

interested in, such as the spread of misinformation, occurred in face-to-face networks long before the creation of the internet.

Online discussion networks may be especially consequential for shaping the voting decisions of traditionally marginalized voters. Baker, Ames, and Rennó find that members of traditionally marginalized groups, such as poor and low-educated voters, are less likely to engage in political discussion and have smaller political discussion networks than rich and well-educated voters. The internet may provide less informed voters access to larger, more informed discussion networks and thereby the means to use their voices more effectively. Yet, not everyone whom voters engage with may provide them information that helps them vote according to their interests. If uninformed voters from marginalized groups have difficulty detecting misinformation and share it themselves, their political voice may be further distorted. In sum, *Persuasive Peers* demonstrates that informal discussions influence voter behavior but not always for the better.

**Chairman Mao's Children: Generation and the Politics of Memory in China.** By Bin Xu. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021. 300p. \$110.00 cloth.  
doi:10.1017/S1537592722000317

— Stanley Rosen , University of Southern California  
rosen@usc.edu

Bin Xu's thoroughly researched monograph, the culmination of a project that began in 2007, led to fieldwork in 2013, and continued through 2018, is an impressive achievement that complements and expands on previous work on the topic of urban educated youth (*zhiqing*) who were sent to the countryside during and after the Cultural Revolution. However, Xu's greatest contribution comes from his theoretical insights that will be especially welcome to sociologists and political scientists working on issues related to generations and memory. His analysis of *zhiqing* memories is so rich and complex that a short review cannot do justice to the nuance and variation introduced throughout the book. Put simply, he tells a story of how members of the *zhiqing* generation have come to terms with their complicated past and how they resolve the tension between their desire to remember their youth and confirm their worthiness while also evaluating the unpopular "send-down" program and other political upheavals in the Mao years. Unlike much of the earlier work on the send-down program, Xu is less interested in "what really happened" and more concerned with memories of the Mao years and their "red legacies," exploring the influences and meanings of the past in the present (p. 20).

Even before it ended in 1980, the campaign to send *zhiqing* to the countryside as the Cultural Revolution was

winding down in 1968 generated considerable scholarly interest. With the sources available at the time, which included statistical compendia, official documents, the Red Guard press, and refugee interviews in Hong Kong, these studies examined the rationale for the movement and focused on socioeconomic factors such as changing demographics and labor market issues, as well as political and ideological factors associated with Mao's efforts to realize his vision of socialism. Other studies—like the volume under review—focused on the mindset and experiences of the youth themselves, rather than state policies, although these interview-based accounts were more interested in understanding the background to their performance as Red Guards, not their experiences as rusticated youth.

Bin Xu's study is much more ambitious and analytical, with three explicit goals. The first one is empirical, searching for factors that can explain the variations in memories of the *zhiqing*. Second, he seeks to incorporate theoretical insights and contribute to the "sociological understanding of memory, particularly generation and memory" (p. 7). His third goal is normative, using the empirical and theoretical analysis to examine ethical and political issues, including social inequality and historical responsibility. He uses a mixed-methods approach, drawing on 124 in-depth interviews and 61 ethnographic observations, in addition to press reports, archival sources, an analysis of literary works about the movement (chap. 3), and visits to exhibits and museums as sites of memory (chap. 4). Unlike the authors of earlier studies, he is able to accompany *zhiqing* groups at their reunions, visits their send-down places, and other trips (chap. 5 on generation and memory in groups) and to observe the interactions and controversies that occur when different *zhiqing* groups "link up" (chap. 6). A very helpful methodological appendix takes the reader through the stages of his project, offers descriptive statistics on his interviewees, explains his measurement of class and habitus and his coding frame, sets out his hypotheses and statistical analysis, and details the literary works he analyzed and the museums and exhibits he visited. He adopts a three-level frame to explore generational memory. At the *individual* level, generational memory is primarily autobiographical, which Xu explores through the life stories of his *zhiqing* subjects. At the *group/community* level, memory means mnemonic practices in the form of face-to-face interactions and communications at the local level. At the *public* level, memory means mnemonic practices in organizational and institutional settings, such as memoirs, exhibits, memorials, and museums.

His first two chapters provide a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the life stories of 87 *zhiqing*, contrasting "winners" and "losers" in the present. He notes that every life story has two distinctive components: personal experience and historical evaluation of the send-down

movement. The key concepts that explain intragenerational differences in memory and understanding are class and habitus, the latter derived from the work of Pierre Bourdieu who, along with Karl Mannheim, provides the conceptual foundation for Xu's analysis of generation and memory. Habitus is formed by one's interaction with social structure, especially class position, usually in one's formative years. In the case of the *zhiqing*, their habitus was shaped by the two dimensions of class origin (*chushen*) and political performance, which were greatly influenced by the centrality of politics in the Mao years. Using these two dimensions, Xu identifies four types of habitus, which he uses throughout the book: the *faithful red* (those with a good class background who were politically active in support of the political ideology); the *indifferent red* (those with a good class background but not active politically); *aspirants* (those from middle or bad class backgrounds who tried to distinguish themselves through political performance); and *withdrawers* (those from middle or bad class backgrounds who remained inactive politically).

It is class position that shapes a *zhiqing's* view of the past and habitus that shapes the evaluation of the send-down program. Going further, Xu makes an important distinction between "class in the present" and "class in the past" (p. 231), noting that the former shapes the memory of personal experience and the latter shapes historical evaluations of the program. With some exceptions, the higher the current class position—as measured by economic, cultural, and social capital—the more likely the *zhiqing* would hold a positive view of the send-down movement and its influence on later life. Those with habitus based on good class backgrounds in the Mao years are more likely to have positive evaluations of the send-down program. However, he finds that habitus is neither homogeneous nor static. It can change at important historical moments and varies depending on the *zhiqing's* life course and current class position.

Readers not focused specifically on China will find his theoretical contributions of most interest. First, Xu goes beyond the individual to explore three levels of memory—individual, group/community, and public—and how participation in the latter two levels influences and alters individual memory. Second, he departs from existing studies that look at *intergenerational* differences of memory by focusing on *intragenerational* differences. Third, in seeking explanatory factors in studying collective memory, he emphasizes the importance of concepts of class and group as independent variables. Indeed, Xu notes that one of his major contributions is to bring "class" back into the field of collective memory. In short, Xu's work will be of great interest not only to scholars of China but also to social scientists who seek to incorporate China's experience into a larger comparative framework.

### Participatory Budgeting in Global Perspective.

By Brian Wampler, Stephanie McNulty, and Michael Touchton. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021. 256p. \$85.00 cloth. doi:10.1017/S1537592722000871

— William R. Nylen , Stetson University  
wnylen@stetson.edu

In 1776, Adam Smith laid out the liberal promise of political economy: a "well-governed society" implementing the policies that Smith painstakingly outlined (secure property rights, competitive markets, etc.) could herald in a heretofore unrealized "universal opulence." Ever since, analysts and practitioners have been debating Smith's promise in the light of a wide range of actual liberal policy programs and an equally wide range of outcomes.

Similarly, the "participatory promise" (William Nylen, "Participatory Institutions in Latin America," *Comparative Politics*, 43 [4], 2011), first unveiled in 1989 in the city of Porto Alegre, Brazil, in the form of its now-famous commitment to participatory budgeting (PB), has generated thousands of real-world PB programs, each dedicated to improving on representative democracy or, at the very least, to fostering more efficient and more transparent governance. True to form, analysts and practitioners of PB have been weighing in ever since concerning the outcomes of this commitment.

*Participatory Budgeting in Global Perspective*, cowritten by three political scientists with decades between them of highly regarded research on the topic, represents a meticulously organized and highly successful effort to review and build on much of the extensive PB literature, both theoretical and empirical. The authors focus on the basic questions that anyone would ask of any public policy package that has managed to spread across the planet: What is it? Where did it originate and why? How and why did it diffuse so broadly and to what effect on the individuals and communities embracing it? Throughout the text, the authors make an admirable effort to explicitly build on existing literature, giving credit where credit is due, while adding their own original contributions (summarized in the conclusion as "six broad contributions to academic and policymaking debates" [p. 181]).

One of those noteworthy contributions is their definition of PB as a set of unifying principles that undergird, in varying degrees, the wide range of practices and institutions that have come to call themselves PB: voice/empowerment, vote/legitimacy, social justice, social inclusion, and oversight. This principles-based definition avoids unproductive debates over "real" versus diminished "imitation" versions: *all* PBs are versions of the unifying principles. The resulting variance is the empirical field for the authors' analysis.

The "participatory promise" is operationalized as three potential outcomes of PB processes—clearly rooted in the defining principles—that could affect participating