

Index

Appleby, Joyce, 6, 97, 112 New Life Movement launched by, 15, 162, 183 Sun Yat-sen's trope of the four Bacon, Francis, 96–97 Bao Shichen (1775-1855), 160 material needs of the people Adam Smith's optimism compared reinterpreted by, 185–186 with, 124-125, 132, 151 See also New Life Movement and modern population studies in (xinshenghuo yundong) China, 119 Chin, Tamara T., 3, 28, 49 and other "accommodationists" in Clunas, Craig, 52, 81 the Daoguang administration, 137 Confucianism revitalized local community correctness (zheng) as a pillar of, envisioned by, 123-125, 128-130, and debates between "modernists" and "reformers" in the Debate on baojia (social units of mutual responsibility generally formed of Salt and Iron, 29 filial piety (xiao) as a pillar of, 17 five families), and the Qing system and frugality, 42 of power brokerage, 126–129, 161, 200 Legalist thinkers' rejection of, 20 Barlow, Tani, 179 and not being too thrifty, 44 Brook, Timothy, 57-58 and the philosophical framework of the mandate of minsheng, 94, 167, 197-198 Cai Yuanpei (Zimin), 159, 166, 179, 182-183 and the power of benevolence and capitalism. See Western capitalism good government, 50 system and pro-luxury arguments, 53 Chen Chi (1855–1900), luxury virtues of li, yi, lian, and chi (rites/ consumption criticized by, 142-143 manners, righteousness, honesty, and sense of shame) evoked by Chen Hongmou background of, 102 the New Life Movement, 186 views on capital investment in See also Mencius; Xunzi consumption. See luxury consumption agriculture compared the basic tenets of the *physiocrates*, 104–105 corruption views on trade and consumption, and despotism associated with 103-104, 113, 149 consumption by Tang Zhen, 86, Chen Lifu, and the New Life 88, 90 Movement, 183, 185–186 frugality used by the Qing to counter Chiang Kai-shek it, 198 on the model of frugal nation private market forces used by the building, 186-187 Qing to counter it, 198

230



> Index 231

Dai Yingcong, 65–66 and the language, elements, and Daoguang Emperor (r. 1820-50) categories of modern Western and administrative tensions economics, 7-8 between "accommodationists" and "interventionists," 137 Grain Tribute Administration's reform of 1826, 137 market forces used to achieve targeted goals, 156 privatization of imperial functions, 25-26, 29 110, 136, 200 Self-Strengthening reforms compared with administrative reforms of, 154 and Xianfeng's view of the success of 27, 50 his policies, 118 De Vries, Jan, 9-10, 12, 70-71, 76, Eurocentrism Debate on Salt and Iron (Yan tie lun, 81 BCE) 157 on the balance between thriftiness and waste, 43-44 96-97 and Emperor Wu's economic reforms, 24-25, 27-29 Legalist theories presented in, 64–5– 10, 31, 49 outcome of, 28-29 and state intervention in the economy, 25-27, 200 Western Han context of its compilation, 24-25 developmental determinism and CCP and GMD economic 99-100 strategies, 191-192 China's circumstances unfairly measured by, 3, 159 free-market views defined, 1 ideological nature of, 1 and Rostow's The Stages of Economic Growth, 201 Dong Wei (?-1217), 38-40, 198 and the Chinese critique of Duara, Prasenjit, 128, 136, 200 Dunstan, Helen, 68-69 consumerism, 194-196 and developmental determinism, 1 and the development of economic

Economic Cooperative Movement (jingji hezuo yundong), 174 economic modernization and Eurocentrism, 5, 96-97

and "scientific" understanding of the Chinese economy, 173 Elman, Benjamin, 59 Emperor Wu (r. 156-87 BCE), economic reforms of and Confucian debates between "modernists" and "reformers," and the Debate on Salt and Iron, 24–25, 27–28 dismantling of, 29 military efforts to fight the Xiongnu, Sima Guang's criticism of, 33-34 See also Sang Hongyang and mercantilist theories, 111-112, and the modernization paradigm, 5, and the problem of "the great divergence," 5, 94, 113 and recent work comparing European and Chinese industrious economies, 70-71 See also developmental determinism; Western capitalism system Fan Zimei (1866–1939), 169 Fang Bao, and the Yan-Li school, Fang Xianting (1903–85), 172 Fénelon, François, 93 Feng Guifen (1809-74), 139-140 and China's difficult relations in light of the economic vulnerability of countries facing Western imperialism, 3-15

thought in China, 93-97

38-40, 198

and Dong Wei's views of the nature and scope of Chinese markets,



232 Index

free-market views (cont.) and the economic vulnerability of countries facing Western imperialism, 157, 201-202 and European advocates of ending state intervention, 93 Jiaqing's and Daoguang's reforms contrasted with, 156 and the physiocrates, 104 and Tang Zhen's "natural" market system, 86–87, 93 See also Western capitalism system frugality and the balance between thriftiness and waste in the Debate on Salt and Iron, 43-44 as a CCP nation-building strategy, 193 and Chen Hongmou's views on trade and consumption, 103-104, and Confucian rites, 42, 186 and Confucius on not being too thrifty, 44 and countering corruption in the Qing period, 198 as a critique of capitalist consumerism, 179 encouraged by Lu Ji along with his pro-luxury views, 76-78 and the Guanzi, "Ban fa," 43 Japanese discourse on, 188-189 Jiaqing's restoration of notions of, 90, 106, 109-110 and liberal notions of market and consumption during and after the Opium War (Yapian zhang, 1839-1842), 13, 110-111 Mao Zedong on, 192-193 and mass consumption as the future of capitalism, 149 and nation building in Republican China, 179-183 Qianlong Emperor on, 116-117 and reducing government administration during the Self-Strengthening Movement, 150–151 as a response to Western domination in international trade, 142

as a tool for mass mobilization of resources during New Life Movement, 184-185, 187-188, 194 and Veblen's critique of "conspicuous consumption," 171, 181-182 and Xunzi's views, 43 and Yan Fu's interpretation of Adam Smith's views, 147, 149 See also sumptuary laws Gerschenkron, Alexander, 201-202 Gide, Charles, 174, 195 granary systems charity (yicang), 36-37, 67-68 community (shecang), 36-37, 67-68 ever-normal (changpingcang), 36-37, 67-68 Grain Tribute Administration's reform of 1826, 137 Gu Gongxie (1759-1844), 88, 93 Gu Yanwu (1613-82), 59-60, 140 Guangxu Emperor, Hundred Days Reforms launched by, 145 Guanzi Chapter 5, "On Military Taxes" (Sheng ma), 43 Chapter 7, "Ban fa," 43 Chapter 35, "On Extravagance in Spending" (Chi mi), 44-45 and debates regarding early liberal consumerist "modernity," 45-46 and Guan Zhong (720-645 BCE), 43 Legalism's rejection of Confucian morality exemplified by, 20 Guomindang (or GMD). See Nationalist Party

and self-strengthening, 139-141

Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE)
Confucian–Legalist tradition
consolidated during, 21–22, 50
and the ever-normal granary system,
36
Western Han Dynasty (206 BCE–9
CE). See Debate on Salt and Iron;
Emperor Wu; Sang Hongyang
Hayami, Akira, 70



Index 233

He Changling (1785–1848), 143–144 Self-Strengthening reforms compared He Lian (or Franklin Ho, 1895–1975), with administrative reforms of, 154-155 172 hinterland-coastal gap sumptuary laws implemented by, and China's modern economy, 203 118, 125, 200 Xianyu Reforms of, 90, 109-110 See also Jiangnan Jin Dynasty (265-429 CE), granary Hong Liangji system of, 36 biographical details, 119-120 modern population studies in China jinshi degree, 38 founded by, 119-120 Johnson, Wallace S., 42 Hongwu Emperor (r. 1368–98) anti-market policies of, 55-56 Kang Youwei preparedness granaries (yubeicang) and the Hundred Days reforms, 145 ordered by, 67 Reformist Faction (Weixinpai) of, Huang Zhen (1213-80), 38 Huang Zongxi (1610–95), 59–62, 83–84 on state planning to balance Hundred Days Reforms (wuxu bianfa), production and consumption, 145, 154 154 Kangxi Emperor (r. 1662–1722) Japan consumption economy and prodiscourse on frugality in, 188 luxury arguments during his reign. First Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), See Tang Zhen depression of the early-Qing market 139 postwar development of, 202 during the early reign of, 63-64 edict of 1709 addressing population Second Sino-Japanese War growth, 115 (1937-45), 191and Wei Yuan's writing on statecraft, and the mandate of minsheng, 22 144 sixteen maxims of his sacred edict Jiangnan (sheng yu yi shi liu tiao), 127 demographic boom in, 114 surplus in state finances during the highly commercialized economy of, reign of, 133 198-199 Zunghar campaign, 66 pro-luxury views of intellectuals kaozheng (Evidential Study) and officials linked to, 52-53, and Ming loyalists, 59-60, 63 80 - 81and Songjiang scholars, 75 and the Yan-Li school, 100 See also Gu Yanwu; Huang Zongxi; See also Songjiang; Yun Jing Wang Fuzhi Jiaqing Emperor (r. 1796–1820) Keay, John, 31 and the contribution of entertainers, Kishimoto-Nakayama, Mio, 63-64 frugality viewed by, 90, 106, Lears, T. J. Jackson, 11–12 109-110 Legalism (*fajia*) and Hong Liangji, 120 and Confucian ideas about the power market forces used to achieve of benevolence and good targeted goals, 156 government, 50 population growth as an issue for, Confucian views of morality, 20 See also Guanzi Leonard, Jane Kate, 23, 67-68 privatization of state functions, 110,

Li, Lillian, 7

136, 200



234 Index

Li Gong (1659–1733), 98–101 Li Hongzhang (1823-1901), 139-140, 169 Li Jianhua (1900-?), 167, 180-181 Liang Qichao (1873-1929) and Adam Smith's anti-despotism arguments, 153-154 luxury consumption criticized by, 141-142, 144 Study for National Rejuvenation (qiangxuehui) of, 145 the Western model of economic modernization questioned by, 165 Lin Liyue, 74, 79 Lin Man-Houng, 137-138 Lin Zexu (1785–1850), 137 Liu, William Guanglin, 55–56 Liu Zongzhou (1578-1645), 101 Loewe, Michael, 49 on debates between "modernists" and "reformers," 29 longue durée (1500s-1930s) approach, 197, 203 Lu Ji (1515-52) consumption policies advocated for varying economic circumstances by, 199 "Jinshebian" essay, 75-80, 92, 144 luxury consumption linked to scarcity by, 47 Songjiang family roots of, 74, 77–78, and statecraft (jingshi sixiang) developments in the late Ming period, 74 and Wei Yuan's pro-luxury arguments, 144 luxury consumption associated with despotism, 92-94 Confucian legitimacy bestowed on, 53 and economic circumstances, 9-11 economic scarcity and famine associated with, 46-47 European and Chinese economic thought compared, 7-8, 12, 91-97 and "fables of abundance," 10-12 Jiangnan intellectuals and officials linked to, 52-53, 80-81 and Practical Learning (Shixue), 87

pro-luxury views of Lu Ji, 75–78, 92 and the pro-spending theory of Guanzi, 44-45 and treaty port culture, 15, 168, 170-171, 199 and Veblen's critique of "conspicuous consumption," 171, See also sumptuary laws Ma Yinchu (1882-1982), 192 Machiavelli, Niccolò, 92–93 McMahon, Daniel, 109 mandate of minsheng, 16-50 passimConfucian philosophical framework of, 94, 96, 197-198 and guoji minsheng (state finances and the people's livelihood), 22-23, 67, 197 and the idea of the free market, 94 and modernity and nation building, 158-160 and the political objectives of Qing China, 22-23, 197 population growth and scarcity as a challenge to, 116 and scarcity in the early nineteenth century, 109, 133 and Sun Yat-sen's trope of the four material needs of the people, 184-185 Mandeville, Bernard, 93, 105 The Fable of the Bees, 91-92 Mann, Susan, 127-128, 200 Mao Zedong, on frugality, 192–193 Marxism Lenin's The State and Revolution, 191 and notions of evolutionary development, 191-192 dialogue with King Hui of Liang, 17 Legalist thinkers' rejection of his views of morality, 20 pro-luxury arguments legitimized by reference to his ideas, 53 Meskill, John Thomas, 75 Ming Dynasty anti-market policies of the early-

Ming state, 55-56

emperors. See Hongwu; Yongzheng



Index 235

industrious economy of the late period of, 198 kaozheng preferred among Songjiang scholars, 75 late-Ming pro-luxury arguments of Lu Ji. See Lu Ji preparedness granaries (yubeicang) model of, 67 statecraft (jingshi sixiang) development in the late Ming period, 74-75, 97 See also Qiu Jun Ming loyalists anti-Manchu sentiments of, 60-61 and market policies adopted by the Qing, 65 and the meaning of material profits (li), 62-63and "natural economy," 61-62 and the revival of good governance, See also Gu Yanwu; Liu Zongzhou; Wang Fuzhi; Zhang Lüxiang; Zhang Ying minsheng. See mandate of minsheng Mokyr, Joel, and the "great divergence" debate, 94-95 Nankai Institute of Economics (Nankai daxue jingji yanjiusuo), 172 - 173Nationalist Party (Guomindang or GMD) consumption as a central tenant of, 166-167, 180 Economic Cooperative Movement (jinji hezuo yundon), 161, 174 See also Sun Yat-sen

and frugality as a tool for mass mobilization of resources, 184-185, 187-188, 194 launching of, 15, 162, 183, 190 and Madam Jiang (Song Meiling), Sun Yat-sen's trope of the four material needs of the people reinterpreted by, 185-186 Northern Song period (960–1127) Emperor Shenzong (r. 1067-85), 31 - 32military challenges to its borders, 32, 50 reformulation of the role of private interests (li), 197-198 and the relationship between the state and societal economy, 31 See also Wang Anshi

Opium War (*Yapian zhang*, 1839–42) and the importation of Western ideas and technologies in the wake of, 132–133 liberal notions of market and consumption in the wake of, 13 and the Nanjing Treaty (1842), 111 and notions of frugality and state intervention in the wake of, 110–111, 134, 139

physiocrates

Chen Hongmou's views on capital investment in agriculture compared with, 104–105 the economies of Qing China and Europe compared by, 3, 104 and the idea of "self-interest" as a tool for organizing the economy, 105

See also Quesnay, François

Pomeranz, Kenneth, 113
on economic development in early
twentieth-century Shandong., 112
English developmental experience
identified as an exception by, 6
European and Chinese industrious
economies compared by, 71
"the great divergence" defined by, 5,
94–95, 113

Neo-Confucianism

to, 96, 99

186

New Culture Movement, 170

yundong), 164

New Life Movement (Xinshenghuo

Confucian notions of virtue and

personal morality appropriated by,

four Confucian virtues deployed by,

influence on Chen Hongmou, 103

late-Ming and early-Qing challenges



population growth

236 Index

and China's modern economy, 203 the economic decline of nineteenthcentury China, 114-115 and the economies of Qing China and Europe compared by the physiocrates, 3 and the Jiaqing administration, 117 and modern population studies in China, 119 and scarcity during the Yongzheng reign, 116, 125-126 Sun Yat-sen on the productive capacity of the vast Chinese masses, 158 Practical Learning (Shixue), 87, 103 Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736–96) and the contribution of entertainers, 122 financial impact of military campaigns in the Northwest, 134 frugality addressed in edict of November 1735, 116-117 frugality as an official policy of, 88-90, 106, 199 industrious economy during his reign, 72–73 and the mandate of minsheng, 22 population growth and scarcity a concern of, 116 state intervention in the grain storage, 68-69 support for luxury consumption expressed in letter to You Bashi, 116 Yingyung Shengxi terminated by, 66-67

Qin Dynasty (Qin chao, 221–206 BCE),

depression during the early Kangxi

emperors. See Daoguang; Guangxu;

financial crisis at the beginning of the

nineteenth century, 109, 133-135

Jiaqing; Kangxi; Qianlong;

industrious economy of the early

establishment of, 50

Qing periods (1500s-1911)

period, 63-64

Yongzheng

period of, 198

population growth and scarcity as a threat to its legitimacy, 116 prominent Qing officials. See Chen Hongmou reliance on the market by, 198 and scholarly interest in the role of liberal economic elements on Chinese economic modernity, 203 uneven economic circumstance of the empire, 198-199 See also Hundred Days Reforms Qing periods (1500s–1911) to End of the Prosperous Age (1800–50s) cataclysmic natural events during, 115 and the "great divergence" between Western European countries and China, 113 Qiu Jun (1420-95), 57-58, 93 Quesnay, François the circulation of economic resources through different groups in French society mapped by, 122–123 and Qing Confucian agrarian policies, 3, 104 Ren Qiyun background of, 125-126 revitalized local community social sciences in China, 163-164 and nationalist movements developmental state, 203 Sun Yat-sen's principle of "people's

envisioned by, 126-128, 151, 161 Republican China (1912-30), 158-196 passimand the development of the supporting frugal habits, 179-183 scholarly research on the interventionist livelihood" (minsheng), 184-185 and the urban consumerist economy, 162-163 See also Western capitalism system, Republican-period China Ricardo, David, 124-125 Rowe, William T., 102-103, 156

Saint-Lambert, Jean François de, 93 Sang Hongyang (152–80 BCE) aggrandizers (rapacious landowners and merchant cartels) targeted by, 29, 32–33



Index 237

Confucian ideology in opposition to,	Song Dynasty (960–1279)
29	and the development of long-distance
and the Debate on Salt and Iron,	trade, 30–31
25–26, 28–29, 43–44	See also Northern Song period
Emperor Wu's military enterprises	(960–1127)
supported by, 27, 50	Song Dynasty (960–1279) granary
Self-Strengthening	policies
and frugality, 139-141	and Dong Wei's views of the nature
the <i>guo</i> as the objective of, 111, 141,	and scope of Chinese markets,
155	38–40, 198
and mercantilism as a response to	and famine relief, 38–39
Western imperialism, 111–112, 157	and the growth of commercialization,
Self-Strengthening Movement	36–38
(1861–95), 111	Songjiang
frugality deployed to reduced	as a coastal shipping hub., 78
government administration,	kaozheng preferred among scholars
150–151	in, 75
and the importation of Western ideas	scholars of. See Lu Ji
and technologies in the post-	state intervention
Opium War period, 132–133	and China's modern economy, 4, 203
See also Tan Sitong; Wei Yuan;	and Chinese pro-market theories,
Zheng Guanying	57–58, 93
silver-based trade during the Qing	and the Debate on Salt and Iron,
anti-silverist position of Gu, Huang,	25–27, 200
and Wang, 64	and the granaries system during the
anti-silverist position of Tang Zhen,	Qing, 68–69
82–83	laissez faire policies of Classical
Smail, Daniel Lord and Andrew	liberalism of Smith contrasted
Shryock, 203	with, 151, 153-154
Smith, Adam	and the revitalized local community
Bao Shichen's optimist views	envisioned by Ren Qiyun,
compared with, 124-125, 132	126–128, 151
and Chinese notions of the role of the	and Taylorism, 160-161
state in the economy contrasted	and Yun Jing's view of the economy,
with his ideas, 151	130–132, 151
on the "great divergence" between	See also Debate on Salt and Iron
Western Europe and China, 3	Sui Dynasty (581-618 CE), granary
and Liang Qichao's economic views,	system of, 36
149, 153–154	sumptuary laws
optimism about growth and	and Confucian rites, 42
productive forces in society, 123	and the formula of "honoring
Wang Yanan and Guo Dali's	frugality and eliminating
translation of The Wealth of	extravagance," 47
Nations, 189	Xianfeng Emperor's imposing of,
Tang Zhen's "natural" market	118–119
system compared with, 87	Sun Yat-sen
and Yan Fu's translation of <i>The</i>	China described as a semi-/hyper-
Wealth of Nations, 13, 133, 149,	colony, 157
153	and consumption as a central tenet of
Smith, Paul I., 34–35	the GMD, 166–167



238 Index

Sun Yat-sen (cont.) four basic needs of "food, clothes, shelter, and means of transportation" (shi yi zhu xing), 167, 184-185 principle of "people's livelihood" (minsheng), 184-185 on the productive capacity of the Chinese masses, 158 Taiping Rebellion (1850-64), 111, 114, Tan Sitong (1865–98), 143, 145, 150 Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE) granary system of, 36 sumptuary laws during, 42 Tang Shouqian (1856-1917), 140-142 Tang Zhen (1630–1704) background of, 82 consumption associated with corruption and despotism by, 86, on the economic situation of the Kangxi era, 82–83 "natural" market system of, 87, 93 pro-luxury views of, 83-85, 96 Yun Jing's view of the economy compared with, 130 lijin tariff on domestic trade, 134 and the Self-Strengthening Movement, 143 and the Treaty of Nanjing, 138-139 Tawney, Richard Henry, 175, 195 Taylor, Frederick Winslow, 160-161 unregulated market. See free-market views Veblen, Thorstein, critique of conspicuous consumption, 171,

Veblen, Thorstein, critique of conspicuous consumption, 171, 181–182

Von Glahn, Richard, 29, 33, 47, 55, 57, 114–115, 134
the "Great Leap Forward in economic productivity" identified by, 30–31 modernization paradigm questioned by, 7

Wang Anshi (1021-86), New Policies (xinfa) controversy over, 31-34, 58 Sima Guang's opposition to, 33–35, and state intervention in the societal economy during the Northern Song, 31–33 state intervention in other periods compared with, 200 Wang Fuzhi (1619–92), 53, 60, 65, 93 Wang Shiying (1902–49), 174–176 Wang Wensheng, 136-137 Wang Yanan, 189-190, 194 Wang Yuan (1648-1710) economic views of, 101 frugality advocated by, 53 and the Yan-Li group, 98, 100-101 Wei Jirui (1620-77), 63-64, 87 Wei Yuan (1794-1857) background of, 143-144 market-based luxury consumption encouraged by, 144 and other "accommodationists" in the Daoguang administration, 137 Western capitalism system frugality as a critique of capitalist consumerism, 179 and late-Qing anti-consumerism intellectuals, 179-181 and mass consumption, 149 and mercantilist theories, 111-112 and the negative impact of the Great Depression, 161 and notions of frugality and state intervention in the wake of the First Opium War, 13, 110-111 the physiocrates' ideas contrasted with, 105 Qing use of market forces used to achieve targeted goals contrasted with, 156 See also free-market views Western capitalism system, Republicanperiod China and humanist evolutionary understandings of consumption, 165-169 and nation-building priorities, 194-195



> Index 239

and social Darwinism, 166, 194 and Xie Peiqiong's critique, 164–165, 178 Western Han Dynasty (206 BCE-9 CE) emperors. See Emperor Wu

See also Debate on Salt and Iron; Sang Hongyang Wong, Roy Bin

on the decline of the Qing granary system, 68 economic circumstances in China

compared with those of Europe on the eve of the Industrial Revolution, 6

Xianfeng Emperor (r. 1851-61), sumptuary laws decreed by, 118-119 Xianyu Reforms (Xianyu weixin 1799–1805), 90, 109–110 Xie Peiqiong, 164–165, 178 Xunzi (c. 310-c. 235 BCE) frugality supported by, 42 Mencius' views compared with,

19 - 20

Yan-Li group

Yan Fu (1854-1921) on frugality, 141-142 and the Self-Strengthening Movement, 132 translation of The Wealth of Nations by Adam Smith, 13, 133, 141, 149, 153 the Western model of economic modernization questioned by, 165 Yan Hesheng (1663–1741), 100

Practical Learning (Shixue) championed by, 103 See also Li Gong; Wang Yuan; Yan Hesheng; Yan Yuan

Yan Yuan (1635–1704), 98–101 Yang Lie-sheng, 43, 45-46 Ye Shichang, 144 Yellow River flooding resulting from changing its course, 115 and water transportation networks centered at Kaifeng, 30 Yingyung Shengxi Qianlong Emperor's termination of, 66-67 Yongzheng Emperor's establishment of, 66 Yongzheng Emperor (r. 1723–35) population growth and scarcity a concern of, 116, 125-126 private merchants entrusted with investing military funds by, 69 surplus in state finances during the reign of, 133-134 yingyung shengxi established by, 66 Yu Ziyi, 181 Yun Jing (1757-1817) and modern population studies in China, 119-121 ratio between producers and

consumers as a focus of, 121–122, 152 and state intervention, 130-132, 151

Zhang Lüxiang (1611-80), 101-102 Zhang Ying (1637–1708), 101–102 Zheng Guanying (1842–1922) and Chen Chi, 142 frugality promoted by, 143, 151 on state and private cooperation in fighting the commercial war with imperialists, 154-155 Zheng He (1371–1433 or 1435), 56 Zhu Shikang (1901-82), 168-169, 171–174, 177, 180