

ANDREAS, Joel. 2019.
Disenfranchised: The Rise and Fall of Industrial Citizenship in China.
Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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Disenfranchised: The Rise and Fall of Industrial Citizenship in China asks "why the twentieth-century Communist project to rule out class distinctions failed" (p. vii). By bringing together 128 interviews with people who worked in industrial enterprises, and official and unofficial written materials such as laws, regulations, and speeches, Andreas compares changing politics *inside* the workplace in China from 1949 to the present. He examines significant concepts drawn from the policies and institutions of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) (p. 19), and assesses the explanatory power of *industrial citizenship* and *autonomy* as prerequisites for industrial democracy.

In his conceptual framework explained in Chapter One, industrial citizenship refers to workers becoming stakeholders in the workplace, and autonomy refers to the extent to which workers enjoy autonomous collective action and express concerns without repression. Although industrial citizenship was accomplished through permanent job tenure, Andreas argues that the actual accomplishment of democracy through autonomous participation was a fragile and contentious process (p. 17), changing over time through disruptive mass campaigns initiated by the CCP.

From Chapters Two to Six, Andreas delves into mass campaigns and how they affected the autonomy of workers inside the workplace during the Mao era. After the socialist transformation of workplaces and institutionalisation of the work unit system (*danwei* 單位), Mao turned his attention to bureaucratic tendencies in the Party and workers' lack of autonomy. He initiated a party rectification campaign in 1956, followed by activities related to *daming dafang* (大鳴大放, "big speaking out") (p. 41), a slogan used during the campaign in which the masses were encouraged to speak out about bureaucratism and sectarianism. Andreas argues that the necessary participation in democracy was limited and determined by Party membership. As Chapter Three's title indicates, this was participatory paternalism.

Workers' reluctance to criticise factory leaders after the suppression of *daming dafang* led to the launch of two other campaigns: the Four Cleans and the Cultural Revolution. In the first, Mao's method to address reluctance was sending work teams from outside the factory to workplaces to lead workers. Although it allowed for some degree of autonomy, it could not eliminate

bureaucratism. As a continuation of the former but in radical ways, the Cultural Revolution fundamentally shaped work unit systems.

In Chapter Six, Andreas examines the new factory governance after the Cultural Revolution, which resulted in the creation of revolutionary committees rather than allowing the masses to form permanent autonomous organisations. The revolutionary committees were composed of veteran cadres, rebel groups, and military officials. Andreas interprets the process as "a kind of institutionalized political contention" (p. 163), meaning that both radical and administrative groups operated under Party control.

One of the many strengths of the book comes from his interpretation of Mao's flipflopping between encouraging workers to seize power and then suppressing them. Rather than commenting on Mao's experiments as a method of first learning what was going on in the minds of the masses and then stopping them quickly, Andreas underlines the contradiction within the opposite objectives of the Party. While Mao wanted the masses to supervise Party cadres, he did not want them to diverge from the political authority of the CCP. Thus, Andreas argues that Mao's experiments were based on his "cyclical conception of history, composed of alternating phases of unity and struggle" (p. 165).

Chapters Seven and Eight focus on the post-Mao era and gradual market reforms in which industrial citizenship was annihilated slowly and workers were *disenfranchised*. Power relations were shaped at the expense of workers by concentrating power in the hands of factory directors through the "factory director responsibility system" (p. 186). By separating workers from the divisive politics of the Mao era, Deng institutionalised ways of workers' participation, making them focus only on economic affairs. Thus, any remaining collectivist ethics, a relatively egalitarian distributive system, and socialist ideals diminished. Through the *maiduan* (買斷) system, which offered workers money to renounce their permanent status as members of the work unit, Chinese industry went from one end of the spectrum to the opposite, having one of the most precarious employment systems today.

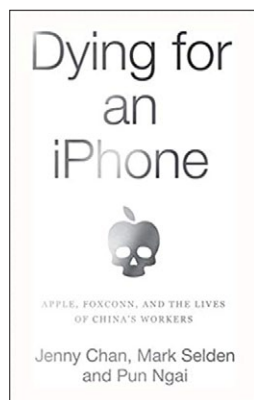
In the last chapter, Andreas concludes that China today has market despotism accomplished by eroding the political objectives of the CCP and yielding to neoliberal pressures around the world. While the lack of autonomy hindered attempts to democratise socialist industry, it also caused workers to lose their industrial citizenship rights.

The book has two important strengths. Firstly, Andreas locates his research in the global context of a wave of industrial citizenship after the Second World War, and reads the CCP's efforts and China's place at a historical juncture. Secondly, while Andreas aims to understand industrial restructuring by comparing two eras, that of a work unit system and of a profit-oriented enterprise system, he allocates most of the chapters to the work unit system era to examine the political conditions that paved the way for restructuring. In this way, Andreas sheds light on the historical processes shaping China's current labour system. Hence, while China is one of the countries responding to global trends, it has distinct features through which we can understand how contingent events, i.e., the CCP's mass campaigns, shape further issues.

Andreas claims the opposite of the general framework arguing that Deng's reforms only changed economic affairs. Instead, he argues that "the damage to workers' political status in the

workplace should not be overlooked" (p. 219). Since the only way to regain industrial citizenship rights lies in how we interpret past experiences and how they "give rise to new creations in an evolving world" (p. 235), he focuses on the politics inside the workplace to learn and take lessons from the past as a means of new politics for the working class. Overall, the book will be of great interest for scholars of Chinese politics, labour studies, and historical sociology and offers a powerful addition to earlier publications on labour politics in China.

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CHAN, Jenny, Mark SELDEN, and Pun NGAI. 2020.
Dying for an iPhone: Apple, Foxconn, and the Lives of China's Workers.
Chicago: Haymarket Books.

ÉRIC FLORENCE

This volume on the Foxconn-Apple-state nexus and the lives of rural workers originates from a remarkable initial cross-border collaboration in the summer of 2010 between researchers from mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Together, these researchers investigated the plight of rural workers in Foxconn's major production sites in nine Chinese cities following an unprecedented spate of suicides among youthful rural workers at Foxconn, the Taiwanese electronics-manufacturing corporation and major provider for Apple. Within this single year of 2010, 18 workers reportedly attempted suicide, with four surviving but permanently crippled. *Dying for an iPhone: Apple, Foxconn, and the Lives of China's Workers* rests on a decade of research and engagement by the three authors. This volume provides an invaluable testimony to rural workers' agency, on the one hand, and to the persistent capacity of global corporations – focusing here chiefly on Foxconn and its main client company Apple – to relentlessly transform the very power configurations that have enabled companies to capture workers' labour power at minimal cost. On the side of workers' capacity to resist exploitative regimes of production, the volume documents workers' struggles and ability at organising and at making visible their conditions and their claims.

The three authors manage to document these two facets by

constantly engaging a polyphony of workers' experiences (materialised through interviews, workers' songs, poems, social media postings, etc.). They relate their longing for social mobility, their struggles for decent labour conditions and wages, their suffering and, in some instances, their injuries and their deaths, against the narratives, development strategies, and policies of global corporations and Party-state institutions. Doing so enables the authors to track the pressures applied on suppliers, buyers, and the state by a constellation of actors (workers, social scientists, activists, the media and social media, lawyers, anti-sweatshop campaigners, etc.). It also exposes the capacity of the former to show flexible responsiveness to these demands while also limiting their reach so that the very mechanisms that have been so efficient at generating profit remain untouched. This contrast is made most vividly and powerfully as the authors start the volume with the tale of Tian Yu, a 17-year-old female worker who on 17 March 2010, one month after she entered the Foxconn production site, jumped from the fourth floor of a Foxconn dormitory building in Shenzhen, and was left crippled (Chapter One). This chapter takes the reader through a whole range of procedures that Tian Yu has to go through and that inserts workers' bodies into a grid of valuation and measurement (fingerprints via digital reader, blood sampling, health check, cultural indoctrination around the importance of nurturing a spirit of hard work, dreams and aspirations, etc.) before being transferred by bus to the production site. The articulation between Tian Yu's fate and the pressure imposed on workers' bodies and souls by the relentless quest for "speed and precision in producing iPhones and other high-tech products" (p. xiii) is made in this initial chapter by stressing that at the very moment Tian Yu tried to commit suicide, consumers all around the world and in China were queuing to acquire the latest model of iPhone 4 and first-generation iPad (p. 1). This volume does indeed describe a ruthless and formidably efficient "buyer-profit-maximizing global production system" and how workers are endeavouring to resist and sometimes disrupt this system (p. 68).

Chapters Two to Five focus chiefly on the workings of the production regimes enabled by the corporate-state nexus. These chapters, along with Chapter Twelve, constitute the backbone of the book. They show how Foxconn went from a rather small company based in Shenzhen and hiring about 150 workers in 1988, to employing 1,300,000 workers and staff in 2012 before dropping to 863,000 in 2018 because of increasing recourse to outsourcing (p. 12-5). Chapter Three shows how the "corporate-state nexus" – i.e., the various forms of alliances between local governments and international corporations – has turned into a formidable force generating immense profits driven by the demand for Apple products. One of the most convincing examples of this nexus can be found in the process of hiring student-interns. In addition to the intensification of production, from 2011 onwards with the production of iPads, Foxconn turned to a new strategy of reducing production costs through a spatial extension of its production complexes towards central and southwest China and via the concomitant hiring of student-interns. In 2011, more than 150,000 student-interns were working in Foxconn sites. Chapter Five provides a wealth of detail into how, in order to achieve this politico-institutional creation of new pools of workers, all departments at the provincial, municipal, district, and township levels (from human resources and social