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Begründet von Günter Diehl
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REZENSIONEN

Inhalt

the military plays a strong role beyond defence, namely in development and construction activities, but ultimately, the party is the institution that retains control; hence khaki capital cannot be said to provide the military with autonomy vis-à-vis the civilian bureaucracy. In Cambodia, the security forces act as clients of Prime Minster Hun Sen's patrimonial system. Paul Chambers gives a detailed description of the nature of this clientelist relationship within a personalist, authoritarian regime type.

In the Philippines and Indonesia, a different picture emerges. In these countries, civilians have made inroads to curb the capacity of the military to influence politics. Yet still, the military retains a strong position, which is supported by its role in combating regional insurgencies. In the Philippines, unaccountable budgets point to the limits of civilian control over military activities. Indonesia appears to be an example of successful military reform, yet Jun Honna argues that khaki capitalism provides a stark motivation for the military to hold on to economic power after democratisation.

All the case study chapters excel through expertise and dedication to historical depth. They focus on qualitative approaches, given that data on military forces are delicate matters and thus not always easy to come by.

In conclusion, the collection deserves widespread recognition as a relevant work on the political economy of armed forces. The theoretical framework advanced here is applicable beyond the regional scope of the book. It would be highly interesting to use "Khaki capital" as an analytical lens to look at authoritarian countries like Iran or Egypt, but also at post-conflict democracies like Sri Lanka.

Sören Köpke

Omnibus review: Intergenerational Relations, Filial Obligation and Eldercare in Contemporary China

Fang Cao: Elderly Care, Intergenerational Relationships and Social Change in Rural China

Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. XIX + 199 pp.

Patricia O'Neill: Urban Chinese Daughters: Navigating New Roles, Status and Filial Obligation in a Transitioning Culture

Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. XIII + 338 pp.

Lin Chen: Evolving Eldercare in Contemporary China: Two Generations, One Decision

New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. XVII + 213 pp.

As a rapidly ageing society China is facing growing eldercare problems. To address these, the government is, inter alia, promoting the core cultural value of filial piety (*xiao*). The three recently published books under review in this article examine how filialness has fared under the impact of modernization, increasing mobility, rising educational attainment etc. Fang Cao's concise book is a classical ethnographic study the author conducted in her native village in Henan Province, northern China. Her focus is on examining the changes in intergenerational relationships and patterns of eldercare in the context of larger social changes such as industrialization and massive rural-to-urban migration. She draws theoretical inspiration from Carol Smart's personal life approach and David Morgan's family practices approach, while clearly positioning herself as a critic of the individualization thesis developed by Ulrich Beck,

Anthony Giddens and others, and applied to China most prominently by Yunxiang Yan. In contrast to the latter, she claims to paint a more nuanced picture of changes in intergenerational relations that goes beyond progressive individualization and a concomitant decline in family cohesion and responsibilities. She first gives a historical account of the research setting, Dougou Village. She traces the different generations of dwellings that bear testament to the accelerated economic development of the reform era and lays out social assistance programs that exist in this rural locality. After thus setting the scene, she delves into the discussion on cultural constructions of filialness. At the core of the villagers' understanding of this concept is material well-being — obedience on the part of the younger generation, in particular the daughters-in-law is, however, no longer necessarily a part of it. This is a clear departure from earlier times, when filialness strictly mandated the superiority of the elderly generation in the social hierarchy. Another notable shift is the increased roles played by daughters in providing material, instrumental and emotional care for their natal parents. This may go as far as housing them. Yet, towards the end of their days elderly parents in Dougou will always be relocated to a son's house, since dying at a daughter's place would represent a loss of face. Interestingly, "unfilial behavior" negatively reflects on both children and parents alike as the latter may be blamed for failing to raise their children properly.

This indicates that obligations also cut both ways: contemporary parents are expected to fulfil their duties towards the children — most importantly their sons — just as the latter have to take care of their elderly parents. For rural parents this means, first and foremost, to provide each son with a house and pay a bride price so that they can get married. This burden has considerably increased over the four reform decades. Having several sons — formerly enhancing a family's social standing — therefore turns into a costly proposition. Moreover, labor migration has fundamentally changed intergenerational relationships. Nowadays, it is the younger ones who possess greater earning power and, thus, higher status compared to the old. On top of that come the very practical challenges of providing care and assistance to aging parents in "spatially ruptured" families. This leads to flexible adjustments in family practices — meticulously described in this study — but often also to (relative) neglect of the elderly. In fact, the author argues that the elderly have become marginalized in rural society. Cao critically reflects the prevailing discourse that views this outcome as indicative of a "moral crisis" in China. In her final analysis, filial piety is being transformed rather than eroded. For her this is the result of larger social and historical transformations rather than a moral failing. Against this background, her adamant rejection of the individualization thesis is problematic. It is based on a simplistic rendering of this concept as predicting a linear reduction of traditional attitudes and a complete setting-free of the individual from all social bonds. Like other critics of this theoretical perspective, such as Jack Barbalet, she thereby fails to recognize that individualization theorists themselves highlight that disembedding will be accompanied by reembedding in transformed social commitments. Cao builds on Neil Gross' distinction between "meaning-constitutive" and "regulative traditions" to argue that while the former are still largely intact, only the latter were in decline. Yet seeing family values as part of "meaning-constitutive" traditions is unconvincing. "Regulative" traditions are defined as "those that involve the threatened or actual exclusion of an individual from some moral community" (Gross cited on p. 164): Cao's book provides ample evidence that both parental obligations and filial piety continue to fit that definition in rural China. Despite these finer points on theoretical interpretations there is little to criticize about this fine study that adds considerably to our understanding of the rapid changes engulfing rural Chinese society.

That said, the rural picture needs to be complemented with a look at urban society, as it is provided by Patricia O'Neill's book. Her sociological study comes in a different style and is more schematically structured, although she also gives considerable room to the narratives of her respondents. Her study group are what she calls "Chinese daughters" — in fact, ethnic Chinese women living in Singapore, Hong Kong and Kunming, Yunnan Province. Thus, she is interested in understanding changes in "the Chinese family" in a fairly wide sense that goes well beyond Mainland China (though this is not evident from the title). The three study locales share a number of parallel socio-economic developments such as rising educational levels (especially noteworthy for women), aging societies and increased mobility. Her main research question is why Chinese daughters would still hold on to filial obligations and be willing to provide eldercare given all that has changed. Specifically, she tackles motivations for caregiving, the role of personal relationships between caregiver and recipient and the actual care arrangements. She also addresses the thorny question of why and under which circumstances care may be withheld or delegated to third parties (domestic helpers or institutions).

But before the empirical chapters start, the book opens with three lengthy chapters (over 150 pages) discussing the history and recent scholarship on filial piety in Asia, theories on care provision in Asia and the West as well as the authors own "typology of support and care." The latter provides a useful framework for the remaining empirical chapters in distinguishing different phases. It starts with "support" that involves daughters helping parents to take care of themselves without "hands-on care work" (e. g. through instrumental help and emotional backing). O'Neill's focus here is on motivations and she finds that "structural norms" (filial piety) remain strong as motivating factor, especially when parents-in-law are concerned or the parent-daughter relationship is generally strained. However, many of her respondents are helping based on "relational norms" (gratitude, affection, love) or mixtures of both types. Gratitude is most strongly felt for their own parents' contribution to the daughters' education, which in turn enables daughters to provide for themselves as professionals. With respect to parents-in-law, relational norms only play a part insofar as the daughters think of their husbands when providing them with support. The second phase, temporary care, poses greater demands on daughters as it is frequently connected to short-term emergencies. This will often require more "emotion work" (Arlie Hochschild's well-known concept) to bring in line the daughters' actual feelings with what they think they ought to feel. For temporary care, which is short-term by definition, O'Neill found limited reservations on the part of daughters. Instead, in emergency situations almost all were willing to help, though they had to cope with repercussions to their work lives, which in turn are fundamental to their self-identities as modern women.

The situation was radically different with respect to open-ended caregiving for aging parents. Here, the daughters portrayed in the book had to sacrifice much more and often experienced severe caregiver's burden. This is why O'Neill's analysis at this stage highlights how care relationships evolve under different motivational scenarios. Again, open-ended caregiving will regularly involve strenuous emotion work. The final phase of the typology is reached when daughters can no longer bear the burden and seek to outsource care. This is, however, far from easy. Although foreign domestic helpers have become a norm in the societies of Singapore and Hong Kong, employing rural (let alone foreign) domestic helpers for eldercare remains much less common in Kunming. And even when the elderly are institutionalized, families feel obligated to spend considerable time providing care and support for them (either personally or through a maid as proxy). In fact, in some cases described by O'Neill the daily commute to the care home causes considerable caregiver's burden for the daughters too.

In conclusion, she argues that Chinese family norms are clearly in transition: The interpretation of what filial piety means was evidently individualized. Nevertheless their commitment to filial obligation remained strong. This commitment seems to be mostly driven by relational rather than structural norms and in a clear departure from earlier times "there was choice where none existed before" (p. 298). When Chinese daughters sacrificed and engaged in emotion work to live up to expectations it was for the most part their own expectations of themselves rather than those of wider society. In other words, they did so because that is part of who they are or want to be. This increasing optionality and the strong role of self-identity construction contrast sharply with Fang Cao's rejection of the individualization thesis. Furthermore, an interesting finding that O'Neill comes up with at several junctures in her study is the role of religion, more specifically Christian faith. For many of her respondents Christian norms at the least supplement and strengthen traditional Confucian notions of filial obligation — in some cases the former even supplant and replace the latter. Obviously, the notion of filiality is undergoing complex transformation in contemporary Chinese societies.

While O'Neill's study is well-structured and clearly argued, it is also replete with repetitions. And whereas the case selection of three "Chinese" cities is in itself an interesting approach, the author regularly fails to identify clearly from which of the three study settings an individual quote comes.

This is not an issue for the third book under scrutiny here, since Lin Chen's study focuses exclusively on Shanghai, one of the most quickly aging cities in China. Chen's approach also differs from O'Neill's in that she studies the decision to institutionalize an elderly parent in a nursing home from the perspectives of both generations involved. Her qualitative study is based on separate interviews with twelve parent-child dyads, sampled from a government-run nursing home. After introducing the social context of China's aging society and care crisis, she first describes this care home in more detail. Like the other authors one of her primary interests is understanding how filial piety figures in these families' decision to place their elderly in a professional care institution. The conceptual framework of this study consists of four components, namely crisis theory, intergenerational communication, uncertainty management theory and life course perspective. From each, one hypothesis regarding the decision process is derived to guide the analysis. In all twelve sample families, institutionalization was preceded by a period of co-residence by elderly parents and their adult children. The basis of such arrangements (at least implicitly) commonly was an exchange of real estate for care. More often than not, however, this led to conflicts between the two generations or among siblings. The one child receiving the parents' home (often the eldest son) was invariably seen as responsible for providing care, so other siblings may simply refuse to contribute. Between parents and children there were varying views on what kind of care was owed to meet filial obligations: children may provide only instrumental care, but no emotional support — quite in contrast to O'Neill's findings. Moreover, Chen interprets the exchange of real estate for eldercare as a violation of filial piety (p. 68), whereas Cao, as seen above, sees this same exchange as proof that the traditional norm of intergenerational reciprocity was still intact. Their findings converge, however, regarding what Chen calls the "caregiving gender paradox": while parents often name a son as their primary caregiver, in fact, the hands-on care is usually provided by a daughter-in-law.

Turning to the decision-making process, Chen develops a useful typology of families along two dimensions: whether the elderly themselves or their children proposed institutionalization, and whether instrumental or psychological needs were at the center of the consideration. Although some elderly are proactive, she generally finds a power imbalance favoring adult

children. However, the latter rationalize their choices by foregrounding concerns for better health and geriatric care in professional nursing centers compared to their own homes. Chen demonstrates that adult children go to great lengths to select the right nursing home, also considering their parents' preferences. Somewhat paradoxically, although the parents' role in institutionalization decisions was mostly marginal, after an admittedly sometimes-difficult period of adjustment many of them reported positive effects of their relocation. These included better physical and mental health statuses as well as feelings of belonging regarding the nursing home community and even empowerment. Ironically, they regained some control over their own lives through being institutionalized, whereas previous periods of co-residency with children were often mired in tensions and family conflicts.

Based on their experiences as caregivers the adult children in this study, all from China's baby boom generation that was only allowed to have one child, foresee that their own single children will be unable to shoulder caring for themselves in old age. They have come to accept the harsh reality that they might be the last Chinese generation to practice filial piety in the sense of providing family-based care. Their hope is that the supply of decent (i. e. government-run) nursing homes will improve until their time comes. Since O'Neill's respondents from Singapore and Hong Kong also indicate they were unwilling to pass on to the next generation the same values of filialness they themselves found bound to follow, this intergenerational value shift cannot be explained by the one-child policy alone. Instead it represents an adaptation to a complex cultural transition. Taken together these three books present fascinating insights into this ongoing process of social change.

Björn Alpermann

Hartmut Walravens (ed.): Herbert Muellers Forschungsreise nach China 1912–1913. Aus den Akten und Korrespondenzen neu bearbeitet und durch historische Fotos ergänzt

Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2017. 219 S., 54 EUR

Recent research on German sinology in the 20th century (see Hartmut Walravens 2010, 2016; Mechthild Leutner 2013, 2014, 2016) has revealed and highlighted many hitherto unsung heroes of the craft. Even among these, the name Herbert Mueller (1885–1966), the subject-cum-protagonist of Hartmut Walravens' new edited volume, does not necessarily ring a bell. Mueller's many contributions to research on Chinese culture, his groundbreaking work as a curator for the East Asian collection of the Berlin Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde, and even his early exposé (1914) outlining the necessity and benefits of a German research institute in Beijing (an exposé, which was, among others, signed by Richard Wilhelm) are not part of German common sinological knowledge today. The often striking sinophilia, or even sinification of Mi Laoye, as he was called by the Chinese and his German and European friends alike, was evident in his broad activities and his interests in Chinese art and culture, his private life choices, and in much of his fiction (see "Der Päan auf Peking", this edition). His eventual descent into (sinological) oblivion is mostly due to the tragic circumstances surrounding his life and career, which were upset and eroded by two world wars, a five-year groundless internment in the Landsberg penitentiary, and the loss of his Chinese family and private collection of books and art. Yet perhaps it was also his criticism of the state of German sinology in 1911 and 1919 respectively (Walravens 2017: 167), and his active, and disillusioned, retreat from this field, that contributed to this oblivion.

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