

Two key issues examined in *Mindanao*—land and landlords—could fruitfully inform the Bangsamoro peace building process. Ferrer underscores how ancestral land was one of the most contentious issues in the peace talks, while Lara's chapter on the underground economy claims that the government was an accomplice in land grabs in Southern Philippines. Meanwhile, Abinales' take is that land titles in Mindanao are not with imperialists or settlers, but with local Big Men and landlords. These analyses are useful when the future Bangsamoro government threshes out what land reform in the Bangsamoro would entail.

Dealing with the disunity within the Bangsamoro is also reserved for the future Bangsamoro government, the very arena where traditional and new clans would vie for control. Lingga argues that patronage-related corruption and violence persist as challenges to good governance in the Bangsamoro. When left unaddressed, clan rivalries among landlords will likely remain a source of conflict within the Bangsamoro, explain Abinales, Monsod, and Lara in Chapters 2, 6, and 7, respectively. These mean that measures need to be in place to prevent local landlords from solely determining Bangsamoro's future.

An issue absent in the book, but which deserves space in academic work on Mindanao and the ongoing peace process, is the situation of the landless. Changes in power and economic relations in Mindanao require addressing inequality between classes, ethnic groups, and genders. Beyond the war, women and men must cease to suffer from structural violence to take all peoples within the Bangsamoro on the road to peace and prosperity.

Mindanao invites scholars and practitioners to revisit the incumbent commitment of the government, the insurgent groups and the Filipino public, to peace. Published after the 2016 elections in the Philippines, *Mindanao* is persuasive in highlighting the challenges in the peace process faced by the new administration. The current constellation of Mindanaoan government leaders can make great leaps in Southern Philippines and this book offers a preliminary map to get there.

References

- Abinales, Patricio N. (2010). *Orthodoxy and history in the Muslim-Mindanao narrative*. Mindanao studies series. Quezon City: Ateneo University Press.
- Lara, Francisco, & Schoofs, Steven (Eds.). (2013). *Out of the shadows: Violent conflict and the real economy of Mindanao*. Quezon City: International Alert.

Reviewed by Teresa Jopson

PhD Candidate, Department of Political and Social Change,
Australian National University, Australia

***Taiwan and the "China Impact": Challenges and Opportunities*. London: Routledge. 316 pages. ISBN 9781138945920. \$163. Gunter Schubert (ed.). 2016.**

How did the Republic of China (hereafter referred to as ROC or Taiwan), develop a vibrant democracy and economy even though it was under tremendous pressure from the People's Republic of China (hereafter referred to as PRC or mainland China) in the past two decades or so? As such a pressure

continues or intensifies, what would be the consequences for Taiwan and what possible solutions could it adopt? Answers to these questions can be subjective because there is no single, authoritative methodology that measures these types of impacts or predicts and judges these consequences. Once observation and analysis touch the personal, societal, and international political levels, it is very difficult to construct bias-free interpretations and predictions based on such methodologies and measurements, especially when the contemporary “Taiwan-mainland China” synergy has become entangled with so many value judgments about the future legal and political relations between Taiwan and mainland China.

The authors of this ambitious edited volume titled *Taiwan and the “China Impact”: Challenges and Opportunities*, use different methodologies to measure the development of cross-Strait exchanges. Based mostly on their empirical findings, the contributors attempt to introduce, analyze, and even predict the future course of Taiwan’s development in the face of mainland China that has not given up its goal of national reunification and that has been using more feasible approaches and strategies to deal with Taiwan after it learned some hard lessons from Lee Tenghui and Chen Shuibian. That being said, what is important for readers may not be what kind of methodology is used in each chapter but the empirical findings and practical analyses that can help them appreciate the current status and the future course of cross-Strait relations in order to better understand the impact of mainland China on Taiwan in specific issue-areas.

By studying the ongoing situations or putative inferences derived from increased interactions between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, the contributors present individual interpretations and evaluations as to how mainland China has impacted Taiwan in a couple of dimensions. The volume’s two big sections focus on mainland China’s impact on Taiwan’s politics and society, while a smaller section contains two essays discussing how Taiwan-U.S. security ties can be affected by increased cross-Strait economic and social engagements and how Taiwan’s overall security environment can be challenged by mainland China. The majority of the essays have an inward-looking nature. Either empirically or conceptually, most of the contributors try to examine mainland China’s direct (purposeful) or indirect (unintended) influence that have resulted in actual changes in Taiwan or that indicate possible changes which could happen in Taiwan.

The reader might be tempted to dismiss some contributors who occasionally express their discontent over the Kuomintang’s (KMT) management of cross-Strait issues with sensational expressions like “the KMT’s overly accommodating position towards the demands from and interests of the Beijing government” (p. 145). The other arguments, however, are not trivial. In fact, one of the valuable inputs of some contributors is to provide a “bottom-up” approach—by using either public opinion surveys or interviews, or both—to examine the impact of mainland China on Taiwan’s politics and society. For instance, Shelly Rigger (Chapter 5) studies how Taiwan’s growing engagement with mainland China since the late 1980s has had an impact on Taiwan’s generational politics. Gunter Schubert (Chapter 6) uses qualitative interviews to understand the role and influence of Taiwanese entrepreneurs investing in mainland China. Nai-The Wu (Chapter 8) tries to determine if the “China

factor” and the “1992 consensus” swayed the outcome of the presidential election in March 2012. Chih-Jou Jay Chen (Chapter 9) examines the likelihood of supporting or opposing specific cross-strait policies using survey data and correlating factors like gender, ethnicity, social status, party identification, and national identity. Thung-Hong Lin (Chapter 10) argues that class backgrounds, mediated by different cross-strait trade policy preferences, have affected Taiwanese voting behavior in recent elections. Some of the ensuing chapters that examine mainland China’s impact on Taiwan use a similar approach to analyze and assess such critical issues as the migration of skilled Taiwanese workers to mainland China, the link between citizenship and cross-strait marriages, as well as the potential identity transformation of the youth at “Taiwanese entrepreneurs schools” (Taishang Xuexiao).

Another significant input is the contributors’ acknowledgment that the impact of mainland China will remain for a long period of time, as well as their identification of the possible trajectories of Taiwan’s politics, society, and external security due to various driving forces.

Although a handful of contributors seem reluctant to make mid- or long-term assessments on the issue-area they have explored, and some studies concentrate more on quantitative measurements and appear too conceptual to explain and assess their topics in greater detail or in a more practical way, this volume forms part of Gunter Schubert’s ongoing project of applying an interdisciplinary “mosaic” to the study of contemporary Taiwan. As such, he assembled scholars from various disciplines who use different methodologies and approaches in order to provide diverse perspectives that would help readers think more deeply about the different facets of Taiwan-mainland China relations.

It is certainly beyond the capacity of this edited volume to add economic (including financial, monetary, e-commerce) and foreign policy essays on mainland China’s impact on Taiwan. The editor recognizes this limitation, which is certainly understandable. Yet, generally speaking, there is one point that could have been pushed further by the contributors collectively, that is, whether or not peaceful cross-strait relations that led to greater people-to-people and economic exchanges will help enhance Taiwan’s stability and security and, therefore, contribute to the growth and sustainability of Taiwan in the future. Some contributors answer this question as an important part of their conclusions, while others touch lightly upon this question. The rest (albeit very few) seem to develop their arguments simply by presuming that Taiwan’s challenges have increased due to more frequent exchanges between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, while ignoring the possible opportunities that come with such exchanges. This presumption is not an unacceptable defect but exactly represents the current diversified perspectives of the Taiwan studies community, and that makes *Taiwan and the “China Impact”* very thought-provoking for many people interested in Taiwan and cross-strait relations.

Reviewed by Kwei-Bo Huang
Associate Professor, Department of Diplomacy,
National Chengchi University, Taiwan