

meticulously careful to highlight his level of confidence in particular sources, never exaggerates their meaning, restricts his speculations within reasonable bounds, and is explicitly circumspect when critical data or documents are simply unavailable for review because of classification or archival shortfalls. Despite these caveats, the deep archival work in this book is a major contribution, and provides strong support for Fravel's bold analytic judgments, especially his primary conclusion that changes in military strategy, regardless of external or internal threats, are only possible during periods of elite leadership unity.

The book is expertly organized, setting the reader's table with a cogent but not obscurantist summary of the literature on the organizational and theoretical origins of changes in military strategy. This is followed by a half dozen rich but not overly dense chapters describing and analysing what the author believes are the major shifts in Chinese military strategy, beginning pre-1949 and tracking through changes in 1956 ("Defending the motherland"), 1964 ("Luring the enemy in deep"), 1980 ("Active defense"), 1993 ("Local wars under high tech conditions"), and the more recent push towards "Informatization." All of these chapters are laid out in a manner that permits structured comparison, beginning with an overview of the strategy and its implications for PLA organization and doctrine, followed by analysis of the external and internal drivers of the change, outlines of the bureaucratic process of drafting and adoption, examination and rejection of alternate explanations, discussion of the implementation within the force, and a concluding bridge to the next major strategic disruption. The author even brings the reader an unexpected *amuse-bouche*, drawing on his significant expertise on Chinese nuclear weapons issues to explain the remarkable continuities in PRC nuclear strategy since 1964. The only regret is that publication timelines permitted only a cursory discussion of the PLA's massive reorganization since 2015, though one hopes that a future edition could include an excursion on the topic.

Overall, this book is an outstanding contribution to the canon on Chinese military and strategic affairs. Like his debut manuscript, *Strong Borders, Secure Nation*, which was the timely and authoritative "expert guide" that the China field desperately needed just when Beijing's aggressive territorial behaviour in the South and East China Seas was making international news, Fravel's new book is an instant classic and a mandatory reference source. I would recommend this volume to students of Chinese foreign policy, international relations and military affairs without reservation.

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Challenging Beijing's Mandate of Heaven: Taiwan's Sunflower Movement and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement

MING-SHO HO

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Ming-sho Ho's *Challenging Beijing's Mandate of Heaven* is an important and timely monograph which compares the two occupation-style social movements in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Ho is the foremost expert on social movements in Taiwan,

relentlessly publishing ground-breaking works on the subject. His work sets out to answer a series of exciting research questions in a summary of six puzzles at the beginning of the book. Questions range from the impact of culture to the regional and the global impact of the movements. Yet the empirical richness is organized to theoretically reflect on the structure (reasons for creative participation) versus agency (the ability of leadership) debate.

The first two chapters pave the way for discussion of the two movements by providing comprehensive summaries of political developments in Taiwan and Hong Kong, and tracing the evolution of Hong Kong–China and Taiwan–China relations. Ho acknowledges that he is a newcomer to the study of Hong Kong politics. However, this is apparent only in rare moments, when key works on the United Front strategy by Sonny Shiu Hing Lo and Benson Wai-kiok Wong are missing. Instead, the author impresses with his in-depth knowledge of both movements and a systematic collection of data based on hundreds of interviews with activists, experts and witnesses, which is further supported by his ethnographic observation on the scene in Taipei.

Ho's study justifies and even mainstreams the comparison between Taiwan and Hong Kong, a field which gained traction only after the 2014 movements. Ho describes the Taiwan–Hong Kong nexus in a fascinating yet brief account. Unfortunately this account fails to adequately explain the absence of previous exchange, or the timing of the realization of their common interests vis-à-vis China. It might be linked to a sense of unfamiliarity, as until the Umbrella Movement triggered new interest in the territory, there had been little international attention paid to developments in post-1997 Hong Kong. This book provides an excellent momentum to explore the theoretical framework further and draw generalizable findings based on comparative studies between these two entities.

Ho's work goes beyond the limitations of excellent single case studies on Taiwan and Hong Kong. Moreover, he makes two important theoretical contributions to the literature on eventful protests and social movements. He highlights the limitations of the classic political opportunity structure framework in line with research that emphasizes protesters' agency. He conceptualizes the issue of contingency and movement–government standoffs as “exceptional moments of movement–government confrontation” (p. 13), to shed new light on the fate of eventful protests. His introduction of improvisation, i.e. “strategic responses without prior planning” (p. 153), helps us to understand the types of protest participation that sustained both movements. The relevance of improvisation can be further observed in the 2019 anti-extradition law movement in Hong Kong, where the use of instant messaging services and social news forums guided high-profile actions such as the short-lived occupation of the legislature.

Ho outlines rates of support and mobilization of the movements well, but this could have been done more explicitly by highlighting the ontological differences between the movements. I would call the Sunflower Movement status-quo defending, while the Umbrella Movement is progressive. This distinction conditions threat perceptions which are linked to the role of (negative) emotions in the mobilization process, an explanatory factor of “success” or “failure” of social movements. Anger and fear are singled out as Ho depicts occasions of political leaders pushing through the free-trade deal in Taiwan, or instances of the police violence of the police against students storming the Civic Square and initial occupations on 28 September 2014 in Hong Kong, and the fear “that something worse was to come” (p. 128).

A closer look at the affective side of protests – Ho mentions only briefly the “emotional consequences” of movements (p. 181) – would reveal an additional level of

explanation of the success and respective failure of the two movements. In Taiwan, the CSSTA triggered emotions largely due to the real-life impact on Taiwanese if further integrated with mainland China. The Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong was, however, part of the struggle for universal suffrage, something the citizens of territory had never been granted. Therefore, negative emotions and uncertainty in Hong Kong were less universally experienced in comparison to Taiwan, and the sense of loss was felt by a smaller segment of the population. The associated emotions can also be observed in Hong Kong's 2019 anti-extradition law protests. As a status-quo defending movement, the anti-extradition law protests are motivated by widely shared fear, anger and despair, which mobilizes unprecedented numbers of demonstrators.

Overall, *Challenging Beijing's Mandate of Heaven* should be a required reading for students and scholars of social movements, democratization, Taiwan and Hong Kong politics, and anyone interested in understanding what happened in Hong Kong in 2019.

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The Power of Place: Contentious Politics in Twentieth-Century Shanghai and Bombay

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A field of study evolves into maturity through the seminal works it produces. In that sense, Mark Frazier's new book is a milestone addition to China–India studies that elevates the growing field to a new level of maturity. *The Power of Place* traces the parallel pathways of contentious politics and urban transformations in Shanghai and Bombay since the early 20th century. In this urban comparative history, he reconstructs how political geographies constituted by residence and workplace created conditions that gave expression to collective resentments. For Frazier, Shanghai and Bombay make compelling cases for historical comparison as both were induced by foreign capital to grow as entry ports, experienced early industrialization and the advent of cotton mills, and hence became home to a sizable working class. From the 1920s, labour protests, strikes, riots and collective violence erupted in Shanghai at regular intervals, unsettling the successive ruling elites and preventing them from consolidating for too long. Be it during the international settlement era, nationalist period or under socialism, social unrest from below continues to shape public life in the city. These contentious politics, as he defines them, culminated during the Cultural Revolution with the entry of new social actors “who had been victims of the CCP's recent urban policies” (p. 189). These comprised temporary and contract workers, the laid-off industrial workers whose Shanghai *hukou* transferred to rural areas and those technical personnel sent to interior parts to build factories. Deprived of urban benefits and status as they were now classified as “peasants,” these groups now demanded the restoration of Shanghai *hukou* and urban citizenship. But as the last century drew to a close, a new set of economic rationalities arrived, wherein urban land became an object of developmentalist takeover. In the ensuing process that aimed at making Shanghai China's dragon head, there were large-scale dispossessions of former mill workers from their residences and their