

The Indigenous Dynamic in Taiwan's Postwar Development: The Religious and Historical Roots of Entrepreneurship. By IAN A. SKOGGARD. Armonk, N.Y., and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1996. xxiii, 199 pp. \$62.95 (cloth); \$24.95 (paper).

Ian Skoggard's objective is to flesh out the proactive role of families and entrepreneurs in Taiwan's rapid postwar transformation from a poor agrarian society to an affluent industrialized one. He does this by analyzing the interaction among social, economic and religious elements comprising the "third realm" (in Philip Huang's terminology) between family and state. Working primarily in Caotun Township of Nantou County in 1989–90, he investigated the organization and development of Caotun's once-thriving shoe manufacturing industry.

Although his opening claim that "most accounts of the Taiwan Miracle are ahistorical" (p. 3) is clearly a strawman, he does provide an interesting retelling of Taiwan's history, arguing that the local groups' incessant battles for control actually served the weak state's efforts to impose some order. Once a stable class system emerged in the late Qing, the state successfully co-opted the elite. Key to the book's argument is the role that intervillage temple organizations performed in defending property rights in this fragmented society, something large lineages played elsewhere.

Skoggard illustrates this by demonstrating how religious, agricultural, and commercial practices are interrelated in three layers of embedded ceremonial circles where different gods hold sway. Town gods guaranteed the social networks' supporting commodity exchanges, and "[g]iving gifts to the gods freed one to deal with one's fellow human beings in more instrumental ways, giving rise to the marketplace" (p. 36).

Using a very visible hand, the Japanese and Nationalist states penetrated local society, linked Taiwan to the global economy, and facilitated the spread of industry to virtually every village on the island. Skoggard turns to the rapid rise and then decline of the shoe industry as evidence. The sector grew out of the handicraft production of grass hats, primarily by women, which began at the end of the nineteenth century. In the 1950s, hatmakers began to weave shoe uppers, incorporating synthetic fibers from the then-emerging petrochemical industry. Taiwan manufacturers began to use Japanese technology and equipment to produce shoes for export, and in the late 1960s, with government encouragement and support, Taiwan supplanted Japan as the major supplier of plastic shoes. Over the course of the next decade, the sector grew rapidly. By the late 1980s, with the dramatic appreciation of the Taiwan dollar, and competition from other Asian developing nations, including mainland China, the bottom fell out of the Taiwan shoe industry. Most of the island's manufacturers have moved across the Strait.

Taiwan's shoe manufacturing operated through an extensive and multilayered subcontracting system, and Caotun serves as an excellent case of how this functioned. Foreign importers and local trading companies brokered between the island's manufacturers and large foreign retailers. Domestically, production was highly fragmented, with most production occurring through the outside job contracting system, incorporating factories, workshops and households, employing a predominantly female labor force.

Entrepreneurs, defined in Schumpeterian terms primarily by their actions, are

seen as local heroes. Skoggard argues that their main characteristic is in being less inhibited than other people in pursuing their goals, mainly, working hard for their families. Their labor mobilization and manufacturing processes grow out of preexisting social relations based on kinship, community, and gender.

The bulk of the book is rich in ethnographic detail about the operation of the now rather defunct shoe industry and the way tradition and capitalism intertwine. While comparative work is not central to anthropology, the book could have benefited from reference to sociologists G. S. Shieh's study of subcontracting and what he calls "micro-entrepreneurship," and C. K. Lee's work on gender and labor process in two factories in Hong Kong and Shenzhen. At a higher level of theory, Gary Gereffi's research on "global commodity chains" would have enriched the discussion of Taiwan's niche in global production networks.

I found that there are two books struggling for dominance here, one on temple organization and one on subcontracting networks, and the interconnection seemed too much of a stretch, as did the argument, tacked on at the end (though quite interesting) that Yiguan Dao (in which the author was initiated) supplies the functional equivalent of the Protestant Ethic spurring on Taiwan's entrepreneurship. This begs too many counterfactual questions: If there had not been ceremonial circles, Yiguan Dao, etc., how would Taiwan's entrepreneurship (if any) have differed? Do nonbelievers become entrepreneurs of a different sort? Did they pattern their behavior on that of Yiguan Daoists? Is Yiguan Dao prevalent throughout Chinese emigré communities where entrepreneurship is rampant? Does the explosion of township and village enterprises and comparable subcontracting networks on the mainland evince a different kind of entrepreneurship? If the mainland villages did not have comparable ceremonial circles (an empirical question) or Yiguan Dao, what has been the source of their entrepreneurship? I was also surprised by the absence of Taiwanese dialect.

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The Roads of Chinese Childhood: Learning and Identification in Angang. By CHARLES STAFFORD. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. \$54.95.

The opening of Mainland China to research momentarily eclipsed Taiwan as a desirable site for field study. Now that the novelty has passed, it is fitting that Taiwan should once again be the site for a novel research project: to study the intergenerational patterns of cultural transmission. Charles Stafford, who conducted research in the late 1980s in the fishing community of Angang in southeastern Taiwan, explores how these patterns are manifested in formal and informal social arenas. Specifically, he wants to understand the relationship between these two arenas as they pertain to childhood socialization. Unsurprisingly he finds that the twin arenas are complementary.

His analysis is based on observations of individual interactions and less upon structural restraints. Stafford believes the Chinese perceive their world as a natural phenomenon, which ensures there will be a close relationship between images of the body and morality. Here, the moral order is embedded in an image of the body.