

international relations but also as an element of the domestic Indian and Chinese policy toward Kashmir and Xinjiang.

Although China's and India's common, or similar, interests in Central Asia provide a basis for possible cooperation between the two nations in the region, there also exist factors that drive them to compete with each other. As Zhao Huasheng explains, both states are rising powers, and as such, competitiveness is part of their makeup; there are border and territorial disputes between them that lead to geopolitical wariness of each other to include Central Asia; but most importantly, both scramble for energy and natural resources (p. 136).

In economic terms, the presence of China and India in Central Asia differs. Beijing is a global power, increasingly present in all sectors, whether by its imports, its exports, or its ability to offer cheap technology, whereas India is a minor economic player with specialized niches, but lacking total reach. Areas where India can compete with China, such as knowledge technologies, are still relatively underdeveloped in Central Asia. However, these sectors are expected to grow and so are the implementation prospects of Indian companies. Sebastien Peyrouse predicts that although for now Central Asia needs the Chinese "world's workshop," in the future it will have to focus on the Indian "world's back office" (p. 169). Moreover, in the decades ahead, the fear of a near-total domination of the region by China should push Central Asian political elites to give special attention to other actors, such as India.

Overall, the authors provide a comprehensive and ambitious but at the same time sobering analysis of China and India's role in Central Asia. They prudently caution against a geopolitical sensationalism. Although the image of Central Asia as a land of new global confrontation between rising powers such as India and China may capture the imagination, sobriety should drive the analysis; Russia, the United States, and the European Union are all equally important there. And far from the glorification of the geopolitical "crossroads of the world," the moves of Chinese and Indian actors remain marked by hesitation and, above all, pragmatic choices (p. 2).

The book is a must-read for a broad range of specialists—from those involved in the area studies of Central Asia, Afghanistan, South Asia, Russia, and China to those working in the disciplines of international relations, political economy, culture, and religion.

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***Chinese Human Smuggling Organizations: Families, Social Networks, and Cultural Imperatives.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. 304 pages. ISBN 978-0-8047-5741-6. Hardcover, \$45. Sheldon X. Zhang. 2008.**

The book outlines the structure of the secretive world of contemporary Chinese human smugglers ("snakeheads" or *shetou* in Chinese), whose endeavors have facilitated the transportation of thousands of illegal immigrants from China to the United States since the early 1990s. It relies on solid methodology consisting of the analysis of government documents and press reports, as well as 129 in-depth

face-to-face interviews with human smugglers, their clients, and government and law enforcement officials in the United States (New York and Los Angeles) and China (Fuzhou, capital of Fujian Province in Southeast China). This book is a major contribution to the emerging literature on illegal migration from Fujian to the Western world, of which the most relevant works are Peter Kwong's (1997) *Forbidden Workers*, Chin Ko Lin's (1999) *Smuggled Chinese*, Frank N. Pieke and colleagues' (2004) *Transnational Chinese* (migration to Europe), and most recently, Julie Y. Chu's (2010) *Cosmologies of Credit* (ethnography of a sending village in Fujian).

The book examines the inner workings of Chinese human smuggling organizations and their actors, their backgrounds, self-perceptions, and patterns of operation. It then offers a conceptual analysis of how and why these apparently ordinary people become transnational smugglers capable of engaging in group-oriented transactions and sophisticated operations around the globe with surprising success.

The book is divided into 11 chapters. The first chapter presents a historical overview of illegal Chinese emigration to the United States, the particular political, economic, and social context of present-day Chinese emigration, and a review of the major explanations of the causes of international migration. It also provides a descriptive analysis of the human smugglers under scrutiny (i.e., their demographic characteristics and diverse backgrounds, the pathways they took to enter the business, and self-perceptions; chap. 2). Chapters 3 and 4 bring out the strategies and methods used by snakeheads to recruit and manage their clients' journeys. They focus on the techniques employed and the 51 transit countries Chinese migrants pass through before reaching their final destinations. Chapter 5 compares China-based and U.S.-based smugglers in terms of social and economic positions and describes the migrants' arrivals and at times violent payment/debt collection procedures. Chapter 6 presents economic data about the profits of the business, the cost of operations, and profit sharing. Chapters 7 and 8 analyze the organizational and operational patterns of the smugglers and offer a conceptual framework—the *dyadic cartwheel network*—which the author locates between two major models in criminology: the *corporate* and the *enterprise* models. Chapter 9 analyzes the connection (or lack thereof) between smuggling associations of entrepreneurs and conventional Chinese criminal organizations (Hong Kong triads, Taiwan-based groups like Bamboo United, U.S.-based tongs, and Chinatown gangs). Chapter 10 addresses the unique position that women hold in the illicit smuggling business through their active recruitment of clients, their capacity to build trust (especially among female would-be migrants), and their planning and coordinating activities. The concluding section, Chapter 11, summarizes the book's main ideas and proposes recommendations for law enforcement agencies in charge of the fight against illegal migration.

The book is original for several reasons. First, the author has chosen a contemporary and sensitive topic—illegal migration from China—that has drawn the attention of scholars in the social sciences since the 1990s. Zhang's method is original as he bases his study on solid empirical knowledge and multisite, field-based investigations. Scholars interested in social science research methods will enjoy the author's creativity in mastering the snowballing technique, in which

one informant refers another, and the art of developing social circles and cultivating personal contacts or connections (*guanxi* in Chinese) to recruit research subjects.

Second, the author focuses exclusively on human smugglers, a social group that is generally difficult to gain access to. Such a choice is laudable and welcome, as information about these key actors from the underworld is missing in most of the scholarship about illegal migration and human trafficking. The main finding of the book is that snakeheads organize themselves in loosely connected social circles comprising two to five individuals, with the common goal of accomplishing transnational negotiations and operations for profit. These individuals tend to run small-scale operations for short periods of time on a part-time basis, as many of them also run legitimate businesses. Classic in the social sciences study of criminality, labor division is an important feature of smuggling organizations since each member acts as a link of a chain and is responsible for a specific task in the smuggling process: recruitment, organization and coordination of travel, preparation of authentic or fraudulent documents, bribing of officials, escorting clients across borders, and payment collection in the United States.

Third, we learn that snakeheads recruit prospective clients through social circles. Smugglers use kinship, friendship, and shared community ties to secure potential migrants; therefore, their reputation and credibility are paramount. Both clients and snakeheads scrutinize each other closely in the initial stages of the smuggling process. On one hand, relatively few Chinese have the financial capacity to cover the high smuggling fees. On the other, clients want to be certain that the snakehead of their choice is reliable and is capable of providing the service promised. A fascinating finding is that migrants perceived smugglers as philanthropic do-gooders; for example, the illustrious New York-based smuggler Sister Ping, who was sentenced to three years of prison for her alleged connection with the Dover incident in Europe (58 dead), had an impeccable reputation among Chinese communities in both China and the United States.

Fourth, Zhang's novel theoretical perspective helps to demystify media and law enforcement agencies' common misconceptions that smuggling organizations are well organized and operate like, if not hand in hand with, crime syndicates. Mainstream criminology typically offers two theoretical models to categorize crime organizations. The *corporate* model presents traditional crime syndicates as being hierarchical, centralized, ritualized, and bureaucratic structures that are managed like corporations. In contrast, the *enterprise* model describes criminal organizations as "flexible and adaptive networks of enterprising individuals" (p. 134) that can quickly adapt to the uncertainties of the market. The main structural feature of Chinese smuggling organizations studied by Zhang is that members' relationships entail one-on-one or dyadic transactions that minimize tensions and increase personal accountability. Indeed, this type of interaction facilitates information gathering and decision-making while preventing the emergence of vertical command or large organizations. The *dyadic cartwheel network* ensures a high level of security with minimum exposure to law enforcement officials since members are insulated from one another. Because they operate on a single-operation basis, smuggling groups can expand,

contract, or disappear for variable periods of time in response to market uncertainties. The author concludes that smuggling organizations bear features of the two core models—labor division and assigned responsibilities as described in the corporate model, and the lack of vertical differentiation and flexibility as presented in the enterprise model. Thus, he argues for a “diagonal relationship between the two perspectives” as “the paths of the two models crisscross one another” (p. 154).

Last, the author addresses the sensitive issue of rampant corruption in contemporary China, and more specifically the role of corrupt officials in the smuggling process. An important finding is that officials involved in corruption and smuggling operations are not high ranking, but rather they tend to occupy low-level positions that enable them to provide crucial services such as dealing with passports (e.g., inspectors, clerical staff, officials issuing residential registrations or marriage certificates). Smugglers’ personal connections with officials are volatile, as the Chinese government has imposed a mandatory turnover in government posts to fight against corruption. Unfortunately, the author did not reveal whether he also investigated corruption in the smuggling process in the United States.

In summary, Zhang’s book makes a substantial contribution to the emerging literature on illegal migration from China to Western countries, and in particular from Fujian to the United States. The analysis and arguments in the book are a valuable source for scholars, practitioners, policy makers, and law enforcement agencies to begin to challenge common assumptions about Chinese smuggling organizations, and to become more aware of the hidden complexities of contemporary transnational mobility from China.

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***Trafficking and Human Rights: European and Asia-Pacific Perspectives*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar. 244 pages. ISBN 9781848441. Hardcover, \$69.95. Leslie Holmes (ed.). 2010.**

Human trafficking has justifiably been called the slavery of our times. While the overwhelming majority of internationally trafficked persons (an estimated 80%) are women and children, many thousands of men are trafficked each year as well. The majority of internationally trafficked persons are forced into what is nowadays an antiquated term, *white slavery*—that is, sex work.