New Mentalities of Government in China

Edited by David Bray and Elaine Jeffreys



New Mentalities of Government in China

Edited by David Bray and Elaine Jeffreys



First published 2016 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2016 David Bray and Elaine Jeffreys

The right of the editors to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Names: Bray, David, 1965-editor. | Jeffreys, Elaine, 1960-editor.

Title: New mentalities of government in China / edited by David Bray and

Elaine Jeffreys.

Description: New York, NY: Routledge, 2016. | Series: Routledge studies on China in transition; 50 | Includes bibliographical references and index. Identifiers: LCCN 2015031293 | ISBN 9781138917750 (hardback) | ISBN 9781315688848 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Public administration-China. | Government

accountability-China. | Economic development-Political aspects-China. | Social change-Political aspects-China. | China-Politics and government-2002-

Classification: LCC JQ1510 .N495 2016 | DDC 320.951–dc23 LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2015031293

ISBN: 978-1-138-91775-0 (hbk) ISBN: 978-1-315-68884-8 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman by Wearset Ltd, Boldon, Tyne and Wear



New Mentalities of Government in China

China continues to transform apace, flowing from the forces of deregulation, privatization, and globalization unleashed by economic reforms which began in late 1978. The dramatic scope of economic change in China is often counterposed to the apparent lack of political change as demonstrated by continued Chinese Communist Party (CCP) rule. However, the ongoing dominance of the CCP belies the fact that much has also changed in relation to practices of government, including how authorities and citizens interact in the management of daily life.

New Mentalities of Government in China examines how the privatization and professionalization of 'public' service provision is transforming the nature of government and everyday life in the People's Republic of China (PRC). The book addresses key theoretical questions on the nature of government in China and documents the emergence of a range of 'new mentalities of government' in China. Its chapters focus on areas such as clinical trials, conceptualizing government, consumer activity, elite philanthropy, lifestyle and beauty advice, public health, social work, volunteering, and urban and rural planning.

Offering a topical examination of shifting modes of governance in contemporary China, this book will appeal to scholars in the fields of anthropology, history, politics, and sociology.

David Bray is Senior Lecturer in Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Sydney, Australia. He is the author of *Social Space and Governance in Urban China: The Danwei System from Origins to Reform* (2005).

Elaine Jeffreys is Associate Professor, School of International Studies, University of Technology Sydney, Australia. Her recent publications include *Prostitution Scandals in China: Policing, Media and Society* (Routledge, 2012).

Routledge Studies on China in Transition

Series Editor: David S.G. Goodman

- 1 The Democratisation of China Baogang He
- 2 Beyond Beijing Dali Yang
- 3 China's Enterprise Reform Changing state/society relations after Mao You Ji
- 4 Industrial Change in China Economic restructuring and conflicting interests Kate Hannan
- 5 The Entrepreneurial State in China

Real estate and commerce departments in reform era Tianjin Jane Duckett

- 6 Tourism and Modernity in China Tim Oakes
- 7 Cities in Post Mao China Recipes for economic development in the reform era Jae Ho Chung
- 8 China's Spatial Economic
 Development
 Regional transformation in the

Regional transformation in the Lower Yangzi Delta Andrew M. Marton

- 9 Regional Development in China States, globalization and inequality Yehua Dennis Wei
- 10 Grassroots Charisma Four local leaders in China Stephan Feuchtwang and Wang Mingming
- 11 The Chinese Legal System Globalization and local legal culture Pitman B. Potter
- 12 Transforming Rural China How local institutions shape property rights in China Chi-Jou Jay Chen
- 13 Negotiating Ethnicity in China Citizenship as a response to the state Chih-vu Shih
- 14 Manager Empowerment in China Political implications of rural industrialisation in the reform era Ray Yep
- 15 Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary China The search for national identity under reform Yingjie Guo

16 Elite Dualism and Leadership Selection in China

Xiaowei Zang

17 Chinese Intellectuals Between State and Market

Edward Gu and Merle Goldman

18 China, Sex and Prostitution Elaine Jeffreys

19 The Development of China's Stockmarket, 1984–2002 Equity politics and market

institutions
Stephen Green

20 China's Rational Entrepreneurs

The development of the new private business sector *Barbara Krug*

21 China's Scientific Elite

Cong Cao

22 Locating China

Jing Wang

23 State and Laid-Off Workers in Reform China

The silence and collective action of the retrenched *Yongshun Cai*

24 Translocal China

Linkages, identities and the reimagining of space
Tim Oakes and Louisa Schein

25 International Aid and China's Environment

Taming the yellow dragon Katherine Morton

26 Sex and Sexuality in China Edited by Elaine Jeffreys

27 China's Reforms and International Political Economy

Edited by David Zweig and Chen Zhimin

28 Ethnicity and Urban Life in China

A comparative study of Hui Muslims and Han Chinese Xiaowei Zang

29 China's Urban Space

Development under market socialism T.G. McGee, George C.S. Lin, Mark Y.L. Wang, Andrew M. Marton and Jiaping Wu

30 China's Embedded Activism

Opportunities and constraints of a social movement Edited by Richard Louis Edmonds and Peter Ho

31 Marketization and Democracy in China

Jianjun Zhang

32 The Chinese State in Transition Processes and contests in local China

Edited by Linda Chelan Li

33 China's Governmentalities

Governing change, changing government Edited by Elaine Jeffreys

34 China's Cotton Industry

Economic transformation and state capacity *Björn Alpermann*

35 Serious Crime in China Policing and politics Susan Trevaskes

36 The Chinese State's Retreat from Health

Policy and the politics of retrenchment

Jane Duckett

37 China's Changing Welfare Mix Local perspectives Edited by Beatriz Carrillo and Jane Duckett

38 Small Town China

Rural labour and social inclusion Beatriz Carrillo

39 Tiger Girls

Women and enterprise in the People's Republic of China Minglu Chen

40 China's Thought Management *Edited by Anne-Marie Brady*

41 Rural Tax Reform in China Policy processes and institutional change Linda Chelan Li

42 Young Chinese in Urban China Alex Cockain

43 Prostitution Scandals in China Policing, media and society Elaine Jeffreys

44 Unequal China

The political economy and cultural politics of inequality Edited by Wanning Sun and Yingjie Guo

- 45 Elites and Governance in China Edited by Xiaowei Zang and Chien-Wen Kou
- 46 Choosing China's Leaders
 Edited by Chien-Wen Kou and
 Xiaowei Zang
- 47 Rural Policy Implementation in Contemporary China New socialist countryside Anna L. Ahlers
- 48 NGO Governance and Management in China Edited by Reza Hasmath and Jennifer Y.J. Hsu
- 49 Dams, Migration and
 Authoritarianism in China
 The local state in Yunnan
 Sabrina Habich

Elaine Jeffreys

50 New Mentalities of Government in China Edited by David Bray and

For Barry Hindess and Michael Dutton, whose rethinking of the nature of government and government in China inspired this book.

Contributors

- **David Bray** is Senior Lecturer in Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Sydney. His current research charts the socio-technical assemblages that constitute China's rapidly changing built environments. He is the author of *Social Space and Governance in Urban China: The Danwei System from Origins to Reform* (2005, Stanford University Press).
- Carolyn Cartier is Professor of Human Geography and China Studies at the University of Technology Sydney and Adjunct Research Director for China Urban at the Australian Centre for China in the World. Her new research focuses on urbanization and the Party-state in China.
- **Melinda Cooper** is Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Sydney. She is the author of *Life as Surplus: Biotechnology and Capitalism in the Neoliberal Era* (2008, University of Washington Press); and, with Catherine Waldby, *Clinical Labor: Tissue Donors and Research Subjects in the Global Bioeconomy* (2014, Duke University Press).
- Michael Dutton is Professor of Politics at Goldsmiths, University of London. He is the author of: *Policing Chinese Politics* (2005, Duke University Press), for which he won the AAS Levenson Prize in 2007; *Streetlife China* (1998, Cambridge University Press); *Policing and Punishment in China* (1992, Cambridge University Press); and co-author of *Beijing Time* (2005, Harvard University Press). Publishing in journals such as *Public Culture*, *Social Text*, *positions*, and *Boundary 2*, Dutton's work is characterized by a strong interest in China and theory.
- Barry Hindess is Emeritus Professor of Politics at the Australian National University. He has published widely in the areas of social and political theory. His publications include: Corruption and Democracy in Australia (2004, Australian National University); Us and Them: Anti-elitism in Australia, with Marian Sawer (2004, API Network, Australia Research Institute, Curtin University of Technology); Governing Australia: Studies in Contemporary Rationalities of Government, with Mitchell Dean (1998, Cambridge University Press); Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault (1996, Wiley); and numerous papers on democracy, liberalism, and empire and neo-liberalism.

- Lisa Hoffman is Associate Professor of Urban Studies at the University of Washington (UW) Tacoma and a member of the China faculty at the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, UW Seattle. Her research focuses on contemporary governmental and subject formations in China, with attention to urban processes and spatialities. Previous projects have examined the emergence of urban professionals, rural urbanization, and discourses of green urbanisms. She is author of *Patriotic Professionalism in Urban China: Fostering Talent* (2010, Temple University Press) and co-editor with Heather Merrill of *Spaces of Danger: Culture and Power in the Everyday* (2015, University of Georgia Press).
- Elaine Jeffreys is Associate Professor in the School of International Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, at the University of Technology Sydney. Elaine is the author of Sex in China, with Haiqing Yu (2015, Polity); Prostitution Scandals in China: Policing, Media and Society (2012, Routledge); and China, Sex and Prostitution (2012 [2004], Routledge). She is the editor of Celebrity Philanthropy, with Paul Allatson (2015, Intellect); China's Governmentalities: Governing Change, Changing Government (2011 [2009], Routledge); Celebrity in China, with Louise Edwards (2010, Hong Kong University Press); and Sex and Sexuality in China (2009 [2006], Routledge).
- Gary Sigley is Professor in Asian and Chinese Studies at the University of Western Australia. His current research focuses on the politics of cultural heritage in southwest China, with a particular interest in the 'Ancient Tea Horse Road'.
- T.E. Woronov is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Sydney. Her work has focused on the politics of children, youth, and education in the PRC, and she has published widely on topics including Chinese children's nationalism, education for quality (suzhi jiaoyu), and governmentality. Her book Class Work: Vocational Schools and China's Urban Youth (2016, Stanford University Press) is an ethnographic study of working-class youth culture and new class formations in urban China.
- **Su Xuezhong** is a doctoral candidate at the University of Technology Sydney. His research is on the development of philanthropy education for children and youth in the People's Republic of China.
- Haiqing Yu is Senior Lecturer in contemporary Chinese media and culture at the University of New South Wales. Haiqing is the author of *Sex in China*, with Elaine Jeffreys (2015, Polity); and *Media and Cultural Transformation in China* (2009, Routledge). Her research covers two broad disciplines: media studies and cultural/sociological studies, focusing on the political economy of digital media and communication in China, contemporary Chinese youth culture and sexuality, and social movements. Haiqing has published widely in these areas in refereed academic journals.

Acknowledgements

The editors would like to acknowledge funding support from the following institutions (in alphabetical order):

- Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia (ASSA) (ASSA Workshop Programme 2012–2013);
- Australian Centre on China in the World (CIW), Australia National University (CIW Resources for Chinese Studies 2012);
- Australian Research Council Future Fellowship FT100100238 (Future Fellow Jeffreys); and
- · Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Technology Sydney.

Funding and support resulted in an international workshop, 'New Mentalities of Government in China: Emerging Professions, Vocations and Associations', University of Technology Sydney, 6–7 December 2012, which contributed to the formation of this book.

Every effort has been made to contact copyright holders for their permission to reprint material in this book. The publishers would be grateful to hear from any copyright holder who is not here acknowledged and will undertake to rectify any errors or omissions in future editions of this book.

David Bray and Elaine Jeffreys August 2015

Note on Chinese names

Names in Chinese are usually presented as family name followed by personal name. There are two exceptions: the first is when someone with a Chinese family name has a non-Chinese personal name; the second is when someone with a Chinese name has indicated through publication that they wish to be known by their personal name followed by their family name.



Helping you to choose the right eBooks for your Library

Add Routledge titles to your library's digital collection today. Taylor and Francis ebooks contains over 50,000 titles in the Humanities, Social Sciences, Behavioural Sciences, Built Environment and Law.

Choose from a range of subject packages or create your own!

Benefits for you

- >> Free MARC records
- » COUNTER-compliant usage statistics
- » Flexible purchase and pricing options
- » All titles DRM-free.

REQUEST YOUR FREE INSTITUTIONAL TRIAL TODAY

Free Trials Available

We offer free trials to qualifying academic, corporate and government customers.

Benefits for your user

- » Off-site, anytime access via Athens or referring URL
- » Print or copy pages or chapters
- » Full content search
- » Bookmark, highlight and annotate text
- » Access to thousands of pages of quality research at the click of a button.

eCollections – Choose from over 30 subject eCollections, including:

Archaeology	Language Learning
Architecture	Law
Asian Studies	Literature
Business & Management	Media & Communication
Classical Studies	Middle East Studies
Construction	Music
Creative & Media Arts	Philosophy
Criminology & Criminal Justice	Planning
Economics	Politics
Education	Psychology & Mental Health
Energy	Religion
Engineering	Security
English Language & Linguistics	Social Work
Environment & Sustainability	Sociology
Geography	Sport
Health Studies	Theatre & Performance
History	Tourism, Hospitality & Events

For more information, pricing enquiries or to order a free trial, please contact your local sales team: www.tandfebooks.com/page/sales



The home of Routledge books

www.tandfebooks.com

Contents

	List of illustrations	xi
	Notes on contributors	xii
	Acknowledgements	xiv
	Note on Chinese names	XV
1	New mentalities of government in China: an introduction	1
	DAVID BRAY AND ELAINE JEFFREYS	
2	Governmentality studies and China: towards a 'Chinese'	
	governmentality	16
	MICHAEL DUTTON AND BARRY HINDESS	
3	Governing through Lei Feng: a Mao-era role model in	
	reform-era China	30
	ELAINE JEFFREYS AND SU XUEZHONG	
4	Governmentality and the urban economy: consumption,	
	excess, and the 'civilized city' in China	56
	CAROLYN CARTIER	
5	Rethinking and remaking China's built environments:	
	spatial planning and the reinscription of everyday life	74
	DAVID BRAY	
6	From socialism to social work: social workers,	
	professionalism, and community governance in	
	contemporary urban China	97
	GARY SIGLEY	

x Contents

7	Elite philanthropy in China and America: the disciplining and self-discipline of wealth ELAINE JEFFREYS	118
8	Serving and providing for those 'in need': 'intermediary' spaces and practices of liaising, collaborating, and mobilizing in urban China	141
9	Experimental postsocialism: the Chinese hospital as export zone and knowledge park MELINDA COOPER	159
10	The biopolitics of China's HIV governance	182
11	'Model consumers': beauty bloggers, everyday experts, and governmentality in urban China	204
	Index	223

Illustrations

rigures			
3.1	Comrade Lei Feng reading Mao Zedong's Selected Works	30	
3.2	Number of hits for 'Lei Feng' in the People's Daily		
	(1960–2013)	31	
3.3	Lei Feng Knight as Father Christmas	39	
3.4	Be an ethical person; learn from Lei Feng how to be a young		
	emissary for community civilization	44	
4.1	China's GDP growth and GDP per capita	62	
4.2	Real growth of per capita income of China's urban residents		
	and GDP per capita	62	
4.3	Chinese luxury consumption: mainland China vs. Hong Kong		
	and Macau and the rest of the world	63	
5.1	Village sign, Jiangsu, 2009	74	
5.2	Weilong Xiaoqu, Jiangsu, 2011	75	
Tab	ole		
5.1	Control limits for levels within residential areas	8	

1 New mentalities of government in China

An introduction

David Bray and Elaine Jeffreys

New Mentalities of Government in China looks at recent transformations in the nature of government and the governance of everyday life in the People's Republic of China (PRC). China continues to transform apace, flowing from the forces of deregulation, privatization, and globalization unleashed by economic reforms which began in late 1978. The dramatic scope of economic change in China is often counterposed to the apparent lack of political change as demonstrated by continued Chinese Communist Party (CCP) rule. However, the ongoing dominance of the CCP belies the fact that much has also changed in relation to practices of government, including how authorities and citizens interact in the management of everyday life - for example, through the roles played by professionals, volunteers and 'everyday experts' in public affairs. This book addresses key theoretical questions on the nature of government in China and documents the emergence of a range of new mentalities of government in (and about) China via chapters on clinical trials, conceptualizing government, consumer activity, elite philanthropy, lifestyle and beauty advice, public health, social work, volunteering, and urban and rural planning.

This chapter introduces the key concepts, themes, and contents of the book as follows. We first introduce the concept of 'government', defined as guiding the changing imbrication of 'people' and 'things', and outline the hybrid processes wherein new mentalities of government can emerge. We then explore these themes in relation to specific fields of public life by summarizing the subject matter and arguments of the other ten chapters that comprise the book.

Key concepts and themes: government, governmentality, and hybridity

New Mentalities of Government in China extends Michel Foucault's work on 'governmentality' to consider questions of government in present-day China (Foucault 1991 [1978]). Defined as 'the conduct of conduct', the concept of governmentality is concerned with the 'how' of governing – how we govern, how we are governed – and the relationship between the state, the government of others, and the government of ourselves – or any more less calculated means of directing how we behave and act (Dean 1999: 2). As Foucault (2007: 193) explains, the