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Book Review: Susan GREENHALGH, Just One Child: Science and Policy in Deng's China. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. xxii + 403 pp., with notes and index. ISBN: 978-0-520-25339-1 (pbk). Price: £12.95

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of the middle class is problematic, so it becomes recast as "middle strata" or "middle reaches" who should become the majority in an "all-round well-off" (小康) society in the recent formulation by leaders Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao (p. 43). Xiaowei Zang persuasively argues that the continuing low public esteem of the new rich (as opposed to the professional middle classes) is the result of a zero-sum relationship of primitive accumulation of wealth that has mostly been at the expense of poorer citizens. Goodman's chapter provides quantitative support for both of these positions.

The fascinating chapters on the lifestyles of the rich and middling raise too many interesting points to be addressed in detail here. Yang Jingqing concentrates on professors, doctors, and lawyers, comparing their trajectories in relation to their position in the Maoist era, while Ivan Cucco focuses on the professional middle classes more broadly. Beatriz Carrillo provides an incisive sketch of the way in which Shanxi entrepreneurs who made their wealth in "dirty" coal launder their public images by becoming welfare entrepreneurs providing (and profiting from) the provision of private education and health services. Colin Hawes considers another kind of laundering: the use of culture to improve the public image of CEOs, while Stephanie Hemelryk Donald and Yi Zheng examine the cultivation of middle-class taste through educational choice. Chen Minglu compares female entrepreneurs and their political strategies in three different settings, while Louise Edwards considers changing perspectives on feminism in urban China. The remainder of the contributions shed light on particular spheres of consumption: housing, which also has been a key path to the achievement of wealth (Luigi Tomba and Tang Beibei); jewellery (Carolyn Cartier); domestic servants (Sun Wanning); and sexual services and sexual predation by those in positions of power (Elaine Jeffreys).

Altogether, this is an excellent collection which addresses important issues and sheds new light on a variety of different facets of China's changing social and cultural landscape.

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Susan GREENHALGH, *Just One Child: Science and Policy in Deng's China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. xxii + 403 pp., with notes and index. ISBN: 978-0-520-25339-1 (pbk). Price: £12.95.

The looming background condition for all public policies in China—economic, education, health, security, and so on—is the size and dynamics of the

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population. An enduring question about the making of public policy in China is the proper role of science in the policy culture. In this important book, Susan Greenhalgh explores post-Mao efforts to alter the demographic background condition through a "scientific" justification of the one-child policy, and she demonstrates why questions about the policy culture endure.

In simplest terms, the objective of the book is to explain how a policy which has had such profound consequences for Chinese society was made. As Greenhalgh develops this explanation, though, the roles played by cyberneticist Song Jian and his colleagues in China's missile program emerge as dominant. As they do, the author is led to consider broader issues of science and state. In the end, by integrating her own expertise in studying Chinese population issues with an interdisciplinary "science studies" literature, she offers us both an explanation of the one-child policy itself and theses on the social construction of science and the "scientization" of policy in the early reform period.

The empirical core of the book is comprised of six chapters which examine the evolution of the policy—from academic policy debates to elite decision making. In this narrative, the Mao era ends with a China facing daunting population policy problems. These were conditioned by serious deficiencies in demographic data, the stunted development of demography as a field, and the legacy of the Ma Yinchu affair of 1957 in which the expert advice of China's then leading demographer in support of family planning was denounced as rightism by a pro-natalist Mao. Analysts and policymakers in the late 1970s agreed that the Ma story should never be repeated, that serious demographic analysis had to replace the willful voluntarism of Maoist policymaking, and that active controls on population growth were necessary. But how demography should be done, and what rate of population growth should be considered acceptable, were questions on which consensus was elusive. In an informative discussion, Greenhalgh sketches out for us the activities of three schools competing to control the evolving policy analytic agenda: a mainstream group of "Marxian statisticians," a second group of "Marxian humanists" with extensive exposure to the realities of Chinese peasant life, and the proponents of a "sinified cybernetics of population" led by Song.

The expertise of the Song group was developed in China's missile programs, but was extended to the analysis of population as Song and his colleagues became interested in the Club of Rome and the growing fashion in the West of using the systems analysis of engineering to study complex social problems. In the author's account, Song's growing interest in Western applications of cybernetic theory to social analysis dovetailed with the enhanced

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status that "science" was given in Deng Xiaoping's "four modernizations" (四个现代化) doctrine. With their apparent methodological rigor and claims to reliable data, the cyberneticists were able to take control of academic debates about population, gain legitimacy for their perspective, attract the attention of policymakers, and ultimately drive national policy decisions. In the process, they not only produced the one-child policy but also helped establish the authority of "science" in the policy culture.

The author has produced an empirically rich and provocative account which will be of interest not only to students of Chinese population issues, but also to political scientists and public policy specialists who seek to better understand the role of analysis in policymaking. The latter will be especially interested in Greenhalgh's final chapter in which she reviews the ways in which "science" was incorporated into the rhetorical strategies of the policy actors by defining and redefining the boundaries between "science" and "politics." Greenhalgh argues for an "epistemic approach" to the study of policy which goes beyond the more commonly employed institutionalism.

Throughout, one gets a sense of the author's ethical disdain for the one-child policy and the more draconian patterns of its implementation. Although she does not explicitly mount an ethical critique of the policy, the text is sprinkled with sensitive observations about the implications of the policy for Chinese women and families more generally, for female infanticide and the growing sex imbalance in the population, and for the distorted age structure and its implications for the future distribution of social welfare costs.

Greenhalgh nicely illustrates the ways in which policy analysis began to take root in the early post-Mao period after the years of personalistic decision making under Mao. She also illustrates how students of science and engineering came to dominate this developing policy analysis tradition in a context in which the social sciences were woefully underdeveloped after years of radical politics seeking to delegitimize notions of an authentic social science. The analytic tradition that began, therefore, was one that was strongly quantitative in orientation, valorizing those variables that could be quantified at the expense of those that could not be. Although the social sciences in China have made progress since then, the analytic tradition that began in the early post-Mao era continues to this day.

One wonders, therefore, whether the enduring question of the role of science in China's policy culture has been satisfactorily resolved. *Just One Child* demonstrates that attempts to incorporate science into policy can lead to a dangerous *scientism* which deflects attention from the serious business of

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devising institutions and procedures for integrating expert scientific judgments with widely accepted and legitimate social and political values to produce a more humane polity. Greenhalgh reminds us that the demographic challenges of the 21st century call for attention to this "serious business." So too, we might add, do many other policy problems—environmental degradation, food and drug safety, and so on—which are ultimately political, but require an active role for technical experts in the increasingly complex technological society that is today's China.

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Xiaolin GUO, *State and Ethnicity in China's Southwest*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2008. xi + 346 pp., with index. ISBN: 978-90-04-16775-9 (hc). Price: US$148.00.

In her impressive new study of Mosuo and Han communities in two different townships in China's Yunnan Province, anthropologist Xiaolin Guo examines the long arc of state–society relations in China's ethnic minority regions and the nationalities policies of the People's Republic—policies she characterizes as a "mixture of imperial legacies, in particular from the Qing dynasty, blended with CCP interpretations of Marxist-Leninist discourse" (p. 6).

Following a brisk yet well-crafted introduction to the region from the 13th century to the mid-20th century, Guo draws upon her own ethnographic work—participant observation and 160 household surveys—to offer a vivid portrait of the internal structures and dynamics of these communities. Focusing here on the Mosuo, Guo provides a clear sense of the complex gender roles of different members of Mosuo society and the ways in which matrilineal descent operates in a variety of scenarios. Undoubtedly, the description that will receive the most attention by readers is that of *dil si si* (走婚 in Chinese), the practice of "walking marriage" that sets Mosuo apart within China. In Mosuo society, the age of 13 marks a passage for young women and men: with women being granted a room of their own within the household, and men being propelled into a life of courting and (when successful) "visiting" romantic partners. Children of such partnerships remain in the young woman's house, and (traditionally at least) no bond is maintained between the child and the biological father.

To her extreme credit, Guo achieves this descriptive clarity without caricaturizing her subject. In the case of visiting relationships, for example, she recounts a case of a young Mosuo man who, in his attempt to adhere to established

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