

The China Quarterly



LIN ZHU on the punishment
of corrupt officials

QIUQING TAI AND RORY TRUOX
on attitudes to return
migration

PETER LORENTZEN AND
SUZANNE SCOGGINS on rising
rights consciousness

JOHN K. YASUDA on food
safety in China

BEIBEI TANG on community
governance in urbanized
villages



SOAS
University of London

The China Quarterly

Published by Cambridge University Press for SOAS,
University of London.

The Editorial office

SOAS, Thornhaugh Street,
Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG.
Tel. +44(0)207898 4063
Fax +44(0)207898 4849
Email: chinaq@soas.ac.uk

Subscriptions

The China Quarterly (ISSN 0305-7410) is published quarterly in March, June, September and December by Cambridge University Press, University Printing House, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, UK/Cambridge University Press, 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473. The subscription price which includes electronic access and delivery by air where appropriate (but excluding VAT) of volumes 221 to 224 in 2015 is £199.00 (US \$334.00 in USA, Canada and Mexico) for institutions; £44.00 (US \$76.00) for individuals ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the journal is for their personal use. Students can subscribe at £20 (US \$35). Single parts are £53.00 net (US \$90.00 in USA, Canada and Mexico) plus postage. EU subscribers (outside the UK) 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, University Printing House, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, UK. or in the USA, Canada and Mexico: Cambridge University Press, 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473. Periodical postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Cambridge University Press, 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473.

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

This journal issue has been printed on FSC™-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.

Advertising

Advertisements are welcomed and rates will be quoted on request. Enquiries should be addressed to Advertising Promoter, Journals Group, Cambridge University Press, The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK. Tel +44 (0)1223 325757 Fax +44 (0)1223 325801.

Copying

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.

© The China Quarterly, 2015 ISSN 0305-7410

Typeset by Techset Composition Ltd, Salisbury, UK.
Printed in the United Kingdom by Bell & Bain,
Glasgow

The China Quarterly

an international journal for the study of China

September 2015 number 223

Articles

- 595 **Punishing Corrupt Officials in China**
Lin Zhu
- 618 **Pernicious Manipulation of Performance Measures in China's Cadre Evaluation System**
Jie Gao
- 638 **Understanding China's Rising Rights Consciousness**
Peter Lorentzen and Suzanne Scoggins
- 658 **Managing Political Opposition Groups in China: Explaining the Continuing Anti-Falun Gong Campaign**
Stephen Noakes and Caylan Ford
- 680 **"The Power of the Purse" of Local People's Congresses in China: Controllable Contestation under Bureaucratic Negotiation**
Jun Ma and Muhua Lin
- 702 **Shall We Dance? Welfarist Incorporation and the Politics of State–Labour NGO Relations**
Jude Howell
- 724 **"Not Rural but Not Urban": Community Governance in China's Urban Villages**
Beibei Tang
- 745 **Why Food Safety Fails in China: The Politics of Scale**
John Kojiro Yasuda
- 770 **Public Opinion towards Return Migration: A Survey Experiment of Chinese Netizens**
Qiuqing Tai and Rory Truex
- 787 **Unifying the Ancestral Land: The CCP's "Taiwan" Frames**
Anne-Marie Brady

Review Essay

- 807 **Is a Non-Capitalist World Possible?**
China and Global Capitalism: Reflections on Marxism, History and Contemporary Politics. By **Lin Chun**. Mobo Gao

Book Reviews

- 814 *China's Political Development: Chinese and American Perspectives.* Edited by **Kenneth Lieberthal, Cheng Li and Yu Keping**. Bruce Dickson
- 815 *China's Futures: PRC Elites Debate Economics, Politics, and Foreign Policy.* By **Daniel C. Lynch**. Bruce Gilley
- 816 *China Goes Global: The Partial Power.* By **David Shambaugh**. Jae Ho Chung
- 818 *China and the United Nations: Chinese UN Policy in the Areas of Peace and Development in the Era of Hu Jintao.* By **Janka Oertel**. Courtney J. Fung
- 820 *The China–Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics.* By **Andrew Small**. Edward Friedman

- 822 *The China Problem in Postwar Japan: Japanese National Identity and Sino-Japanese Relations*. By **Robert Hoppens**. Reinhard Drifte
- 823 *The Growth of Chinese Electronics Firms: Globalization and Organizations*. By **Koichiro Kimura**. Albert G. Hu
- 825 *Class and Class Conflict in Post-Socialist China*. By **Alvin Y. So**. Chris King-Chi Chan
- 826 *China's Human Rights Lawyers: Advocacy and Resistance*. By **Eva Pils**. Katrin Kinzelbach
- 828 *The Judicial System and Reform in Post-Mao China: Stumbling Towards Justice*. By **Yuwen Li**; *Administrative Litigation Systems in Greater China and Europe*. Edited by **Yuwen Li**. Mimi Ajibadé
- 830 *Children, Rights, and Modernity in China: Raising Self-Governing Citizens*. By **Orna Naftali**. Xuan Li
- 832 *Subaltern China: Rural Migrants, Media, and Cultural Practices*. By **Wanning Sun**. Lisa Rofel
- 834 *Family Revolution: Marital Strife in Contemporary Chinese Literature and Visual Culture*. By **Hui Faye Xiao**; *Popular Media, Social Emotion and Public Discourse in Contemporary China*. By **Shuyu Kong**. Chris Berry
- 835 *The Impotent Epidemic: Men's Medicine and Sexual Desire in Contemporary China*. By **Everett Yuehong Zhang**. Kam Louie
- 837 *Shanghai Homes: Palimpsests of Private Life*. By **Jie Li**. Jeffrey Wasserstrom
- 839 *A Landscape of Travel: The Work of Tourism in Rural Ethnic China*. By **Jenny Chio**. John A. Donaldson
- 840 *The Political Economy of News in China: Manufacturing Harmony*. By **Jesse Owen Hearn-Branaman**. Judy Polumbaum
- 842 *Media Transparency in China: Rethinking Rhetoric and Reality*. By **Baohui Xie**. David Ryfe
- 844 *Tiananmen Fictions outside the Square: The Chinese Literary Diaspora and the Politics of Global Culture*. By **Belinda Kong**. Sebastian Veg
- 846 *Verse Going Viral: China's New Media Scenes*. By **Heather Inwood**. Géraldine Fiss
- 848 *Visions of Dystopia in China's New Historical Novels*. By **Jeffrey C. Kinkley**. Christopher N. Payne
- 850 *Contemporary Chinese Art: A Critical History*. By **Paul Gladston**. Xiaobing Tang
- 851 *Van Gogh on Demand: China and the Ready Made*. By **Winnie Won Yin Wong**. Gene Cooper
- 853 *Neither Donkey Nor Horse: Medicine in the Struggle over China's Modernity*. By **Sean Hsiang-Lin Lei**. Tina Phillips Johnson
- 855 *The Making of Modern Chinese Medicine, 1850–1960*. By **Bridie Andrews**. Francesca Bray
- 857 **Books Received**
- 861 **Notes on Contributors**

Please visit the journal's web site at

www.cambridge.org and online at <http://journals.cambridge.org/cq>

© SOAS, University of London, 2015

Typeset by Techset Composition Limited

Printed by Bell & Bain, Glasgow, UK

The China Quarterly

Editor

Chris Bramall

Editorial Managers

Raphael Jacquet

Rowan Pease

Editorial Assistant

Joanne Phillips

Executive Committee

Chris Berry, *King's College London*
Jane Duckett, *University of Glasgow*
Harriet Evans, *University of Westminster*
Dafydd Fell, *SOAS, University of London*
Enze Han, *SOAS, University of London*

Jude Howell, *London School of Economics*
Chun Lin, *London School of Economics*
Rachel Murphy, *University of Oxford*
Tim Pringle, *SOAS, University of London*
Patricia M. Thornton, *University of Oxford*

Editorial Board

Joel Andreas, *Johns Hopkins University*
Yanjie Bian, *University of Minnesota / Xi'an Jiaotong University*
Loren Brandt, *University of Toronto*
Donald C. Clarke, *George Washington University Law School*
Deborah Davis, *Yale University*
Joseph Fewsmith, *Boston University*
Vanessa Fong, *Harvard Graduate School of Education*
M. Taylor Fravel, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
Natascha Gentz, *University of Edinburgh*
Bates Gill, *United States Studies Centre, University of Sydney*
Peter Hays Gries, *University of Oklahoma*
Lei Guang, *San Diego State University*
Stevan Harrell, *University of Washington*
Thomas Heberer, *University of Duisburg-Essen*
Sebastian Heilmann, *Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS), Berlin*
Carsten Holz, *Hong Kong University of Science and Technology*

Ching Kwan Lee, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Li Shi, *Beijing Normal University*
Melanie Manion, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Françoise Mengin, *CERI-Sciences Po, Paris*
Andrew Mertha, *Cornell University*
Kevin O'Brien, *University of California, Berkeley*
Jean-Louis Rocca, *CERI-Sciences Po, Paris*
Lisa Rofel, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
Scott Rozelle, *Stanford University*
Gunter Schubert, *Eberhard Karls University Tübingen*
Helen Siu, *Yale University*
Xiaobing Tang, *University of Michigan*
Stig Thøgersen, *Aarhus Universitet*
Teresa Wright, *California State University, Long Beach*
Guobin Yang, *University of Pennsylvania*

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 Strauss (2002–11)