

DAVID TOBIN and ADRIAN ZENZ & JAMES LEIBOLD on insecurities and securitization in Xinjiang

SHEENA CHESTNUT GREITENS AND RORY TRUEX on repressive experiences in the China field

XINSHENG LIU, FENG HAO, KENT PORTNEY AND YINXI LIU on public concern about climate change in China

Philip Hsiaopong Liu on Beijing's friendship with Lee Kuan Yew, 1954 –1965



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

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, 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 241 to 244 in 2020 is £250.00 (US \$422.00 in USA, Canada and Mexico) for institutions; £46.00 (US \$80.00) for individuals ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the journal is for their personal use. Students can subscribe at £21 (US \$37). Single parts are £70.00 net (US \$118.00 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, 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, 1 Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, USA.

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, University Printing House, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, 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.

© SOAS University of London, 2020 ISSN 0305-7410

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

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.

The China Quarterly

an international journal for the study of China

June 2020 number 242

| rtic | |
|------|--|
| | |

| 301 | A "Struggle of Life or Death": Han and Uyghur Insecurities on China's |
|-----|---|
| | North-West Frontier |
| | David Tobin |

- 324 Securitizing Xinjiang: Police Recruitment, Informal Policing and Ethnic Minority Co-optation

 Adrian Zenz and James Leibold
- 349 Repressive Experiences among China Scholars: New Evidence from Survey Data Sheena Chestnut Greitens and Rory Truex
- 376 How "Peasant Apartments" Could Undermine Rural Governance in China: Spatial Realignment, Moral Reconfiguration and Local Authority
 Ray Yep and Ying Wu
- 397 "Social" Money and Working-class Subjectivities: Digital Money and Migrant Labour in Shenzhen, China
 Tom McDonald
- 418 Moderated Mobilization: A New Model of Enterprise-level Collective Bargaining in South China
 Siqi Luo and Tao Yang
- 440 Between Spiritual Economy and Religious Commodification: Negotiating Temple Autonomy in Contemporary China Kuei-min Chang
- **Examining Public Concern about Global Warming and Climate Change in China** Xinsheng Liu, Feng Hao, Kent Portney and Yinxi Liu
- 487 Understanding the Non-medical Costs of Healthcare: Evidence from Inpatient Care for Older People in China
 Wei Yang
- 508 Searching for Red Songs: The Politics of Revolutionary Nostalgia in Contemporary China
 Shuanglong Li and Fei Yan
- 529 What Is Criminal and What Is Not: Prosecuting Wartime Japanese Sex Crimes in the People's Republic of China Xiaoyang Hao
- 550 Love the Tree, Love the Branch: Beijing's Friendship with Lee Kuan Yew, 1954–1965 Philip Hsiaopong Liu

Book Reviews

- 573 Democracy in China: The Coming Crisis. By Jiwei Ci. Edward Friedman
- 574 Creating the Intellectual: Chinese Communism and the Rise of a Classification. By Eddy U. Edmund S. K. Fung
- 576 Negative Exposures: Knowing What Not to Know in Contemporary China. By Margaret Hillenbrand. Patricia M. Thornton

- 578 The Land Question in China: Agrarian Capitalism, Industrious Revolution, and East Asian Development. By Shaohua Zhan. Jane Hayward
- 579 The Shenzhen Experiment: The Story of China's Instant City. By Juan Du. Denise Y. Ho
- 581 Xun zu Zhongguo: Taishang, Guangdong moshi yu quanqiu zibenzhuyi (Rent-seeking Developmental State in China: Taishang, Guangdong Model and Global Capitalism).
 By Wu Jieh-min. Michelle F. Hsieh
- 583 Betraying Big Brother: The Feminist Awakening in China. By Leta Hong Fincher.
 Tani Barlow
- 585 The Politics of Chinese Media: Consensus and Contestation. By Bingchun Meng. Jonathan Sullivan
- 586 Trading Caterpillar Fungus in Tibet: When Economic Boom Hits Rural Area. By Emilia Roza Sulek. Lilian Iselin
- 588 Tales of Hope, Tales of Bitterness: Chinese Road Builders in Ethiopia. By Miriam Driessen. Julia C. Strauss
- 589 Migration and the Media: Debating Chinese Migration to Italy, 1992–2012. By Gaoheng Zhang. Calvin Chen
- 591 Ambitious and Anxious: How Chinese College Students Succeed and Struggle in American Higher Education. By Yingyi Ma. Ryan M. Allen
- 593 Across the Great Divide: The Sent-Down Youth Movement in Mao's China, 1968–1980. By Emily Honig and Xiaojian Zhao. Harriet Evans
- 595 Buddhism after Mao: Negotiations, Continuities and Reinventions. Edited by Ji Zhe, Gareth Fisher and André Laliberté. Natasha Heller
- 597 Mass Vaccination: Citizens' Bodies and State Power in Modern China. By Mary Augusta Brazelton. Tina Phillips Johnson
- 598 Beyond the Steppe Frontier: A History of the Sino-Russian Border. By Sören Urbansky. Sergey Radchenko
- 600 Building Ho's Army: Chinese Military Assistance to North Vietnam. By Xiaobing Li. John W. Garver
- 602 Sentiment, Reason, and Law: Policing in the Republic of China on Taiwan. By Jeffrey T. Martin. Bill Hebenton
- 604 Off-White: Yellowface and Chinglish by Anglo-American Culture. By Sheng-Mei Ma. Krystyn R. Moon
- 605 Chinese Folklore Studies Today: Discourse and Practice. Edited by Lijun Zhang and Ziying You. Daniel L. Overmyer
- 607 Notes on Contributors
- 609 Books Received

Please visit the journal's web site at www.cambridge.org and online at http://journals.cambridge.org/cqy © SOAS University of London, 2020
Typeset by Techset Composition Limited
Printed by Bell & Bain, Glasgow, UK

The China Quarterly

EditorTim Pringle

Editorial Managers
Raphael Jacquet
Rowan Pease

Editorial Assistant
Joanne Phillips

Executive Committee

Chris Berry, King's College London
Ernest Caldwell, SOAS University of London
Jane Duckett, University of Glasgow
Peter Hays Gries, University of Manchester
Jude Howell, London School of Economics
Jakob Klein, SOAS University of London
Chun Lin, London School of Economics

Joel Andreas, Johns Hopkins University

Jieyu Liu, SOAS University of London Elisa Oreglia, King's College London Lina Song, University of Nottingham Jonathan Sullivan, University of Nottingham Patricia M. Thornton, University of Oxford Fulong Wu, University College London Biao Xiang, University of Oxford

Editorial Board

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 Bruce Dickson, George Washington University Vanessa Fong, Harvard Graduate School of Education M. Taylor Fravel, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Mark W. Frazier, The New School Natascha Gentz, University of Edinburgh Bates Gill, Macquarie University Ting Gong, City University of Hong Kong Lei Guang, San Diego State University Enze Han, University of Hong Kong Stevan Harrell, University of Washington Thomas Heberer, University of

Ming-sho Ho, National Taiwan University Carsten Holz, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology William J. Hurst, Northwestern University Ching Kwan Lee, University of California, Los Angeles James Leibold, La Trobe University Li Shi, Beijing Normal University Andrew Mertha, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies Kevin O'Brien, University of California, Berkeley Jean-Louis Rocca, CERI-Sciences Po. Paris Scott Rozelle, Stanford University Gunter Schubert, Eberhard Karls University Tübingen Helen Siu, Yale University 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)

Sebastian Heilmann, University of Trier

Duisburg-Essen

Brian G. Hook (1980-91)

Richard Louis Edmonds (1996–2002) Christopher B. Howe (Acting Editor 2005) Julia C. Strauss (2002–11) Chris Bramall (2011–16)

David Shambaugh (1991–96)

THE GORDON WHITE PRIZE

The China Quarterly is pleased to award the 2019 Gordon White Prize to Manfred Elfstrom for his article entitled "Two Steps Forward, One Step Back: Chinese State Reactions to Labour Unrest" (No. 240, December 2019, pp. 855–879).

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

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS