Yet, while embracing this ideal of factual objective history, these portrayals also rely heavily on emotive language and representations, making a distant historical event not only real and resonant but also immensely personal. The examples that Schneider cites in illustrating these trends are some of the most fascinating aspects of this study. In chapter five, Schneider discusses the problematic eagerness to equate the Nanjing Massacre with the Holocaust. In chapter six, he also briefly discusses the intersection of nationalism and pornography on the Chinese internet. Demonstrating the richness of this topic, each of these short sections of analysis are in my reading worthy of a chapter in and of themselves.

Chapters seven and eight look at the development of social media and the Chinese state's management of online content. In chapter seven's discussion of social media, Schneider challenges commonly held assumptions that the openness of a medium produces openness of thought. Rather, he illustrates how communication dynamics in social media privilege the most aggressive forms of nationalist commentary, such that the incorporation of the broader public into the writing of national discourses in fact only reproduces and reinforces nationalist stereotypes and chauvinism. In chapter eight's discussion of digital governance, Schneider again challenges commonly held assumptions about China's censorship regime, arguing that the internet has, despite all of the limits discussed in the preceding chapters, created spaces of deliberation wherein the public can relay their concerns to the state.

China's Digital Nationalism is a readable study that provides an innovative reconceptualization of the nation-state, as well as an evocative theory of digital technologies' impacts on politics and nationalist thought. Schneider's contributions to the theorization of online nationalism are greatly enriched by compelling examples that would be ideal for classroom discussion and reflection. I recommend this book highly to anyone interested in reflecting on the dynamics of nationalism on China's internet.

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China's Youth Cultures and Collective Spaces: Creativity, Sociality, Identity and Resistance Edited by VANESSA FRANGVILLE and GWENNAËL GAFFRIC 276 pp. £120.00 London and New York: Routledge, 2019 ISBN 978-0-3671-7304-3 doi:10.1017/S0305741020001174

Let me start by paying this book a reader's highest compliment: it made me reconsider things I had taken for granted. All the years frequenting pool halls, internet cafes, city basketball courts and small-town seafood restaurants turned late-night karaoke bars without fully recognizing them for what they were: spaces where youth cultures are created, communicated, experienced. Readers may similarly have failed to attend to the significance of cosplayers congregating outside a movie theatre, convoys of young motor scooter riders or backdrop-hunting selfie takers. We can take solace in the editors' declaration that this is not an uncommon oversight. If nothing else, this stimulating collection has taught me to recognize and appreciate the significance of quotidian spaces where youth cultures are expressed and shared.

Youth cultural spaces come in many forms. Some are public or commercial, others mobile or virtual. They all possess meaning when it comes to the construction of



youth culture. Focusing on spatiality is to examine where youth cultures are created and consumed and to address the question of how different spaces of production and consumption shape the experience of young people's every day cultural practices. The objective of the book "is to provide a complex understanding of youth cultures that young Chinese are creating for themselves" (p. 2) amid the pressures of familial expectations, the rigours of the education system, pressure of the job market, social expectations from the always-on internet and conditioned by political circumscriptions and pervasive governmentalities.

Space can be a tool, a background and an agent in the construction of youth culture. It is often subject to local, regional, national and transnational cultural flows in physical and virtual realms. The ubiquity of connected devices and the merging of physical world and online selves facilitates and requires spatial travel back and forth between public and private, physical and virtual. Public spaces like parks and plazas, commercial spaces like malls and entertainment complexes and residential areas that are often gated or guarded, are subject to governmentalities that have to be negotiated, accommodated or resisted. Space can exhibit fluidity and hybridity, as exemplified by the cultural Sinosphere. Acceptance of space in these terms requires us to look beyond self-assertion and sociability to examine collective spaces not merely as a backdrop but as a crucial component in cultural formation. Paraphrasing Lefebvre, spaces and space production are embedded in power relations, class, gender and ethnicity, thus an understanding of youth culture requires acknowledgement of the spaces where this production takes place.

Chapters in the volume cover major urban areas like Beijing, Urumqi and Chengdu, but also small towns in rural areas. It divides its coverage into "commodified collective spaces" (Hua Bin on cosplay's shift from private homes to commercial spaces like malls; Peng Lei on the spatial commodification of rock music; Jingsi Christina Wu on hip hop in mainstream and underground spaces); "Spaces of sociability" (Adam Yuet Chau on the resourcefulness and vibrancy of eclectic spaces of youth culture production in rural areas [including sites of drinking games that some readers may (not) remember with fondness]; Seio Nakajima on the collective practice of barrage subtitling on video sharing sites; Vanessa Frangville on Uyghur sociability online); "Spaces of social engagement" (Elizabeth Brunner on protests against air pollution; Stijn Deklerck on LGBT activism; Eric Florence on migrant worker collectives); and "Space-time" (Gwennael Gaffric on cyberliterature; Corrado Neri on nostalgia in Han Han's Duckweed; Laura Vermeeren and Jeroen de Kloet on young people's adoption of the ancient art of calligraphy).

The book is impressively coherent for an edited collection, the more so for the interdisciplinary approach on display (disciplines represented include anthropology, art, literature, sociology, media and cultural studies) and an omnivorous approach to theorizing (to the expected conceptual foils of Lefebvre and Foucault add Bey, Bahktin, Bleil and numerous others). Notwithstanding the pleasingly dizzying diversity of case studies, the contributors never lose sight of the central thrust of the project, and the volume adds up to more than the sum of its parts. For that the editors and authors deserve praise for contributing an important new perspective on youth cultures in China.

The volume as a whole, and the excellent summative concluding essay by Lisa Richaud, pose a number of interesting questions. For instance, while it is the case that "youth cultures are not necessarily countercultures" (p. 14), they can still be agents for change and they can "make things happen" even when they do not involve "an unruly, massive occupation of public places or a radical demand for change" (p. 235). But is it possible for youth to tap into its transformative agency in a context

where governmentalities "rely on the 'promotion of happiness' and other positive affects, often imposed on the actual feelings of Chinese citizens, such as resentment, depression and anger" (p. 244)? If the dominant register of youth culture is "positive energy," and where the collective expression of negative feelings, for example the ironic nihilism of the *sang* **Eonline subculture, is interpreted as threatening, what effect does such circumscription have on the ability of youth cultures to be performed or asserted in spaces where there is increasingly ubiquitous surveillance?

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Heritage and Romantic Consumption in China
YUJIE ZHU
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Linking the themes of heritage conservation, ethnic tourism and youthful desires for romantic escape from the pressures of urban life implies a welcome disruption to the standard value-laden binary between the idea of "authentic" heritage conservation and its vulgar commercialization for mass appeal. Based on 17 months' fieldwork between 2006 and 2011, Zhu weaves these themes into a focus on the Naxi Wedding Courtyard in Lijiang, Yunnan's number one destination for young Han urbanites and entrepreneurs hoping to pursue their dreams of happiness and success away from their polluted hometowns.

The book's ethnographic focus emerges in stages, starting with the historical setting for Lijiang's reputation as an idyllic site of desire and escape in the early 20th-century "discovery" of the Naxi people's "magic kingdom" by the Austro-American botanist, anthropologist and adventurer Joseph Rock, and by the Russian exile and explorer Peter Goullart. An introduction to Lijiang's heritage "Old Town" contrasts the recent emergence of domestic ethnic tourism as a mainstay of local and provincial economies in Yunnan, with the destruction of local religious and cultural practices during the Cultural Revolution. Focusing on Lijiang's development as a UNESCO-sponsored World Heritage Site after a devastating earthquake in 1996, its revitalized reputation as an exotic destination for romantic travellers received official support in the form of cultural theme parks in and around the town.

Lijiang's alternative tourist experience was shaped in part by the official reworking of everyday Naxi practices as "Dongba culture." Dongba had long been regarded as the ritual guardians of Naxi religion, whose skills in chanting, dancing and divination derived from the instructions contained in religious scriptures, written in pictographic Naxi script on hand-made paper, vast numbers of which were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. The restoration of Dongba practices as "Dongba culture" was part of a deliberate policy from the late 1970s managed by Lijiang's Dongba Culture Research Institute. Established in 1981, this institutionalization of "Dongba culture" sought to manage the articulation of local ethnic and religious identity in sanitized terms that corresponded with official policies to promote public expressions of ethnic identification as potentially lucrative sources of local income. The revitalization of traditional weddings in the form offered by the Naxi Wedding