” (Shin, p. 10). A question arises as to the nature of such participation and whether it is not rather late already, and whether it might open up a new series of endless disputes, but the authors believe the Americans can be an example helping the Japanese to reconsider their history. They hold that “Japan’s problem of history is an American problem as well,” and quoting G. John Ikenberry, that “Washington should encourage Japan to pursue [a] German path, tying ‘normalization’ to redoubled commitments to regional security co-operation.” (p. 12)

Meanwhile, conclusions arrived at in much of the book appear to partly discount the editors’ hopes for an East Asian reconciliation. Part three contains five analyses comparing ways in which different textbooks narrate certain episodes from the 1931-1951 war era. The text extracts in Part Two and the subsequent analyses reveal that reconciliation perhaps depends on too many players with contradictory interests and that it is difficult to imag-

1. Results from this study were reported in several media outlets, including nippon.com, which presents dossiers in several languages: www.nippon.com/fr/in-depth/a007/ (accessed on 25 March 2014). Two other components of the project are a study of the role of cinema and popular culture in forming memories of the war (University of Hawai’i Press, to be published) and a study of the opinion of elite intellectuals in politics and the media in Japan, China (PRC), South Korea, and the United States on historical disputes (Stanford University Press, to be published). Finally, a comparison of memories of the Second World War in Europe and Asia has just been published in collaboration with Daniel Chiot: *Confronting Memories of World War II: European and Asian Legacies* (University of Washington Press, 2014).

ine it happening in the short or medium term without everyone's involvement. In fact, one of the main obstacles to overcome is the incompatibility of national histories taught in the various countries concerned. Parallel readings of Japan's and neighbouring countries' history clearly reveals – and this is one of the book's great strengths – that if they minimise or omit some of the most serious aspects of the war era (especially regarding Korea), Japanese textbooks do not highlight patriotism, revisionism, or nationalism or seek to justify the war – rather the contrary. Nor do they avoid the Nanjing Massacre and atrocities committed on civilians. According to Peter Duus (Chapter 1), whereas American textbooks narrate war history like a "nation-building story" (*national Bildungsroman*), and Chinese textbooks – both in the PRC and Taiwan – contain heroic stories of "resistance" and "liberation," those in Japan limit themselves to presenting events in a chronological style, the Imperial Army taking pride of place. It is "*History without a story*," and "compared to American and Chinese history textbooks, their tune is muted, neutral, and almost bland" (p. 110).

Hiroshi Mitani's excellent contribution throws candid and balanced light on the reasons for this "blandness" in Japanese textbooks. Regulations governing their publication "are the outcomes of many severe controversies in Japan from the 1960s to the 1990s," says Mitani, himself an historian and editor of textbooks engaged in the project for a common Japanese-Chinese-Korean textbook; which is why Japanese textbooks now need to be conceived and published keeping in view East Asian neighbours, "from the viewpoint of promoting international understanding and cooperation." Obliquely dealing with the dispute pitting Japan against its Asian neighbours on the issue of historical memory, Mitani relates also the dispute between inhabitants of Okinawa and the Education Ministry in 2007.⁽²⁾ This dispute shows the difficulty of compromising with victims' memory in the face of which the professional historian is bereft: the complex and nuanced academic history cannot satisfy the victims, who want to read history in line with their own memories.

This is also stated, albeit differently in the contributions of Haruo Tomatsu and Li Wei, who compare point by point the ways in which different countries' textbooks have dealt with the eight controversial themes (Chapters 2 and 3),⁽³⁾ by Chung Jaejung on the way Koreans were treated during Japan's occupation (Chapter 4), and finally by Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao on the memories of Japanese colonialism in Korea and Taiwan. Textbooks in countries considering themselves "victims" of Japanese imperialism focus on traumatic episodes that concern their own nations the most, with little commiseration for neighbours. Korean textbooks, for instance, barely mention Manchuria, with little information on Pearl Harbor, and simply ignore the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Textbooks published under the Chinese Communist Party's iron rule share with those on the peninsula a strong politicisation of texts, glorification of the nation and demonisation of enemies, as well as relative indifference towards neighbouring peoples' suffering (Haruo Tomatsu, Chapter 2, p. 132). Li Wei, himself an editor of school textbooks at the People's Education Press in Beijing, inadvertently confirms Tomatsu's conclusion by declaring, in the context of the Nanjing Massacre: "As the Chinese textbooks describe it, the Japanese invaders entered this civilized ancient capital like a pack of ferocious beasts and immediately proceeded to subject the peaceful Nanjing citizens to six long weeks of frenzied mass murder" (Chapter 3, p. 143).

The above passage reveals a second major obstacle to regional reconciliation. The texts are more "passionate" (and often below academic standards, some authors note) in Korea and China because nation-building is still a

priority objective there. Peter Duus stresses that history textbooks' main function is to fashion national identities, and this aim guides the editing of historic texts. Duus, who writes on Japanese history, says the difficulty in writing a transnational history lies more in the difficulty of agreeing on *the story* than on "facts." Writing a common history by abandoning national narrative structures is thus "intellectually feasible" but "may not be politically feasible" (p. 103).

The book's fourth and last part highlight all the difficulties faced in the project for a transnational history. Soon-Won Park narrates the pitfall-filled process of writing common history textbooks for all three countries or bilaterally (Chapter 8). The fruit of this cooperation, *A History that Opens to the Future* – more a teaching guide than a textbook – failed to end the "war over words" described in the next chapter by Daniel Sneider, but helped a growing intellectual community to take into account the nature and reasons for neighbouring countries' historical perceptions. Sneider, director of the *Divided Memories and Reconciliation* project, traces in synthesis the different disputes in the region over history textbooks (Chapter 9). As Europe offers an oft-cited example of successful resolution of such disputes, Germany having been able to – obliged to – face its past with credit, Daniel Chirot shows how the geopolitical post-war situations of Japan and Germany were radically different (Chapter 10). While the United States played an ambiguous role in Japan in the context of the Cold War, it pressed West Germany to accept its culpability and educate future generations so as to avoid new bursts of bellicose nationalism. The power and capacity for pressure on the part of European neighbours such as Britain and France was also in a different class from that of Korea or China, caught up as they were in civil wars. Chirot nevertheless remains optimistic about Japan's ability to account for its aggressive past sometime in the near future, especially as the social context (disappearance of the generation that experienced war) as well as economic and geopolitical ones will facilitate it: "Particularly as American domination of the Pacific wanes, Japan, China, and Korea will see that it is to their advantage to take steps toward greater political accommodation to go along with their economic cooperation" (p. 282). This view is not shared by Alisa Jones (Chapter 7), who astutely traces the key elements in policies towards production of history textbooks in China, South Korea, and Taiwan: "Official historical narrative [...] is designed to promote national identification and to legitimize the current regime or political system" (p. 224). However, the national contexts distort understanding of other countries' realities. The dominant – and convenient – idea in China and Korea that Japanese textbooks stem from strict governmental control may be "attributable to the tight regulation and relative narrative homogeneity of the history textbooks to which Chinese, South Koreans, and Taiwanese are accustomed and lead them to project the notion of a uniform national story onto Japan's textbooks. Whatever the trigger, this assumption allows such misperceptions about the narrative content of Japanese history textbooks to persist and fan the flames of anti-Japanese sentiment. It is not hard to see the irony in Chinese and Korean attacks on far more plural Japanese textbooks for 'historical revisionism' when they are busy revising their own to legitimize their polities and drown out dissent. And if historical

2. In 2007, Japan's Education Ministry demanded that part of the description of mass suicide by 1,000 Okinawans in the summer of 1945 be omitted, especially concerning the Imperial Army's possible role in the event. The ministry's demand provoked hostility among Okinawans, who seek to preserve the memory of their sacrifice for other Japanese.

3. Interestingly and revealingly, Li Wei is alone in "forgetting" Taiwan's textbooks in a comparative study.

pluralism cannot be tolerated between parties at home, what hope can there be for historical reconciliation between countries?" (p. 225).

■ Translated by N. Jayaram.

■ Yves Russell is a PhD candidate at EHESS (School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences), Paris (yvesrussell@gmail.com).



Tania Angeloff and Marylène Lieber,
Chinoises au XXI^e siècle.
Ruptures et continuités
(Chinese women in the twenty-first century: Ruptures and continuities),
Paris, La Découverte, 2012, 284 pp.

CAROLINE GRILLOT

As with any study purporting to deal with "the Chinese," "Chinese women," or for that matter "China," the work of Tania Angeloff and Marylène Lieber confronted the risk of clubbing under a single synthesising term the immensity of a land and its human diversity – social or ethnic – that would be better categorised as "Chinese population." It is thus with slightly raised eyebrows that one embarks on the dozen chapters edited by two sociologists who take an interdisciplinary approach by including both established and younger authors, francophone, anglophone, and Chinese. The book launches boldly into the honourable albeit delicate task of treating the lives of Chinese women, without seeking to be exhaustive but trying to provide the keys for better understanding their social lives, which are in constant movement and flux, undergoing rapid metamorphosis. For instance, in her contribution on Chinese women's sexuality, Evelyne Micollier notes parenthetically that notable behavioural changes are discernible often within the space of four or five years.

The book sets out to examine whether and how the condition of Chinese women has improved over the last few decades, or in which way these twenty-first century women stand out from their mothers and grandmothers, but clearly no satisfactory answer has emerged. This is because the benefits and losses from three decades of revolution packed with reforms have differently fashioned the generations, whose often radically divergent trajectories converge such that only a limited accounting is possible of a population still suffering from prejudices attached to its gender. As elsewhere, "the attributes and duties that society assigns women" persist (Harriet Evans, p. 159).

Professional status, roles within families, experiences of intimacy and family relations, and social representations of femininity serve as analytical frameworks for the contributions, all of which make this undeniable observation: while the condition of women in China has been considerably transformed since the Mao era and especially since the start of socio-economic reforms, this transformation has not changed social relations between the sexes; they are still rooted in strong socio-cultural structures while having spawned new imbalances.

All the authors in this collection agree on a certain number of elements, which are raised in all the cases tackled. Basically, women remain, in the eyes of society, of men, and of the state, incarnations of eternal values and qualities that influence the position imposed on them and which they too often appropriate. Docility, delicacy, patience, dexterity, and also the sense of communication keep them in service-related activities and jobs and in social mediation (assisting vulnerable people or prostitution), subject to a hierarchy clearly enshrined through a gap in salaries and recognition of competences and access to ill-paid jobs (labourers, domestic workers, or inadequate jobs for graduates). The authors also note the state's limited and ambivalent intervention. The remarks heard in family units and work places and articulated through popular culture are in fact validated by official silence and lack of motivation among state agents to strictly apply equity rules. Reactions and opposition to this state of things are rising meanwhile, and show that through migration and progress in social mobility and their consequences on women's sociability, the issue of the feminine condition has left the private sphere and is discussed anew in public space. Emergence of new forms of demand and women's individual or collective action in their private or professional lives demonstrate this considerable advance.

This feminist awareness is transformed into an implicit dynamic defying the politico-traditional perception of women that the Maoist years, despite egalitarian aspirations going so far as to deny gender differences, only further validated and hardened rather than questioned. Many authors in this collection depict contemporary Chinese women's condition as resulting from multiple heritages: the intellectual upheaval of ideas in the early twentieth century, which put their emancipation from traditions at the centre of reform debates, the Maoist regime's radicalism, and the complex mutations unleashed after economic liberalism set in. Today, in a socio-economic context where nothing is fixed or lasts, and despite the categorisation of identities seeking to situate individual trajectories, women constantly navigate among statuses. Migrant women, urban unemployed women (former government employees), rural women, young graduates, single women, prostitutes, private employees, and workers are categories neither fixed nor exclusive. The tracks are blurred, and as the study of the realities of Chinese women's condition has become more complex, new issues have arisen: equality in law *versus* equality in fact, social and professional discrimination, and other challenges to the norm (hampered maternities, dispersed families, multiple sexualities), etc.

Various chapters in this contribution to gender studies, which attempts synthesis but whose contrasting descriptions underline ruptures and continuities, afford readers new insights into the private, family, and professional lives of Chinese women today, whether in the isolation of a village or in the heart of a megalopolis. But what about those women who fall between the two extremes and who no doubt make up the majority? In other words, those still swayed by several influences and relying on styles of the moment, advice more or less astute, other people's experiences, and their own intuitions? It is therefore regrettable that little attention has been paid to women in the countryside, small towns, remote provinces, and regions with ethnic and cultural diversity, guided by thought processes and mentalities resulting in life choices different from those who have the will to change. When these women are mentioned at all, it is in their new roles ("migrants," such a broad sociological category that it loses its meaning) with too little focus on their own concerns and original situations.

Moreover, it would have been gratifying if more voices of such Chinese women had been featured in order to get a more nuanced vision. To be sure,

the women discussed in this book are vulnerable but not that much, dissatisfied but not always, discriminated against but also full of convictions, the most ambitious ones managing to overcome social shackles. Listening to them above all would help better distinguish between the self-perception of social representation and the degree of Chinese women's acceptance of or resistance towards official discourse.

Nevertheless, the book offers new and varied proofs, clearly contextualised and documented, that Chinese women are now experiencing such rapid change that they benefit unequally from the progress, stagnating in various forms of precariousness. They lose their bearings, find it difficult to assert themselves socially, and still await recognition of their economic and social contribution. They somehow continue to seek emancipation, between partial liberation from family shackles and the overbearing state, receiving little help from an employment market featuring "typically feminine" jobs and little support from men who are deemed to be – perhaps wrongly – unconcerned. Forms change, evolutions occur, but the socio-political structure endures. In the book's conclusion, Laurence Rouleau-Berger sums it up well: "Chinese modernity seems to be specific in the sense that three decades of communist policies promoting women's status have not dislodged persisting forms of discrimination in the context of social and economic transition" (p. 233). The studies and analyses in the book leave the impression that many Chinese women are disappointed with the limited benefits of three decades of liberal – but not liberating – reforms, and feel that that neither escape (marrying a foreigner) nor provocation (bloggers) nor self-sacrifice (prostitutes) helps overcome the handicap.

Anecdotal, it is surprising that despite rising awareness of gender in social science studies, the issue of women, Chinese or otherwise, seems to remain a preserve of women themselves (one male author among 11 females), as if the issue is of little concern to male researchers or as if gender imbalances happen despite them in the scientific gaze focused on the issue.

Finally, it would be good to adopt in future analyses a comparative perspective taking in Vietnamese women, regional cousins subject to an identical unequal gender structure. Such a comparison would be instructive, as Vietnam has gone through similar socio-economic transformations, led by a regime and reforms politically very close to those of China. While their respective situations have not necessarily evolved along the same modalities, they illustrate contemporary advances in two related societies, even though on both sides of the border, women are still far from achieving fulfilment.

■ Translated by N. Jayaram.

■ Caroline Grillot is a post-doctoral researcher in the "Resilience and Transformation in Eurasia" Department and member of the "Trade, Markets and the State in Vietnam" research group at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (grillot@eth.mpg.de).



Scott Simon,
Sadyaq Balae! L'autochtonie formosane dans tous ses états (Sadyaq Balae! Formosan indigeneity in all its states),

Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval,
Collection Mondes Autochtones, 2012,
252 pp. + XV.

JÉRÔME SOLDANI

As the book's back cover blurb notes, few ethnographic works in Western languages deal with Formosan indigeneity. This book is the only one in French devoted exclusively to the issue. Scott Simon draws on a rich, finely analysed ethnography of the Sadyaq Austronesian societies, especially in the last five of the book's eight chapters. He adds to and carries on from previous contributions – articles and book chapters on the subject by Fiorella Allio, Véronique Arnaud, Josiane Cauquelin, and Chantal Zheng, to cite just the main authors in French on the identity dynamics among Taiwan's Austronesian peoples (who represent 2% of the archipelago's 23 million inhabitants).

In 2004, Josiane Cauquelin published a monograph in English entitled *From Headhunting to the Modern World* on another of Taiwan's Austronesian societies, the Puyuma, and the transformations it underwent under the influence of successive policies of the Japanese government and the Republic of China regime.⁽¹⁾ In this book, Josiane Cauquelin stresses rituality as well as kinship and social organisation among the Puyuma, but offers no more than about ten pages on their constitution as an ethnic group and on their relations with a state apparatus controlled by the Han majority with whom they live today in the same villages.

It is just the reverse in *Sadyaq Balae*: whereas in general a classic monograph deals with kinship relations and rituality, this book covers them more succinctly in the latter part of Chapter 2 (pp. 47-62), to be referred to briefly as and when argumentation requires it, thus making for an easier flow. A brief first chapter goes over the social and economic conditions of indigenous peoples and their place in Taiwan's lively identity debate as well as in the contextualisation of research itself. Although directed at the author's students (p. 1), and thus taking a didactic approach, it is not a textbook. It does demand effort on the reader's part, containing throughout many vernacular terms, proper names, and place names.

The book's general structure is justified by the author's choice of clearly situating his subject, indigeneity, in the field of political anthropology. More specifically, it follows the path hewn by mainly French anthropologists such as Marc Abélès, Georges Balandier, Maurice Godelier, Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, and Pierre Clastres. In line with the last named, Scott Simon qualifies the Sadyaq as an egalitarian society (division of tasks between sexes is seen as complementary rather than unequal), without political institutions, and as a "society against the state,"⁽²⁾ a notion he defines as a "social logic ac-

1. Josiane Cauquelin, *The Aborigines of Taiwan. The Puyuma: From headhunting to the modern world*, London and New York, Routledge, 2004.

2. Pierre Clastres, *La société contre l'État* (Society against the state), Paris, Les Éditions de Minuit, 1974.

cording to which several societies refuse any accumulation of power" (p. xi) and reject "the emergence of a unifying state, social stratification, and subordination" (p. 4). The book's main problematic is "understanding the relations between the Sadyaq [...] and the state during successive administrations of the Japanese (1895-1945) and the Republic of China (post-1945)," and why the Sadyaq accepted the Taiwanese state's legitimacy on their territory, only to remain marginalised inside the country (p. 3).

The author's approach is itself political in the sense that he uses a non-hegemonic anthropology, i.e., rejecting all forms of domination. The choice of re-transcription of vernacular terms is in line with the practice of symmetrical anthropology between the observer and his interlocutors, the same as in all that concerns terminologies, given the author's systematic desire to justify his options and define concepts. He stresses that indigeneity forms part of a "relationship between a community and the state or between an individual and the state," noting helpfully that it is just "a legal classification" (p. 227). The author defends writing the term "indigenous" with a small letter, similar to "citizen," so as not to objectify the notion as an ethnic group and thus neglect the effects of colonisation and inclusion in a state system, or the diversity of groups and individuals designated under this category (p. 227).

The spelling of "Sadyaq," used in the book's title and used to designate the collection of linguistic groups, Truku, Tkedaya, and Teuda, is borrowed from Ferdinando Pecoraro's Romanisation method, precisely because none of the local actors claim it, preferring three other forms of Romanisation depending on their origins (pp. 25-26).

Similarly, the use of "Formosa" (*Ilha Formosa*), bequeathed by sixteenth century Portuguese explorers, rather than "Taiwan," in the absence of a name in Sadyaq languages for the island geographically speaking, sheds light on the contours of domination of a Han state on Austronesian populations (p. 12-14), which the author calls "the blind spot of anthropology on 'Taiwan'" (p. 12). This goes against the grain of culturalist anthropologists in Taiwan, who considered the island a conservatory of Chinese "traditional" culture and long neglected the Austronesian populations. Moreover, the author situates Taiwan not in Asia but in Oceania (Chapter 2), where Austronesian cultures prevail – from Formosa to New Zealand, and from the Easter Islands to Madagascar (p. 18). This approach turns out to be better placed to explode the Greater China concept, extract Taiwan from a narrow Sinocentric perspective, and focus effectively on Austronesian groups.

The Sadyaq, who now number about 35,000 and whose territory extends from the island's centre to the north-east (in Nantou and Hualien counties), have been in the news in Taiwan. Previously grouped with the Atayals, they were recognised as an indigenous group by the Taiwanese government in 2008 (since 2004 for the Taroko). As the author notes in the introduction (p. 1-2), a big-budget film named *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* was made in Taiwan and the first part of the two-part film was released in September 2011. Produced by the famous John Woo and directed by the Taiwanese filmmaker Wei Te-sheng (not of Austronesian descent), this historic epic retraces the uprising by a group of Sadyaq against the Japanese in October 1930 in Musha Village (now in Nantou County), which led to bloody retaliation on Japan's part. The author does not say how the film was received by the Sadyaq, his research covering 2004 to 2008, but it generated lively debates among the Taiwanese regarding the nature of the act of resistance against Japanese colonialism.

Scott Simon situates the conflict at the heart of a century-long history, the Sadyaq continuing to lose their sovereignty during the twentieth century. By the start of the new millennium, the process led to the development of social

protest movements, the legal recognition of a specific status, and the bureaucratisation of indigeneity (Chapter 3). The Japanese era was the first experience of relations with state institutions. In Sadyaq' memory, it remains a relatively positive moment in their history ("modernisation" of their way of life), despite bloody battles that led to a third of the Formosan Austronesian population perishing and to subsequent conflicts (some still current) between communities whose migrations were forced by the Japanese (pp. 76-79).

According to Scott Simon, the Musha uprising essentially grew out of the contradictions between a colonial system and a stateless society attached to its sacred law named Gaya, which denotes a collection of moral rules closely linked to hunting, especially head-hunting (the author taking pains to dispel negative stereotypes),⁽³⁾ until it was banned by the Japanese. It has now been replaced symbolically by hunting for animals, albeit banned by the Republic of China authorities. Gaya prohibits sexual relations before marriage, divorce, theft, and accumulation of wealth. It highlights sharing and social relations. In the author's view, the persistence of references to Gaya is a form of resistance to continuing colonial rule and to assimilation, often designated as "Sinification," which is creeping up on indigenous populations (pp. 57-62).

Challenges to this domination include demands for territorial sovereignty (Chapter 4). Indigenous peoples' protests against major industrial groups such as Asia Cement (as well as storage of nuclear waste on Orchid Island by Taipower) are well known and benefit from mass media coverage in Taiwan. But the protests against the Taroko National Park, often described as a tourist jewel and nature reserve by Taiwanese authorities and media, is singular and instructive. The Park indeed generates little employment for indigenous people (unlike Asia Cement), opening up few decently paid jobs with responsibility. Moreover, it shrinks hunting grounds to a minimum, and poachers face crippling fines, thus provoking anger among villagers and the rise of organised protests.

Such movements have, of course, led the major political forces to take corrective steps. Chapter 5 is devoted to elections on Sadyaq land that, needless to say, met with resistance in an egalitarian society. Observing the campaign close up, Scott Simon describes vote-buying exercises. Most often the winner is the one who pays the most. The author dwells on the role of churches,⁽⁴⁾ mostly Presbyterian, in election networking. But his most valuable contribution is the body of evidence explaining the Nationalist Party's (Kuomintang) stranglehold on indigenous peoples' constituencies despite the Democratic Progressive Party's (Minjindang) strong backing for their rights at the national level. Indigenous people's disdain for this national dimension and for a party they consider to be of their despised neighbours, namely the so-called ethnic Taiwanese, explains in part the percentage of votes going to the Kuomintang (often more than 80%), which is seen as representing "Mainlanders." Thanks to client networks built since the creation of mountainous counties, the deeply entrenched Kuomintang has imposed a local electoral system based on factionalism, social divisions (between the base and an elite), and an absence of ideological debate, keeping sovereignists at bay.

"Courtiers" who play the role of strategic go-betweens during elections figure prominently in the chapter dealing with development projects seen

3. Apart from the Tao on Orchid Island, all of the Austronesian groups in Taiwan practised head-hunting before it was banned by the Japanese in the early twentieth century. The ritual consisted of decapitating an enemy and carrying his head back to the village. Such a feat helped an adolescent gain entry into adulthood.

4. Evangelisation of the Sadyaq, starting in the 1950s, is now almost complete.

as "arenas of conflict between groups or individuals" (p. 149). Noting the role of agriculture associations, assistance to craftsmen, ecotourism, and churches (Catholic and Protestant) in development activities, Scott Simon explains the rarely studied relations between different social actors and agents of the state. He highlights the essential function of the township as a crucial mediator between the villages and the central administration that wants to industrialise them. From these dynamics, the author concludes that indigenous peoples trade their docility towards the state in exchange for its protection. This attitude is also a strategy and a form of passive resistance meant to preserve territorial autonomy.

This struggle for autonomy sometimes structured itself at a higher scale, notably with help from institutions such as the Presbyterian church⁽⁵⁾ (which also backs Taiwan independence) in the "Name Rectification Movement" (正名運動) under presidents Lee Teng-hui (1988-2000) and Chen Shui-bian (2000-2008) (Chapter 7). Such confluences have given rise to arrangements among different Austronesian peoples in Formosa seeking to get their voices heard by the top rungs of the state. Concessions they have received from the state have also opened the path to a complex process of atomisation of Taiwan's Austronesian ethnic groups, who have risen from nine recognised entities before 2001 to 14 since 2008. This dynamic meets the political needs of local elites seeking to consolidate their own power.

In the last chapter, indigenous peoples' demands are analysed in the framework of an international movement, in its institutional dimension (through initiatives in the United Nations), but also on the margins of state initiatives and in community gatherings. Scott Simon assesses the role of globalisation (in terms of transport and communication technologies especially) in indigenous people's aspirations to go beyond the straitjacket of the state in which they are mere "minorities" (p. 213). He also introduces the idea of spirituality as the basis of indigenous people's demands. The author describes meetings (in Taiwan or Canada) among members of various communities worldwide who share ecological concerns such as forest conservation and hunting rights. Hunting practices, linked to relations with ancestors and transcending social divides, express indigenous people's spirituality as well their desire for political sovereignty (pp. 223-226).

Ambitions for legal autonomy within a Taiwanese state or the constitution of an indigenous nation on the basis of criteria such as history or language is, however, not shared by all members of concerned communities. Among those the author describes as "ordinary people," many prefer to stay away from talk of national identifications and relations with Taiwan or China. They reject new ethnic identities and denounce political instrumentalisation of indigeneity by their own elites, whose motives they question. They also flay the perceived vacuity in the ethnic recognition movements, which hardly resolve their day-to-day problems while dragging them *de facto* into dealings with government institutions and subjecting them to a state in which they have little stake. Many interviewees told the author that the term "Sadyaq" means "human being" and should therefore not be used to divide humanity. And even though they refer to Gaya, the term expresses universal values and constitutes an ultimate act of resistance of an egalitarian society faced with the hegemonic ambitions of colonial states.

Throughout his work, Scott Simon chooses to take into account indigenous spirituality, often absent from studies of indigeneity, as a "valuable ontology" (p. 212), leading to his dual conclusion (scientific and moral) wherein he signals his backing of the indigenous cause. Rather than calling into question the book's scientific quality, such a position helps the author overcome traditional cleavages between Taiwanese nationalism(s) and Chinese nation-

alism(s), which most studies of identity issues in Taiwan are concerned with, and to focus the research through a more general reflection on indigeneity, be it in anthropology or aimed at a readership less concerned with social sciences.

■ Translated by N. Jayaram.

■ Jérôme Soldani holds a PhD in anthropology. He is currently a post-doctoral researcher at the Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, and Associate Researcher at the CEFC Taipei (jeromesoldani@hotmail.fr).

5. Scott Simon distinguishes between the Catholic Church, which acts as a conservative force and mediator between the state (with which it enjoys close ties) and indigenous communities in Sadyaq villages (p. 173), and the Presbyterian Church, founded on a liberating and anti-hegemonic Calvinist theology and thus contributing to the proliferation of indigenous peoples' Synods opposed to a centralising state (p. 184).



Harry den Hartog (ed),
Shanghai New Towns: Searching
for Community and Identity in a
Sprawling Metropolis,
Rotterdam, OIO Publishers, 2010, 416 pp.

MARTIN MINOST

Shanghai New Towns, edited by the Dutch architect Harry den Hartog, is interesting on two counts. To begin with, the 2010 book is the first – apart from individual articles – in English (it is bilingual, with Chinese text) to analytically deal with the Western-imitating architecture proliferating on the Chinese mainland since the early 2000s. Second, the book brings together articles by academics and experts all drawn from the domain of architecture and town planning.

However, the issue claimed in this book is not that of architectural imports in China. What interests the authors is that of new towns, especially those built within Shanghai municipality. Analysing this urban object, the authors have tried to give an account of China's current urbanisation, highlighting characteristics such as the context of state control during their construction, legacies from the past and their present influence, the working style of Chinese town planners, economic and urban planning ideologies, as well as the intricacies of the decision-making and planning processes. The book has both a theoretical aspect as well as practical and pedagogic ambition: minutely observed new towns are elevated to the rank of case studies; and the information the authors draw from the construction process should help Western architects and town planners to learn how to work with their Chinese counterparts, on what basis, using which theories and ideologies, and thus how to cooperate with them.

The book contains 11 articles, four of them written by den Hartog, grouped in four parts separated by mostly photographic dossiers including two by professional photographers. This multiplicity of contributors and

forms of analysis, both written and visual, lends to the study a rich source of information, crucial for anyone interested, within the field of urban studies, in the initial process of urbanisation, projects, plans, decisions, and the start of construction. The trans-disciplinary studies thus seek to bring exhaustive knowledge of the subject, but the final product is an uneven work due to the differences between contributions.

The first three chapters act as an introduction to the whole book. Den Hartog begins by presenting the subject – new towns defined as administrative units planned and built in a short time, based on a key economic function (tourism, industry, and education sectors) as the basis for development. The particularity of the Chinese case, according to the author, lies in the fact that while the new towns enjoy authority over surrounding areas, they are part of a metropolitan system aimed at the development of the whole region and the main city. These entities, he holds, are the means by which Chinese cities – especially Shanghai – are attempting to address the problems they are facing, such as congestion, uncontrolled sprawl, and loss of farmland. The author proceeds to a brief presentation of the urbanisation phases in Shanghai from its origins until the 1990s and the decision to develop the municipality following a polycentric logic. He says its originality lies in the new towns' architectural characteristics, most of them being built in foreign styles, i.e., European or North American. From this observation, den Hartog's problematic shifts towards issues of loss of cultural benchmarks of research and fabrication of identity through localities, to match the book's subtitle.

Chapter 2, by Chinese architect and academic Jiang Jun, seeks to explain the current urbanisation process – and its success – invoking the heritage of Chinese civilisation. The current situation is seen as resulting from both a perfect and ancient harmony between civilisation and its ecological space and the succession to the present day of major unifying policies. Relying on a geographic determinism stretched to the limits, the author develops a Sino-oriented discourse explaining away all aspects of China, presented as a society of diversity under political unity, of tolerance, and of independent and never interrupted self-development.

In Chapter 3, den Hartog gives a short and general overview of some problems in China's urbanisation process, mainly related to local authorities' lack of control. The divergent interests of various agents (the authorities, promoters, and buyers) have led to the construction of houses that fail to attract demand, leaving behind only ghost towns.

Then follows the first dossier of images depicting the towns. Among the ten towns covered, seven are part of the *One City, Nine Towns* project envisaging the development of ten new towns in Shanghai municipality (the main one being Songjiang and each containing an experimental zone of themed architecture). However, the shared characteristic of these projects was that teams of foreign designers worked on them. It is perhaps regrettable that the emphasis is often only on projects featuring Western architectural style, giving the erroneous impression that experimental thematic areas represent the larger new town projects as a whole.

The second group of articles compares at several levels the urbanisation process in Shanghai and other world cities. In Chapter 4, den Hartog explains the function of actors involved in town planning projects. He shows that communication problems and incomprehension that foreign architects and town planners face with their Chinese interlocutors have led to unsatisfactory projects and to the former's frustration. Often such problems are linked to a lack of understanding of the Chinese context, he says. Thus, architectural imports multiply to the detriment of Chinese lifestyles and surroundings.

Chapter 5 is more analytical. Li Xiangning, who teaches at Tongji University, focuses on themed spaces in the *One City, Nine Towns* programme, comparing them with projects found in the United States. His idea, following a postmodernist reading, is that such symbolic productions fail to create identity through the thematic zones and remain merely capitalist operations devoid of any cultural depth. In his conclusion, he tempers his viewpoint by saying that such imports are preferable to copying Chinese traditional architecture, as contemporary values hardly correspond to those of the past.

The last chapter in this part, by Laurence Liauw Wie Wu, professor of architecture at the University of Hong Kong, compares new towns in Shanghai and Hong Kong, keeping in view the issue of constructing identical or differentiated housing (i.e., imitated architecture). In his view, the two cities' models are radically different, be it in terms of government decision-making, underlying political and economic ideology, residents' aims, number of housing units planned, or architectural style. The author takes a dim view of the situation in Shanghai, finding it ironic that houses are being built in the style of the Concessions era.

The second dossier is entirely photographic. All except one of the eight pictures were taken in the European architecture zones. The vision conveyed is quite critical of the project: the copies of Western architectures reveal the immoderation, absurdity, and vapidness of those spaces. Photographer Richard Rowland's vision follows a path: the first image shows workers, perhaps the zone's only residents. In the second, there are just four of them amidst empty buildings. Then follow five images of villas, buildings, and roads showing vast empty spaces. The last image shows two porches of semi-detached houses, but the possible presence of residents is denied by the imitation feeling not only provided by architectural details but also transmitted through the represented lifestyle: same cars of the same brand and colour parked in front of gates with identical decorations. The photographer's intention is clear: it is all fiction.

Part three focuses more closely on how the *One City, Nine Towns* project has been implemented. Focusing on Songjiang new town, Zhou Jing explains the role of the different agents (various government levels, semi-public construction companies, and private investors and promoters) engaged in developing the project as well as the advantages or problems arising from the cooperation between public instances directing plan implementation and private partners driven by the profit motive.

Marijn Nieuwenhuis for his part reflects on the reasons that might have led to the realisation of a project so culturally decontextualised as regards the different forms that the Chinese city has taken over the centuries and despite the upheavals and ideological changes over the past century and a half. His analysis, for which empirical data gathered from residents seem to be lacking, is that the thematic zones are manifestations of the city's "Disneyfication": spatial marks have no signification other than that of capitalist consumption. According to Nieuwenhuis, with the opening up, the Chinese city's walls have disappeared and the only logic of daily life is consumption.

In this part's last chapter, architect Mari Fujita analyses the links between the new neighbourhoods and the former *danweis* or work units as well as the transformations in daily life stemming from the passage from one form of habitation to the other. In her view, not only has the disappearance of the *danweis* led to the loss of a sense of belonging, but the thematic zones have engendered a confusion of cultural limits (generating much criticism by Chinese architects).

The last dossier offers a brief look at the life of seven families living in the new towns of Shanghai. Photographer Chen Taiming has sought to bring

out a certain diversity among residents – from members of the middle class to families of relocated farmers. The differences between the families are noted in brief stories and in the décor of each apartment.

Two chapters by den Hartog conclude the book. The first is a reflection on changes in the city leading on from transformations in administrative levels, especially residents committees within changing administrative units, segregation, and new modes of urban life linked to thematic areas. The second exposes the strengths but much more the weaknesses of the new town model applied in China, especially in Shanghai.

Den Hartog's work brings together a large amount of data and interesting analyses on town planning and urbanisation under way in Shanghai. Nevertheless, analysis of the Chinese new town model is often relegated to second place either because of the undeclared focus on one subject – architectural imitation neighbourhoods – which leads to an analysis that is biased towards questioning cultural hybridisation; or because of an attempt to cover all aspects of the issue of Chinese towns, which is seen in several photographic dossiers seeking to give a glimpse of the Chinese urban situation, but which end up being decontextualised. However, readers knowledgeable about China will be able to see beyond these strong images.

■ Translated by N. Jayaram.

■ Martin Minost is a contractual doctoral candidate in social anthropology and ethnology at the School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences (EHESS, Paris), affiliated with the Research Centre on Modern and Contemporary China (CECMC – UMR 8173) (martin.minost@gmail.com).

Books received

Roland Barthes, *Travels in China*,

Cambridge, Polity Press, 2012, 226 pp.

Rachel Harris, Rowan Pease and Shzr Ee Tan, *Gender in Chinese Music*, Rochester, University of Rochester Press, 2013, 308 pp.

Han Dongfang (with the collaboration of Michaël Sztanke), *Mon combat pour les ouvriers chinois*, Paris, Michel Lafon, 2014, 290 pp.

Frauke Austermann, Anastas Vangeli, and Xiaoguang Wang, *China & Europe in 21st Century Global Politics: Partnership, Competition or Co-Evolution*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, 218 pp.

Emilie Frenkiel, *Parler politique en Chine. Les intellectuels chinois pour ou contre la démocratie*, Paris, Puf, 2014, 318 pp.

James Leibold and Chen Yangbin (eds), *Minority Education in China: Balancing Unity and Diversity in an Era of Critical Pluralism*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2014, 405 pp.

Richard King, *Milestones on a Golden Road: Writing for Chinese Socialism 1945-1980*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2014, 281 pp.

Lo Pui Yin, *The Judicial Construction of Hong Kong's Basic Law: Courts, Politics and Society after 1997*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2014, 580 pp.