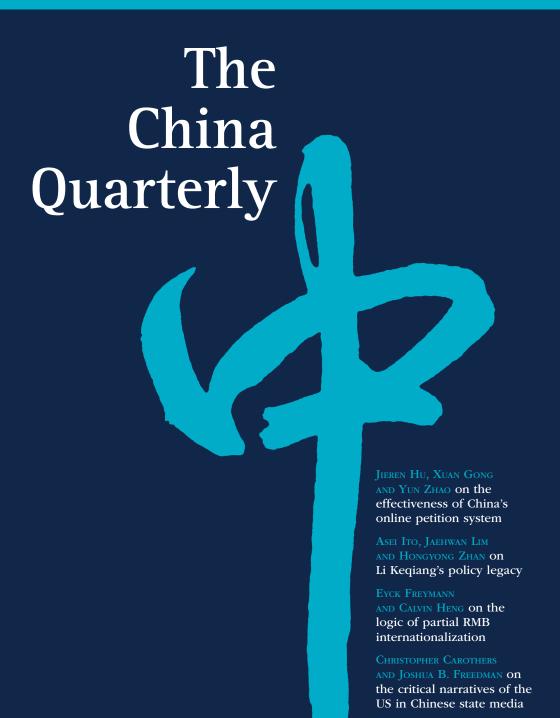
JIAN Xu AND LING YANG on celebrity public relations

in China



SOAS University of London

# The China Quarterly

Published by Cambridge University Press for SOAS University of London

The Editorial Office

SOAS University of London, Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG. Tel. +44(0)207898 4063

Email: chinaq@soas.ac.uk

#### The Editorial Office

The China Quarterly (ISSN 0305-7410) is published quarterly in March, June, September and December by Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge, CB2 8EA, UK/Cambridge University Press, 1 Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, USA. The subscription price which includes electronic access and delivery by air where appropriate (but excluding VAT) of volumes 261 to 264 in 2025 is £336.00 (US \$567.00 in USA, Canada and Mexico) for institutions; £59.00 (US \$103.00) for individuals ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the journal is for their personal use. Students can subscribe at £24 (US \$42). Single parts are £103.00 net (US \$173.00 in USA, Canada and Mexico) plus postage. EU subscribers who are not registered for VAT should add VAT at their country's rate. VAT registered members should provide their VAT registration number. Japanese prices for institutions (including ASP delivery) are available from Kinokuniya Company Ltd, P.O. Box 55, Chitose, Tokyo 156, Japan.

Orders, which must be accompanied by payment, may be sent to a bookseller, subscription agent or direct to the publisher: Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge, CB2 8EA, UK. or in the USA, Canada and Mexico: Cambridge University Press, 1 Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, USA. Periodical postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Cambridge University Press, Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006.

1 Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006,

The current plus three back volumes are available from Cambridge University Press.

#### Advertising

Advertisements are welcomed and rates will be quoted on request. Enquiries should be addressed to Advertising Promoter, Journals Group, Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge, CB2 8EA, UK.

Tel +44 (0)1223 325757 Fax +44 (0)1223 325801.

#### Convina

This journal is registered with the Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Organizations in the USA who are also registered with the C.C.C. may, therefore, copy material (beyond the limits permitted by sections 107 and 108 of U.S. Copyright law) subject to payment to the C.C.C of the per copy fee of \$12.00. This consent does not extend to multiple copying for promotional or commercial purposes. Code 0305-7410/14. ISI Tear Sheet Service, 3501 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104, USA, is authorized to supply single copies of separate articles for private use only. Organizations authorized by the Copyright Licensing Agency may also copy material subject to the usual conditions. For all other use, permission should be sought from Cambridge or from the American Branch of Cambridge University Press.

This journal is included in the Cambridge Journals Online Service which can be found at journals.cambridge.org. For further information on other Press titles access journals.cambridge.org.

© SOAS University of London, 2025 ISSN 0305-7410

Typeset by Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd. Printed in Great Britain by Henry Ling Limited, The Dorset Press, Dorchester, DT1 1HD

This journal issue has been printed on FSCTM-certified paper and cover board. FSC is an independent, non-governmental, not-for-profit organization established to promote the responsible management of the world's forests. Please see www.fsc.org for information.

For EU product safety concerns, contact us at Calle de José Abascal, 56, 1°, 28003 Madrid, Spain, or email eugpsr@cambridge.org.

# The China Quarterly

## an international journal for the study of China

June 2025 number 262

-			1			. 1	
ĸ	200	221	·ch	Δ	rtı		29

- **Mechanical Responsiveness: China's Online Petition System**Jieren Hu, Xuan Gong and Yun Zhao
- 310 Anti-corruption Efforts, Corruption Perception and Public Evaluation of Local Governments in China
  Zhou Zhou, Yangxuan Zhou, Meng Yuan and Anni Tang
- 330 The Rise of the Chinese Judiciary and Its Limits: Administrative Litigation in the Reform Period Yuxia Zhang and John Zhuang Liu
- 352 Remembering Li Keqiang: Policy Divergence in Zhongnanhai and Its Economic Consequences
  Asei Ito, Jaehwan Lim and Hongyong Zhang
- 371 Little to Lose: Exit Options and Attitudes towards Automation in Chinese Manufacturing
  Nicole Wu and Zhongwei Sun
- **392** Public Perceptions of Intergenerational Mobility in China Feng Yang, Airan Liu and Wangyang Li
- 413 Credit Data, Banks, "Packaging Agencies" and the Promise of Digital Lending to Small Businesses in China

  Han Tao
- **429** The Logic of Partial RMB Internationalization: PRC Perspectives on "Financial War" Eyck Freymann and Calvin Heng
- 445 Adaptive Governance at Work: How Chinese State Actors Respond to Overseas Pushback on the Belt and Road Initiative
  Hangwei Li and Yuan Wang
- 462 The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Game Changer or Chinese Colonialism? Naubahar Sharif and Athar Mansoor
- **482** America the Failure? Critical Narratives of the United States in Chinese State Media Christopher Carothers and Joshua B. Freedman
- **499** Celebrity Public Relations in China: Power, Politics and Pop Propaganda Jian Xu and Ling Yang
- 515 Digital Fandoms and the 227 Incident: A Case of "Cancel Culture with Chinese Characteristics" Chris K.K. Tan and Miao Li

#### Research Report

531 Surveying Internet Users in China: Comparing Representative Survey Data with Official Statistics
Daniela Stockmann and Ting Luo

#### **Book Reviews**

- 548 The Book of Politics: China in Theory. By Michael Dutton. Ban Wang
- **550** Upstart: How China Became a Great Power. By **Oriana Skylar Mastro.** Lyle J. Morris
- **551** Relations and Roles in China's Internationalism: Rediscovering Confucianism in a Pluriversal World. By Chih-yu Shih. Astrid H.M. Nordin
- 553 Clean Air at What Cost? The Rise of Blunt Force Regulation in China. By Denise Sienli van der Kamp.
  Anna L. Ahlers

- 555 Engineering Stability: Rebuilding the State in Twenty-First Century Chinese Universities. By Xiaojun Yan. Ruth Hayhoe
- 557 Mobilising China's One-Child Generation: Education, Nationalism and Youth Militarisation in the PRC. By Orna Naftali. Jérôme Doyon
- 558 China's Labour Market, 1950–2050: The Role of Family Planning in Demographic and Income Transitions. By Jane Du. Sisi Sung
- The Belt and Road City: Geopolitics, Urbanization, and China's Search for a New International Order. By Simon Curtis and Ian Klaus. James Derrick Sidaway
- 561 China's Quest for Military Supremacy. By Joel Wuthnow and Phillip C. Saunders. Liselotte Odgaard
- **563** Switching Diplomatic Recognition Between Taiwan and China: Economic and Social Impact. Edited by **Chien-Huei Wu.** Gary Rawnsley
- 565 The Idea of a China Arrest Warrant: Surrender of Fugitive Offenders between Mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau. By Yanhong Yin. Yu Mou
- **567** The Regulation of Prostitution in China: Law in the Everyday Lives of Sex Workers, Police Officers, and Public Health Officials. By Margaret L. Boittin. Anqi Shen
- **569** From Forest Farm to Sawmill: Stories of Labor, Gender, and the Chinese State. By **Shuxuan Zhou.** Jacob Eyferth
- 570 Religion, Secularism, and Love as a Political Discourse in Modern China. By Ting Guo. Sonya E. Pritzker
- 572 Learning to Love: Intimacy and the Discourse of Development in China. By Sonya E. Pritzker. Charlie Yi Zhang
- 574 Intimacy as a Lens on Work and Migration: Experiences of Ethnic Performers in Southwest China. By Jingyu Mao. Louisa Schein
- **576** China's Camel Country: Livestock and Nation-Building at a Pastoral Frontier. By **Thomas White.** Christopher P. Atwood
- 578 Crafting a Tibetan Terroir: Winemaking in Shangri-La. By Brendan A. Galipeau. Pauline C. Harlay
- **579** The Chinese Computer: A Global History of the Information Age. By **Thomas S. Mullaney.** Elisabeth Kaske
- 581 Digital China: Creativity and Community in the Sinocybersphere. Edited by Jessica Imbach. Liang Ge
- 583 Chinese Science Fiction: Concepts, Forms, and Histories. Edited by Mingwei Song, Nathaniel Isaacson and Hua Li. Yuqin Jiang
- 585 The Conformed Body: Contemporary Art in China. By Jiang Jiehong. Maximilian Leopold Langefeld
- **587** The Cinema of Wang Bing: Chinese Documentary between History and Labour. By **Bruno Lessard.** Jie Li
- 589 Books Received
- 591 Corrigenda

Please visit the journal's web site at

www.cambridge.org and online at http://journals.cambridge.org/cqy

© SOAS University of London, 2025

Typeset by Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

Printed in Great Britain by Henry Ling Limited, The Dorset Press, Dorchester, DT1 1HD

# The China Quarterly

#### **Editors**

Timothy Hildebrandt, London School of Economics Jieyu Liu, SOAS University of London Tim Pringle, SOAS University of London

### **Editorial Managers**

Raphael Jacquet Rowan Pease

### Copy Editor

Joanne Phillips

#### **Executive Committee**

Sarah Dauncey, University of Nottingham Peter Hays Gries, University of Manchester Eunsuk Hong, SOAS University of London William J. Hurst, University of Cambridge Jakob Klein, SOAS University of London Yuka Kobayashi, SOAS University of London Anna Lora-Wainwright, University of Oxford Bingchun Meng, London School of Economics Grace (Yu) Mou, SOAS University of London Elisa Oreglia, King's College London Lina Song, University of Nottingham Daniela Stockmann, Hertie School Jonathan Sullivan, University of Nottingham Fulong Wu, University College London Ray Yep, University of Bristol

#### **Editorial Board**

Yuen Yuen Ang, Johns Hopkins University
Darren Byler, Simon Fraser University
Yongshun Cai, Hong Kong University of Science
and Technology

Edmund W. Cheng, City University of Hong Kong Eun Kyong Choi, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Bruce Dickson, George Washington University
Sarah Eaton, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Mark W. Frazier, The New School
Hualing Fu, University of Hong Kong
Mary Gallagher, University of Notre Dame
Qin Gao, Columbia University
Ting Gong, City University of Hong Kong
Mette Halskov Hansen, University of Oslo
Miwa Hirono, Ritsumekan University, Kyoto
Ming-sho Ho, National Taiwan University
Genia Kostka, Freie Universität Berlin
James Leibold, La Trobe University

Peichia Lan, National Taiwan University
Lianjiang Li, University of Hong Kong
Ling Li, University of Vienna
George C.S. Lin, University of Hong Kong
Lynette H. Ong, University of Toronto
Maria Repnikova, Georgia State University
Meg Rithmire, Harvard Business School
Margaret E. Roberts, University of California,
San Diego

Victor Shih, University of California San Diego
Beibei Tang, Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University
Jessica C. Teets, Middlebury College
Kellee S. Tsai, Northeastern University
Wen-hsuan Tsai, Academia Sinica
Sebastian Veg, EHESS, Paris
Andrew Wedeman, Georgia State University
Biao Xiang, Max Planck Institute for Social
Anthropology
John Yasuda, Johns Hopkins University

#### **Former Editors**

Roderick MacFarquhar (1960–68) David C. Wilson [Lord Wilson of Tillyorn] (1968–74) John Gittings (Acting Editor 1972) Dick Wilson (1975–80) Brian G. Hook (1980–91) David Shambaugh (1991–96) Richard Louis Edmonds (1996–2002) Christopher B. Howe (Acting Editor 2005) Julia C. Strauss (2002–11) Chris Bramall (2011–16)

## THE GORDON WHITE PRIZE

*The China Quarterly* is pleased to award the 2024 Gordon White Prize to Adam K. Frost and Zeren Li for their article "Markets under Mao: Measuring Underground Activity in the Early PRC" (No. 258, June 2024, pp. 309–328).

The £500 prize is awarded annually for the most original article or research report published in *The China Quarterly* in the relevant year.

Gordon White achieved great distinction for his analysis of modern Chinese politics and society, and for his efforts to promote teaching and research on China. He served as a member of the Editorial Board and Executive Committee of *The China Quarterly* from 1991 until his death in 1998.

The judges are drawn from among the Editorial Board. The prize-winner is published in the June issue of the journal each year.

All enquiries should be directed to:

The China Quarterly
SOAS University of London
Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square
London WC1H 0XG

Email: chinaq@soas.ac.uk

# The China Quarterly

PUBLISHED ON BEHALF OF SOAS UNIVERSITY OF LONDON BY CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

