
Apart from the repetitiveness of the arguments, the author tends to represent Calvinism in a sort of Hegelian night where all cows are black. Calvinist socio-theology is, metaphorically speaking, like a person accused of murdering American democracy and social justice. The author sees Calvinism as having created the premises for the master-servant economy that penetrated the spirit of *predatory* (p. 165) capitalism, degenerating into the *mafia capitalism* (p.167). In this sense, Zafirovski claims not an elective affinity between Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism, but a direct influence of the religious viewpoint on the economic and political structures of American capitalism, overturning the Marxian approach to the relationship between structure and superstructure at the same time. Mafia capitalism and moral Fascism paradoxically converge towards a terrifying representation of Calvinism and Puritanism combining to become a den of vice. Its aim to provide a holistic theological interpretation of reality—including the (pre)destiny of human beings and society—perversely leads to slavery and predation, a theocracy, a moral tyranny that suppresses individual moral freedom, a Puritan culture of death (just to quote some excerpts from the book).

Zafirovski's thesis is convincing in parts and supported by evidence. The inevitable nexus between the theology of pre-destination and the contradictions (to use Marxian language) of modern capitalism and modern democracy seems to have been inadequately argued, however. Capitalism and democracy tend to evolve, possibly in spite of some of the religious roots in Western societies, according to their own internal rules, which do not necessarily refer to any theological or moral view of the world. To attribute all deviations and *vices* of the capitalist economy and the tyranny of the majority in the democratic arena to Calvinism seems to be straining logic, from both the historical and the sociological standpoints.

Other weaknesses of the book are its diffuse and wordy style, and oddly, the absence of any references in the footnotes and bibliography to the classic authors (such as Simmel, Tocqueville and Weber) that Zafirovski frequently mentions in discussing his theory, whereas Parsons is correctly quoted.

In Search of Paradise: Middle-Class Living in a Chinese Metropolis, by **Li Zhang**. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010. 248pp. \$23.95 paper. ISBN: 9780801475627.

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A key sociological issue concerns change in the social stratification system during the process of transformation from a redistribution economy to a market economy in socialist countries. Has the process of marketization in China since 1980 produced a new middle class? What kind of class behavior is marked in the emergence of this middle class? Will the new middle class affect Chinese social, political and economic trends? Those are common questions for sociologists who are concerned with Chinese societies in the future. Some of the traditional studies focus on education, occupation and income, followed by the growth of corporations and rapid bureaucratization.

Li Zhang has opened up a new research method in the book *In Search of Paradise: Middle-Class Living in a Chinese Metropolis*, an analysis of middle-class living through the production of commodity housing. Emphasis on what links the middle class together is not necessarily a shared structural position or historical condition, but a similar orientation in lifestyles expressed in homeownership, consumerism, and economic liberalism. Zhang has declared an analytical notion of the "Spatialization of Class." This spatial production affects the political economy of urban restructuring, capital accumulation, new ways of living, and social identification. This perspective of space reflects class formation in both private property and culture identification, social relationships and post-socialist governing. It is an important theoretical contribution to Chinese social stratification studies. The realistic descriptions and analysis are accurate and predictable.

In research methods, this book is different from the mainstream research of social stratification. It makes no use of quantitative methods, but draws from ethnographic fieldwork in Kunming, a provincial capital city. In

modern Chinese history, Kunming is a city with a nostalgic story. It is not an ideal fieldwork site for class analysis, but it is where the author grew up and has maintained close family ties and social networks. Zhang conducted ethnographic fieldwork by visiting over thirty newly-developed gated communities and ten older neighborhoods within Kunming and its suburbs, combining participant observation, semi-structured and informal interviews, and documentary research. The data are abundant, vivid and reliable.

Private home ownership and commercialization of urban land are just two of the most palpable changes that indicate the end of the socialist mode of city life. A new middle class has formed through the production of private housing as well as the consumption of new residential spaces. In this ongoing process, the meaning of being middle class is constantly defined and redefined by a variety of social actors, including real estate developers, advertisers, homeownership, and those who are excluded from such spaces. The notion of "Spatialization of Class" is an accurate and vivid understanding and insight into the changes in the social structure in China. The new middle class in China is marked by three distinct characteristics: their moment of emergence, their highly heterogeneous composition, and their heightened sense of insecurity. As the owner of a house, the new middle class is affected by the "double movement" of Karl Polanyi. On the one hand, they search for a private paradise, and on the other, they engage in public actions to defend their paradise. The latter action creates a condition for the production of a citizenship society. Zhang remarks, "At the heart of the making of the new middle-class citizens as I observed them in Kunming is the formulation of a new kind of subject who is inspired by a different set of ethics than the socialist ones" (p. 19). Under post-socialist urban governing, experiments in that governing and the shifting power dynamics result in two processes: the privatization of urban authorities, and the shift to governing through community and self.

Housing, class and urban governance are key words for China studies, and their changes will influence profoundly the future in China. Social inequality in housing may cause conflict between the poor and rich,

and may also lead to a bourgeois revolution asking for the right of private property. The book benefits our understanding of the changes in Chinese social structure.

Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York, by **Samuel Zipp**. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010. 469pp. \$34.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780195328745.

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Samuel Zipp's gracefully written *Manhattan Projects* offers detailed, well-illustrated case studies of famous urban renewal schemes to make a larger point about urban planning in modern America. His episodes of New York City urban renewal have been described elsewhere, but Zipp weaves the community thread into the familiar "big picture" urban development narrative. By doing so he reveals that resistance to famous projects such as Lincoln Center gained a good deal of traction, and even where resistance failed, it exercised lasting influence on planning practice in New York and across the globe. Throughout the book, Zipp demonstrates interdisciplinary flair including sound, readable analysis in architectural history, social history, cultural studies, and political and legal history.

The United Nations headquarters opens the book (pp. 33-72) because it became the model, physically and ideologically, for urban renewal schemes of the era. Its proponents, including Robert Moses and John D Rockefeller Jr., aimed to reshape New York as a global capital by replacing an industrial zone on the East River with a white collar, global institution housed in a modernist tower-in-the-park superblock. There was little organized citizen resistance to the project at this time, so Zipp shows how promoters created a narrative of city improvement (slums replaced by modernity) that could be applied across the city, even where plenty of people would have to be displaced.

Zipp's story gains momentum at Stuyvesant Town (pp. 73-156) and he ably uses photographs, testimony, and local newspapers to illustrate the vibrancy of a standardized