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**Central Versus Local
Propaganda Under Xi
Jinping: An
Introduction to
Images in the China
Urban Outdoor
Propaganda Image
Archive, 1998 to 2019**

Working Paper

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Central Versus Local Propaganda Under Xi Jinping: An Introduction to Images in the China Urban Outdoor Propaganda Image Archive, 1998 to 2019

Brandon Zheng and Steven W. Lewis

Introduction

Xi Jinping's rise to power has been accompanied by a level of centralization unseen in the People's Republic of China since the days of Mao Zedong, its first paramount leader. Throughout its existence, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has utilized propaganda to motivate, organize, and mobilize party cadres as well as the general population. An abundance of scholarship examines the crucial role new forms of propaganda have played in reinforcing the party's legitimacy during moments of political turmoil and reform. According to such studies, Xi's centralization of power will very likely require a similar change in forms and messages of propaganda. While previous literature provides much qualitative analysis of the artistic and rhetorical techniques used in Chinese propaganda, it is lacking in more quantitative metrics that might predict internal political shifts through the analysis of propaganda.

In this working paper, we will provide an initial historical overview from a scholarly perspective before suggesting new metrics for measuring the centralization of power under Xi Jinping. Using these metrics, we analyzed the *China Urban Outdoor Propaganda Image Archive, 1998 to 2019*'s collection of over three thousand photographs of public service announcements¹ (PSAs) taken on the commercial and residential streets of multiple districts in both Shanghai and Beijing between 1998 and 2019.² According to the preliminary quantitative and qualitative analyses of both visual and textual rhetoric here, there appears to be more centralization of outdoor street propaganda in Beijing than in Shanghai in the years since Xi came to lead the Chinese Communist Party, but there are also preliminary conclusions that can be reached about the large variation in visual rhetoric and textual rhetoric observed, and also the large number of creators of the PSAs included in the surveys.

Visual Propaganda:

- Notably, visual images of senior Chinese Communist Party leaders, or of the Chinese military, are rare;
- Imagery of cityscapes become increasingly common in urban outdoor propaganda over the period of this survey, eventually comprising approximately a sixth of all visual images in both cities;

- As expected, imagery for the Beijing Olympics comprised about a fifth of all PSAs in Beijing in 2008;
- Visual symbols of nationalism increase over time, and rise significantly in 2019, although more so in Beijing than in Shanghai;
- Artistic motifs increase over time, especially in 2019, although folk art motifs are more common in Beijing, whereas traditional art, especially classical painting, are more common in Shanghai.

Textual Propaganda:

- As for text of the PSAs, the prevalence of certain core propaganda terms, such as “Party” and “Spiritual Civilization” and how they vary in usage in text of the body of the PSA versus in the name of the creating unit for the PSA, suggests that there are significant institutional differences between Shanghai and Beijing as to which government or Party unit can disseminate PSAs on the streets of these two major cities with provincial ranking;
- An examination of the creator identifiers on the PSAs shows, remarkably, that a very large amount of propaganda on the streets of Beijing and Shanghai cannot be attributed to any specific single government agency, Party organ, or community units, although the number of creators expands over time, and this is coterminous with an increase in the number of unique visual or textual messages. Furthermore, during Xi Jinping’s time, the number of PSAs directly disseminated by central organs has increased greatly. Overall, however, of the nearly 3000 images in our survey of street propaganda, there are some 746 unique creators, with only 45 of them coming from the central level of government or Party;
- An examination of basic textual content, using simple analytic tools such as word clouds and word frequency counts, reveals considerable variation in topics of propaganda across both location and level of the creator. Or in other words, not all levels of the government, Party and social units are putting out the same messages at the same time, and thus there is likely division of labor and specialization in messaging.

This working paper also serves as a guide or manual to the materials in this unique collection, providing 32 examples of PSAs of the major propaganda campaigns across time and location, examples of some 20 different types of PSA format, and also lists of the creators by locality and by year.

Historical Overview

Communication During the Mao Era

The CCP’s need to maintain power in China required a massive structural change within Chinese society. Beyond simply winning the Civil War, the Communists’ main priority

once the People's Republic was established was to establish communism as an integral feature of Chinese society. In this, the development of communication techniques to reach the ordinary people was essential. This was not only a question of ideology, but also the practical matter of mobilizing resources. Although economic development in China is often associated with Deng Xiaoping's reforms, the question of establishing a truly communist society and the question of economic development were intertwined from the very start of the People's Republic (Pye 1968, 1). Rather than a one-way top-down hierarchy, the Communist Party's tactics used "a minimum amount of coercion and skillful use of communication", roughly divided into the categories of "informational, normative, value-oriented, and affective", that convinced ordinary citizens to believe in the Communist ideal (Chu 1977, 29). Understanding that lack of popular support was the greatest threat to the party's rule, the party adopted its own interpretation of democracy that emphasized the public's active participation in party activities over electoral politics (Schurmann 1966, 94). The party used study groups composed primarily of cadres from the same *danwei* workplace to leverage peer pressure and insure high participation in party activities. Ostensibly meant to discuss party policies and offer feedback, these meetings forced all cadres into committing themselves publicly to the party in one way or another, blurring the lines between "democracy" and "indoctrination" (Ibid, 96).

The contradiction between the CCP's need to organize into an effective state bureaucracy and its need to maintain its ideological legitimacy as a grassroots revolutionary party resulted in escalating internal conflicts that culminated in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Given the explicit references by Chinese leaders in the 1980s reform period to following the model of "Goulash Communism" and "market socialism", it thus appears clear that the roots of the conflict between pragmatists and ideologues in China also lay within the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. To Mao, the events in Hungary had occurred because the ruling party had lost its ideological legitimacy with the people, and his subsequent actions were marked by his belief that China had to avoid the same fate (Pye 1968; MacFarquhar 1974). From the experience of seeing one communist country unsuccessfully attempt to revolt against another, Mao tried to conceptualize a theory to explain how disagreements could exist between and within communist countries despite theoretically sharing the same commitment to internationalism. This would form the basis of Mao's theory of contradictions, in which tensions between competing interests within a communist society did not necessarily form an existential threat to the legitimacy of the revolution, so long as they were resolved (Schurmann 1966; MacFarquhar 1974; Chu 1977).

The Cultural Revolution was borne out partially as a result of these existing "contradictions", or societal tensions. After other crises of governance such as the Great Leap Forward in which the party showed it was not infallible and was capable of mistakes, the illusion that legitimacy could simply be maintained through continued good governance was quashed. The Cultural Revolution is often depicted as an internal conflict that pitted a charismatic leader with ideological legitimacy against the better organized party as a whole, which had more resources to mobilize but lacked the personal aura that only Mao had (Pye 1968, 235). Despite originating in opposition to

the overly “bureaucratized” structure of the party after gaining power, Mao and the Red Guards recognized the value of the sophisticated communication networks that maintained the party’s control, with increased availability of communication technologies such as radio correlated with an increased amount of violence during the Cultural Revolution (Ou and Xiong, 2021).

During the height of the Cultural Revolution, the public and private spheres were merged until the lines between the two were nearly eradicated, the information networks created by the party put to their full potential in a totalitarian state as part of Mao’s mission to fundamentally transform Chinese society along ideological terms (Schurmann 1966; Vogel 1966). Essential to this mission was the use of art as a political tool. Political art was not new to the Cultural Revolution, being a part of Mao’s theory even before the Communist victory in the Chinese Civil War, and the relationship between artists and the communist government was marked by tensions over this politicization from the very founding of the People’s Republic (Boorman 1966; Chen 1966). However, the use of the visual arts for ideological and propagandistic purposes reached its height at this period. Dedicated now solely to the aims of the revolution, human figures were “stereotyped to the extreme” (Landsberger 1995, 43). Soldiers, workers, and peasants were no longer drawn to resemble real people, but instead became “abstractions” that represented “ideal types”, painted in vivid colors with bold outlines meant to depict them as larger-than-life heroes rather than as relatable figures (Ibid). Although the Cultural Revolution itself would later be recognized as a grave mistake and a human tragedy on the scale of millions, the visual impact of its famous posters – including even the popularity of the individual artists tasked with creating them – left a legacy on future Chinese propaganda art, with the propaganda of the Cultural Revolution becoming a benchmark (positive or negative) against which later propaganda campaigns would implicitly be compared (Sun 2019; Esarey 2021).

Deng and Marketization

Although the later period of the Cultural Revolution was less dramatic than the infamous violence of the early years from 1966 to 1968, the Cultural Revolution did not truly end until Mao’s death in 1976. The marketization of China’s formerly-closed society under Mao’s true successor Deng Xiaoping, as well as new communication technologies, are partially credited with the decline in traditional propaganda posters after economic reforms began (Landsberger 1995, Shambaugh 2007). To remain relevant in post-reform Chinese society, propaganda posters became increasingly apolitical in nature. Abandoning traditional Maoist values like “frugality and egalitarianism”, the post-reform state instead began to encourage consumerism and participation in the new capitalist system, allowing the prosperity and material wealth that occurred under CCP rule to speak for itself (Brady 2006, 67). Economic reforms occurred in tandem with political reforms, which were thought necessary to provide stability to counter the shocks that would arise from market reforms. At the peak of this era of political freedom, works like the documentary series *River Elegy* on Chinese national television in 1988, began to critique Chinese traditional values. Though not

openly political on the surface, these criticisms of China were seen as an oblique attack on the Communist Party. (De Jong 1989). *River Elegy* was particularly influential for the leaders of the student protests in Tiananmen Square in 1989.

The events of the Tiananmen Square massacre marked the end of the popular period of political reform. The crackdown removed a crucial safety valve for resolving the tensions that arose within Chinese society with the introduction of a capitalist economy. By continuing with the economic reforms, Deng was betting that further economic growth could smooth over these tensions and prevent them from threatening party rule (Lam 1995). By all appearances, this strategy has continued to work. As the Chinese propaganda machine has been forced to cede much of its direct control, it has proved capable of adapting to the changing institutional environment of economic reforms. Private corporations have been easily co-opted into the system of propaganda, as party departments outsource the work of making PSAs to private advertising firms (Lynch 1999; Shambaugh 2007). Because public propaganda campaigns were now often designed by private advertising firms subcontracted by the government, government propaganda increasingly employed the same kinds of marketing techniques that were used by commercial advertisements in order to grab viewers' attention and promote their messages (J. Wang 2008; Lewis 2012a; Li 2016)³.

Along with embracing the practices of commercial advertisements, Chinese PSAs in the age of economic reform invoke multiple forms of citizenship alongside that of the national. Local PSAs sell "consumerist notions of citizenship", integrating local landmarks such as the Bund waterfront and Oriental Pearl Tower in Shanghai or the Temple of Heaven in Beijing (Lewis 2002, 150). This is made easier with the assistance of such omnibus propaganda campaigns as the famous "Construct Socialist Spiritual Civilization": slogans or concepts that are capacious enough to fit almost any situation a propaganda poster might address. Local governments can easily fit these slogans into their own posters, resulting in propaganda that ties both local and national concerns together (Ibid), as in Figures 1 through 4 below.

Figure 1 – Municipal Level Ad, Huaihai Road, Xuhui District, Shanghai, 2008



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: “Spiritual civilization” is a classic example of an omnibus campaign, or something that can be extended to fit almost any ongoing topic. As such, it easily fitted with the Shanghai municipal government’s efforts to improve the city’s image in the months leading up to the World Expo in 2010.

Translation: 精彩世博/文明先行 [Wonderful World Expo/Advancing civilly].

Figure 2 – Haidian District Level Ad, Beijing, 2004



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: In this poster from 2004, the message of “creating a national civilized city” is clearly implied to be a crucial factor in becoming a science and technology innovator. This poster was also displayed in Haidian District, which is traditionally the main science and technology hub of Beijing, being home to most of its universities.

Translation: 建世界一流科技园区/创全国文明城区 [Build a world-class science and technology park/Create a national civilized city].

Figure 3 – Municipal Level Ad, Nanjing Road, Huangpu District, Shanghai, 1998



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: This poster does not mention civilization, spiritual or otherwise. Nonetheless, even though the PSA is talking about the environment, the byline for this poster shows that it was designed by the Shanghai Municipal Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee.

Translation: 绿化上海 | 造福人民 [Greening Shanghai | Benefiting the People].

Figure 4 – Subdistrict Level Ad, Beijing Road, Jing’an District, Shanghai, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: The concept of “spiritual civilization” has also been co-opted by Xi’s Core Socialist Values. As is common for their ads, the local Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee’s name is placed in a byline large enough for readers to notice, so that the connection between the subject of the ad and the concept spiritual civilization is never completely out of mind.

Translation: 激发爱国热情/传承传统文化 [Stimulate patriotic enthusiasm/Pass down traditional culture].

This adaptation in local use of propaganda conforms well with Deng's strategy of using economic growth to promote stability. The use of local symbols is not just a way to brand the locality. Rather, the arrangement of local spaces in political propaganda builds a specific identity for the city that sets it in relation to a particular desired future, including as a unique form of branding (Abbas 2000). In the post-reform era, these futures all involve development somehow. Though seemingly apolitical and focusing only on "neutral" themes like the environment or sanitation or economic development, the mundane concerns of local governments become politicized. Cities are forced to compete with each other, and local officials are no longer concerned with local governance so much as finding the most "distinctive and positive" parts of their city and harnessing them for their "attention-drawing power", through both advertising campaigns and the rearrangement of the urban space itself (Dong and Li 2009, 112), such as in Figures 5, 6, and 7 below.

This drive to exploit the intangible qualities of a city for marketing power is due in part to the relentless quantification of almost everything that is tangible. Through measures like the National Civilized Cities competition, the central government creates quantifiable benchmarks by which to measure a city's progress, pressuring local governments to continuously strive to either improve or maintain their performance in those benchmarks (Cartier 2013; Deng and Jeffreys 2021). If the depictions of the city in public advertisements are insights into the state's desired identity for the city, then that desired identity appears to be one in which "world-class" is equated with "uniformly 'civilised', ideologically homogenous and modern" (Cartier 2013, 283). This vision of the civilized city is expressed in PSAs like the ones shown in Figures 8 and 9 below. The promotion of civic culture as party policy can be interpreted as a means of "institutionalizing philanthropy" (Deng and Jeffreys 2021, 518). Civil servants are encouraged to volunteer as part of their party duties, reevoking the traditional revolutionary socialist ideal of mass participation and reframing it in terms of "urban governance and civic-minded self-governance" (Ibid, 520). However, the central government also has less control over images than before, especially as social media provides ordinary citizens the chance to represent and promote their localities with narratives other than the ones approved of by local and national governments.

Figure 5 – Agency Ad, Tourism Bureau for Guizhou Province, Fuchengmen/Xinjiekou/Dianmen Avenue, Xicheng District, Beijing, 2004



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: An ad promoting tourism to Guizhou Province uses vivid costumes and a lush, forested background, since Guizhou is famous for its natural beauty and for being home to a number of China's ethnic minorities.

Translation: 梦幻之旅 | 神奇贵州 [Dream trip | Magical Guizhou].

Figure 6 – Agency Ad, Zhushikou Street, Chongwen District, Beijing, 2008



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: This agency ad is likely from the Yunnan Province tourism bureau, although no byline is present. Similarly to Figure 5, this tourism ad for Shizong, Yunnan, also features scenic views. In this case, trees are more prominent, as Yunnan is famously predominantly covered in rainforest.

Translation: 岳阳楼长联作者—窦垞御史的故乡 / 彩云南大花园里—仙境一样的地方
[Author of the Yueyang Tower Long Couplet—Hometown of imperial censor Dou Xu / In the big garden of colorful Yunnan—A place like a fairyland].

Figure 7 – Agency Ad, for Qingzhou, Shandong, City Tourism Bureau, Andingmennei Street, Dongcheng District, Beijing, 2008



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: In contrast, this PSA for tourism for Qingzhou, Shandong, shows a shot from Fangongting Park, formerly the private garden of Fan Zhongyan, a Song Dynasty poet and official, in order to emphasize its wealth of historical and cultural landmarks.

Translation: 弘扬中国传统文化 | 传承中华精神文明 [Carry forward Chinese traditional culture | Inherit Chinese spiritual civilization].

Figure 8 – District Level Ad, Nanjing Road, Huangpu District, Shanghai, 1998



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: The concept of the civilized city is perhaps one of the longest-running themes in the archive. Tying into most aspects of local governance, the “civilized city” is an omnibus campaign that can be connected to many initiatives taken by municipal or district governments.

Translation: 创文明城区/建文明城市 [Create a civilized district/Build a civilized city].

Figure 9 – Agency Ad, Private Advertising Company, Beijing Road, Jing'an District, Shanghai, 2013



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: Another example of the “civilized city”: local residents are asked to display “civil” behavior when queuing up for buses; the skyscrapers in the background form a visual connection between urbanization and civility.

Translation: 遵守公德/文明乘车/互相谦让/依次上下 [Observe public morals/Ride civilly/Mutual humility/Get on and off in order].

From an institutionalist perspective, scholars have argued that the CCP has adapted to economic reform not only by changing its messaging but also by coopting the tools and logic of capitalism (Lewis 2002; Brady 2006, 2009; Shambaugh 2007). Such an analysis ascribes less importance to the content of Chinese PSAs post-reform and more to the party's ability to maintain power and legitimacy regardless of the content of its propaganda. With the assistance of the large state-owned enterprises that dominate the Chinese economy, the Central Propaganda Department offers soft rewards like increased investment and advertising for groups that toe the line, conversely threatening those who violate the regulations with the revoking of these benefits (Brady 2006, 65). Rarely resorting to such direct aggression as shutting down newspapers, the modern Chinese state instead prefers a system of fuzzy, broad guidelines with indirect punishments like those previously stated, creating an environment in which journalists are pushed to self-censor out of fear of reprisals (Shambaugh 2007; Repnikova 2017).

Even so, while dumping ideological indoctrination for the apolitical emphasis on economic growth figures and increasing standards of living is stable, it also renders the central government passive to outside political shifts, an outcome described as “[losing the] ability to take meaningful initiatives” or a form of political “path dependency” (Shambaugh 2007, 58; Zhu 2011, 136). After surveying PSAs in Shanghai and Beijing, the co-author suggested that the continued depoliticization of the CCP would result in local and transnational forms of identity eclipsing that of the nation within public propaganda (Lewis 2002).

Xi Jinping's Spectacle and the Return of Mass Political Campaigns

Since the rise of Xi Jinping, the decentralizing trend of his predecessors has seemingly gone into reverse. Xi's time as paramount leader has seen a return to Mao-inspired forms of centralization, political communication, and emphasis on the single leader rather than the collective leadership (Zhao 2016; Sun 2019; Esarey 2021). Xi Jinping's “Chinese Dream” phrase appears relatively often in propaganda, such as in Figure 10. Another particularly stark contrast in propaganda under Xi as compared to his predecessors is the return of ideological topics, most visibly with the twelve Core Socialist Values⁴, as can be seen in Figures 11 through 13. Though ideological in nature, propaganda under Xi appears to be as political ambiguous as ever, except this time, the political ambiguity is exploited for the sole purpose of extending Xi's and the party's power (Zhao 2016; Gow 2017).

Figure 10 – Poster, Unknown Level of Government Agency, Nanjing Road, Huangpu District, Shanghai, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: The poster is from an unknown level of government agency, although likely national, given the theming. The Core Socialist Values have become ubiquitous on propaganda posters in recent years, especially in 2019.

Translation: 民族复兴中国梦 [Red characters below English text: Chinese Dream of National Rejuvenation]凝聚中国力量，实现中华民族伟大复兴 [Red characters on top right: Concentrate China's strength and realize the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation].

Figure 11 – Poster, Unknown Level of Government Agency, Possibly National, Chaoyangmen Road, Chaoyang District, Beijing, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: The Core Socialist Values are often accompanied with patriotic symbols of the Chinese nation, obscuring the “socialist” aspects.

Translation:

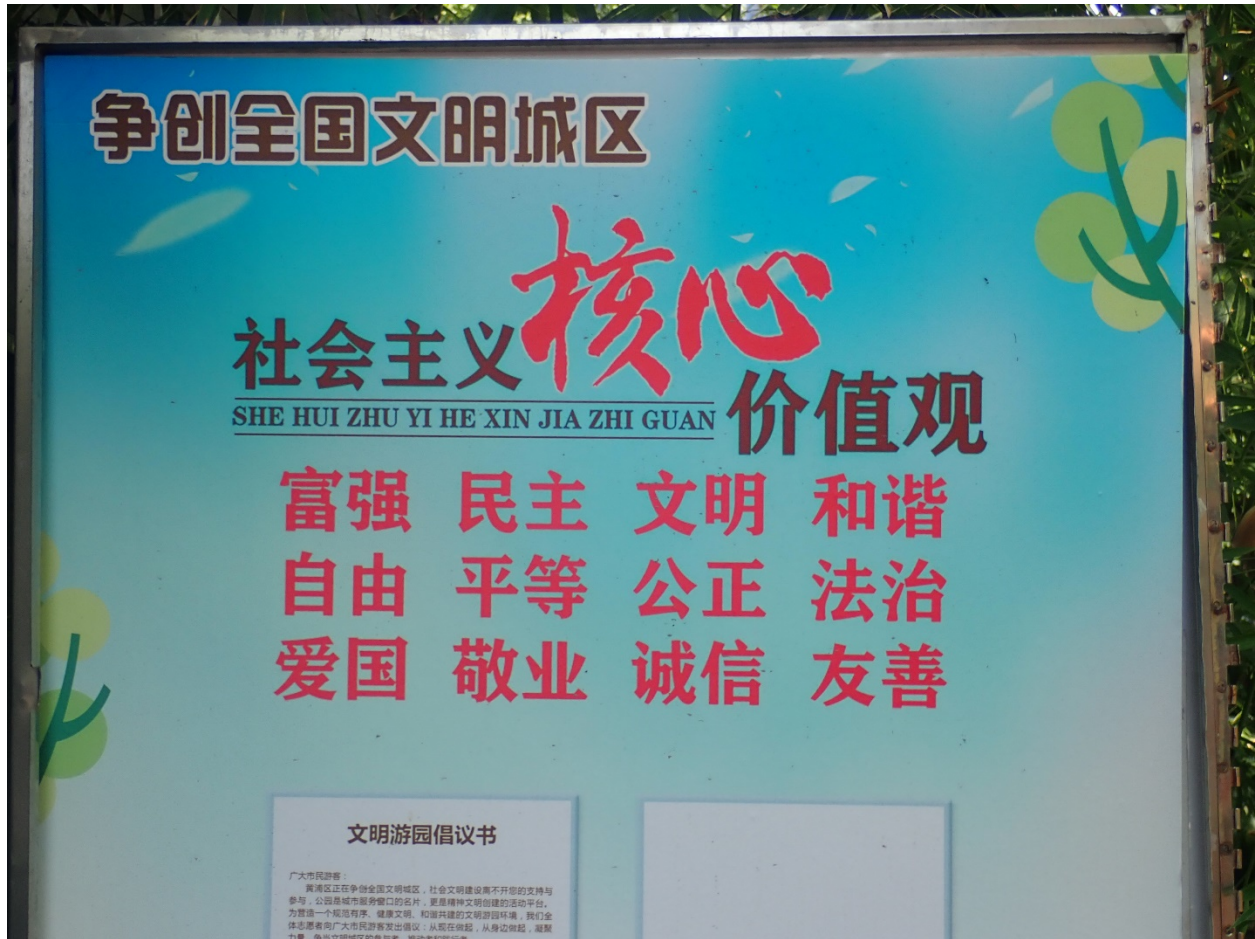
社会主义核心价值观 [Core Socialist Values]

富强、民主、文明、和谐 [Prosperity, Democracy, Civility, Harmony]

自由、平等、公正、法治 [Freedom, Equality, Justice, Rule of Law]

爱国、敬业、诚信、友善 [Patriotism, Dedication, Integrity, Friendship].

Figure 12 – District Level Ad, Nanjing Road, Huangpu District, Shanghai, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: The Twelve Core Socialist Values are frequently listed as a group and invariably in the same order.

Translation:

争创全国文明城市 [Strive to create a national civilized district]

社会主义核心价值观 [Core Socialist Values]

富强、民主、文明、和谐 [Prosperity, Democracy, Civility, Harmony]

自由、平等、公正、法治 [Freedom, Equality, Justice, Rule of Law]

爱国、敬业、诚信、友善 [Patriotism, Dedication, Integrity, Friendship].

Figure 13 – PSA, Unknown Level of Government Agency, Possibly District, Fahuazhen Road, Changning District, Shanghai, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: A PSA in Changning, Shanghai that focuses on one specific Core Socialist Value in detail. “Series” of PSAs like these, in which a set of twelve similar placards or smaller posters are placed along a fence or wall next to a sidewalk. In this case, the value being focused on is 民主, or “democracy”.

Translation: 民主: 积极培育和践行社会主义核心价值观 [Democracy: Actively cultivate and practice the Core Socialist Values].

In creating propaganda campaigns focused around “core socialist values”, the party and the state take as implicit that their interpretation of concepts like “democracy” and “rule of law” are *the* definitions of these concepts. By preemptively defining these values through propaganda, the state preempts alternative interpretations, especially ones influenced by Western and liberal forms of political discourse (Gow 2017, 102). Xi’s “integral state” logic of extending his power through control of discourse is paralleled in major Chinese political and cultural events from the 2000’s onwards. Major events like the Olympics and the World Expo, i.e. spectacles, not only provide opportunities to set long-lasting national narratives but also require major investments of capital and the involvement of vast networks of actors (Roche 2000; Schneider 2019). A recurring focus of such spectacles as the Beijing Olympics and the Shanghai Expo was the forming of a national narrative of a rising China. The nationalistic undertones of these messages are clear; they are a predecessor to the nationalistic propaganda of Xi, although spectacles under Xi Jinping like the Chinese Communist Party centenary celebrations have been no less utilized in forming national narratives (“CCP 100” 2021; Lewis 2021; Zheng 2021). The break between Xi Jinping and his predecessors is less a clear divide and more an extension of techniques and trends already being used. The posters pictured in Figures 14 through 16 all attempt to use the then-upcoming Olympics and Expo as evidence to support the CCP’s narratives about the significance of those activities.

Figure 14 – District Level Ad, Chongwenmennei Road, Dongcheng District, Beijing, 2008



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: The Olympics shows up in the background of this banner about creating a civilized city. Although not part of the text, the connection between these events is reinforced with this cameo.

Translation: 创建文明城区 | 同参与共分享 [Create a civilized city | To share and take part in].

Figure 15 – Municipal Level Ad, Huaihai Road, Xuhui District, Shanghai, 2008



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: This poster advertises an upcoming lecture by a top municipal party official titled “The World Expo and science and technology”. The inclusion of the Expo’s mascot Haibao and the silhouette of the Pudong District skyline reinforce even further that the Expo and scientific progress are linked.

Translation:

市政协贯彻落实迎世博 600 天行动实施方案 | 启动仪式暨“我与世博同行”讲坛第一讲
[Yellow text, top: The CPPCC implements the 600-day action plan to welcome the World Expo | Launching Ceremony and the First Lecture of the “I Walk with the World Expo” Forum]

世博会与科技创新 [Large white text, center: The World Expo and Science and Technology].

Figure 16 – Poster, Unknown Government Agency, Possibly Municipal, Dingxi Road, Changning District, Shanghai, 2008



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: Here, the Expo, represented with several motifs but most notably the China Pavilion (now the China Art Museum) in the background, is used with photoshopped images of children in traditional costumes from around the world to convey the global nature of the spectacle.

Translation: 理解 | 沟通 | 欢聚 | 合作 [Better City, Better Life].

The Chinese Dream and Core Socialist Values: History Repeating Itself

That the Chinese Dream and the Core Socialist Values are often seen together on posters under Xi is not a coincidence; the two concepts are fundamentally linked. Put together they convey a clear message: that China has reached a new stage in its development; that major transformations in the legal, political, and economic spheres are needed to overcome the new challenges that would arise; and that achieving these transformations requires Chinese society itself to undergo a change in values (Feng 2015, 176). To this end, the Core Socialist Values lays out the shift in values required, and the Chinese Dream becomes an omnibus phrase that embodies the personal hopes of whomever it is directed at.

From a historical view, this is a stark indicator of how much Xi is truly returning to Maoist tactics. Not only was the extent of the campaign unprecedented since the Cultural Revolution, but posters for the Chinese Dream also included one of the most recognizable visual motifs from propaganda posters of the Cultural Revolution: idealized rural depictions, often of harvests, feasts, holidays, or pastoral images of daily life (Landsberger 1995, 2015; Sun 2017)⁵.

However, scholars examining Xi's turn from a historical perspective see in Xi's rhetoric and propaganda a return to ideas and concepts that extend much further back than Mao Zedong (Landsberger 2015; Lewis 2021; Zheng 2021). Xi's definition of the Chinese nation as seen in his speech during the CCP centenary is more Chiang Kai-shek's, than Mao Zedong's; Xi's de facto elevation of national identity as a unifier that transcends class divides directly contradicts Mao's firm belief in the exact reverse (Zheng 2021, 1). From this perspective, propaganda under Xi has recentralized, but not *re-politicized*. As continued depoliticization in Chinese society seems to be leading towards nationalism and traditionalism, one scholar suggests the current Chinese Dream may not only be the direct opposite of the party's original aims, but an accidental admission that the party's time as a genuinely Marxist party was an aberration in Chinese history (Landsberger 2015, 271). Furthermore, unlike the earlier "spiritual civilization" campaigns from the 1990s and early 2000s, the Chinese Dream appears less flexible and less susceptible to being co-opted by local governments. To the extent that the Chinese Dream is tied to policy issues, it tends to be in a broad, general manner and primarily for the purpose of promoting the narrative of Chinese national revival. Visually, a number of PSA campaigns since Xi have hearkened back to traditional, folk art-style visuals, as in Figures 17 through 19.

Figure 17 – National Level Ad, Meishuguan Road, Dongcheng District, Beijing, 2013



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: The first Chinese Dream posters to come out included folk art of pastoral scenes. This example from 2013, featuring a traditional Chinese New Year celebration in the countryside, is fittingly accompanied by the text.

Translation: 如今好日子 | 天天像过年 [With times as good as they are right now | It's as if every day is New Year].

Figure 18 – District Level Ad, Yuyuan Road, Jing'an District, Shanghai, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: The Chinese Dream continues to be a theme on posters six years later, in 2019. This one includes a poem with the following: “You have the spirit of Nüwa/You are the dream Kuafu had when he chased the sun,” invoking two figures from ancient Chinese mythology.

Translation:

我的中国梦 [My Chinese Dream]

始信泥土有芬芳 [I begin to believe the earth has a fragrance]

转眼捏成这般模样 [Molded into this form in a blink of an eye]

你是女娲托生的精灵 [You have the spirit of Nüwa]

你是夸父追日的梦想 [You are the dream Kuafu had when he chased the sun]

让我轻轻走过你的眼前 [Let me walk past your eyes]

沐浴着你童真的目光 [Bathing in your innocent gaze]

让我牵手与你同行 [Let me walk hand in hand with you]

小脚丫奔跑在希望的田野上 [Little feet running on the field of hope]

呵，中国 [Oh, China]

我的梦 [My dream]

梦成香..... [Dream into fragrance...].

Figure 19 – National Level Ad, Zhongguancun Road, Haidian District, Beijing, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: The use of traditional art and folk art on PSA's has also expanded, especially to include PSAs with the Core Socialist Values on them.

Translation: 代代孝 | 辈辈福 [Filial piety for generations, blessings for life].

The Style of Propaganda Under Xi Versus His Predecessors

Since 1989, the Chinese Communist Party has reworked its propaganda towards the use of persuasion and other subtler means of influence rather than more direct forms of indoctrination, to stabilize Chinese society, replacing state's old methods with techniques borrowed from commercial marketing (Brady 2006, 73). The party in particular wishes to avoid a repeat of the Tiananmen Square massacre, as under the new capitalist conditions of Chinese society, the open use of force by the state has a delegitimizing effect on the state (Brady 2008). By all measures, the central government's measures to depoliticize the public sphere were a success. As a result of the depoliticization of the Chinese public sphere, intellectuals have lost their ability to be "arbiters of value", forced instead to adapt to the inexorable rationalism of the market economy (H. Wang 2001, 163).

However, the turn towards economic pragmatism has had other consequences for the party itself and its attempts to maintain political legitimacy. In adapting its methods to meet the modern market economy, the party has also sacrificed its own ability for political initiative, forced into an increasingly passive role reacting to events and trends beyond its control (Lynch 1999; Brady 2006; Zhu 2011). Xi's rise to power occurred during a time of low trust in the party, shortly after the Bo Xilai scandal. That Xi engaged in such extensive use of propaganda so soon after taking office may in fact have been a sign of weakness rather than strength (Esarey 2021, 898). While Xi's strategy of using propaganda to consolidate power at the beginning has arguably been successful, the resurgence in nationalism and emphasis on the individual leader has notably not blunted the centrality of economic development to the party's messaging (Figure 21), serving as a reminder of the continued importance of economic growth in maintaining social stability, just as it was during Deng Xiaoping's time. Nonetheless, PSAs like the ones in Figures 22 and 23 that are mainly themed around party ideology, while not the norm, have become common enough under Xi to require explanation.

Figure 20 – PSA, Huaihai Road, Luwan District, Shanghai, 1998



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: Reflecting the changes in governance at the national level, urban propaganda of the 1990s reflected the pragmatic turn of the CCP's economic reforms rather than emphasizing ideology or trying to build a cult of personality around the paramount leader. Some PSAs from the time had quotes from Deng, while others had his name. This is one of the few PSAs in the archive to have both, perhaps reflecting the ascendancy of Shanghai party leaders in the central government and party following Tiananmen. Notably, the propagation of this slogan was used to justify the creation of the Pudong New District.

Translation: 发展是硬道理。——摘自邓小平文选《第三卷》 ["Development is the absolute paramount principle." – Excerpt from Deng Xiaoping's Selected Works "Volume Three"].

Figure 21 – Unknown, Probably District Level Ad, Nanjing Road, Huangpu District, Shanghai, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: The return of ideological PSAs in the style of Mao does not mean PSAs from recent years cannot also invoke the old themes of economic growth and development.

Translation: 齐心同创全国文明城/合力共筑美丽黄浦梦 [Work together to create a national civilized city/Working together to build a beautiful Huangpu dream].

Figure 22 – District Level Ad, Yuyuan Road, Changning District, Shanghai, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: This display announcing the addition of Xi Jinping Thought to the Chinese constitution also explicitly mentions its predecessors in the Chinese Communist Party's official history of ideological development. Displays like this one that mention ideology are rare, and their re-emergence is a surprise after three decades of post-Mao rule.

Translation:

习近平新时代中国特色社会主义思想 [Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era]

马克思列宁主义 | 毛泽东思想 | 邓小平理论 | “三个代表”重要思想 | 科学发展观 [Marxism-Leninism | Ma Zedong Thought | Deng Xiaoping Theory | The important thought of “Three Represents” | Scientific Outlook on Development].

Figure 23 – PSA, Source Agency Unclear, Possibly National Level, Zhichun Road, Haidian District, Beijing, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: PSAs publicizing the 19th Party Congress, which added Xi Jinping Thought to the Constitution, have also appeared, shining a spotlight on party affairs that is unprecedented in the post-Mao era.

Translation: 撸起袖子加油干 [Red text: Roll up your sleeves and work hard!].

Analyzing Urban Outdoor PSAs for Visual and Textual Rhetorical Trends

While the literature on the historical development of propaganda in Communist China is extensive, much of it is theoretical in scope, treating propaganda in Maoist and post-Maoist China from a broad, “birds-eye” perspective. Thus far we have used the archive here to provide examples confirming that the PSAs therein support the presence of the historical trends laid out in these theories of Chinese propaganda. Now however, we turn to a more granular analysis that looks for the changing visual and textual rhetoric of the Xi Jinping era in particular, as reflected in urban outdoor propaganda from across districts in Shanghai and Beijing. This analysis is thus a continuation of previous such analyses by one of the co-authors on subway ads (Lewis 2003, 2011).

Two different analyses of the archive were performed, one focusing on the prevalence of certain phrases as well as visual and artistic motifs within the archive and another analyzing the number of PSAs by the level of government of the agencies responsible for their creation. These two factors were chosen because of the amount of recent literature noting the shifts in messaging and centralization in propaganda under Xi Jinping.

I. Archive Collection and Composition

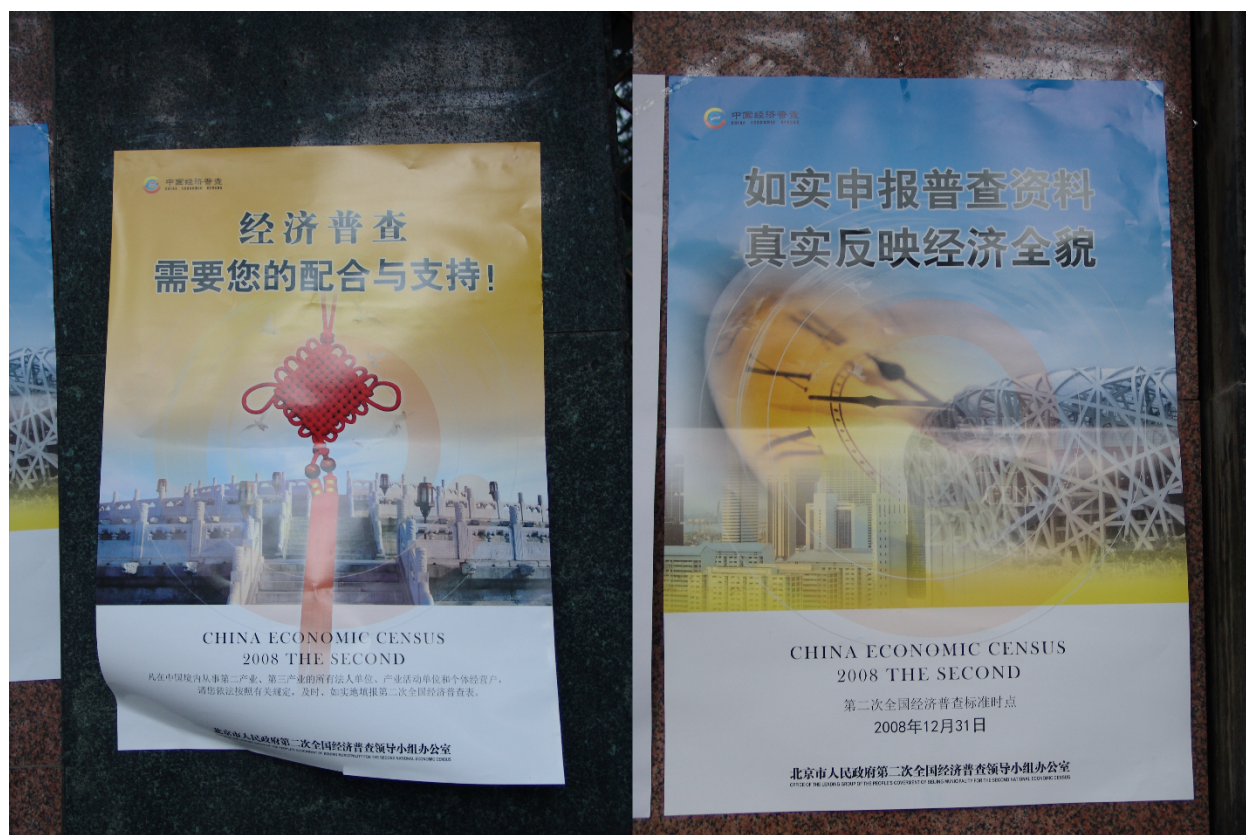
The *China Urban Outdoor Propaganda Image Archive, 1998 to 2019* comprises some 2,999 images of PSAs collected from the cities of Beijing and Shanghai over two decades, in which the same streets in both cities are surveyed approximately every five years and all unique PSAs on each street are photographed. Each entry comprises a photograph (or sometimes multiple photos from different angles) of a single PSA, along with additional context such as the text of the PSA and the name of the district and street on which the PSA was found. Not only can the archive be browsed manually, but it can be searched for occurrences of certain strings of text that appear in the text of the PSAs themselves.

As of 2025, the years in which the survey was performed are 1998, 2004, 2008, 2013, and 2019. The archive is further subdivided into “sets”, defined as all of the photos taken on the streets of a city on a specific year. There are thus ten sets in total in the archive: one each for Beijing and Shanghai in each of the years 1998, 2004, 2008, 2013, and 2019. The streets chosen for the original survey in 1998 were a mix of residential and commercial streets spread out over the districts that then comprised the centers of Beijing and Shanghai at the time, although district mergers that have occurred in both cities since 1998 have reduced the number of districts and streets surveyed.⁶

Duplicate copies of the same ad in the same format on the same street are removed, but the same ad on two different formats, or the same copy and format on another street or district, are retained. As such, this archive does not measure the intensity or frequency of different PSAs, but rather the breadth of messages and formats of various

PSA campaigns as well as their ubiquity across different streets and districts within the city. Furthermore, PSAs with variations on a single format or template are kept in the archive. An example of this rule in practice is seen in the two examples given below (Figure 24), both from the Beijing 2008 set. Both fliers are about the economic census from that year and have similar information, with a different main slogan at the top and different background graphic designs. Because of this, both flyers are in the archive.

Figure 24 – PSAs, Office of the Leading Group of the Beijing Government for the Second National Economic Census [北京市第二次全国经济普查领导小组办公室], Andingmennei Road, Dongcheng District, Beijing, 2008



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: Similar PSAs about the same topic, but with variations in the text and design, are kept in the archive as two different ads. Variations on a single design may indicate that the subject matter is important enough to be worth the effort, thus providing a crude heuristic in estimating the ubiquity of a PSA campaign despite not keeping duplicates.

Translation:

(L) 经济普查 | 需要您的配合与支持! [For the economic census | We need your cooperation and support!]

(R) 如实申报普查资料 | 真实反映经济全貌 [Factually declare census data | Truly reflect the whole picture of the economy].

For this reason, the Chinese PSA Archive is also useful in determining the breadth of different public ad campaigns within a district or the whole city. Campaigns that have many variations on a template are likely to be higher priority public campaigns meant to draw notice. Examples of campaigns in the Chinese PSA Archive comprising multiple PSAs exist in all of the years surveyed.

Analogous examples to these multi-ad PSA campaigns exist in the private sector as well. In late 2003, Apple released its famous “Silhouette” campaign, featuring black silhouettes of people dancing to music playing on their iPods, which often included whole subway stations full of iPod advertisements, each with a silhouette of a different person, as well as a different colored background, but few other changes between individual advertisements. Created by the advertising firm TBWA\Chiat\Day, a particular strength of the campaign was its ability to appeal to a large demographic. In addition, by deemphasizing the people in the ads, the Silhouette campaign ended up emphasizing both the music as well as the iPod itself. The advertisements became famous in themselves, being referenced or parodied in other advertising campaigns but always indelibly associated with the iPod (Riggs). In a similar manner, recent Chinese PSA’s have often focused on a theme, with individual posters that then focus on individual variations of that theme. This is particularly common in PSAs about the Core Socialist Values, as in Figure 25.

Figure 25 – PSAs, Source Agency Unclear, Possibly District Level, Fahuazhen Road, Changning District, Shanghai, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: An example of two variant PSAs in the same theme. In this case, the placards are promoting two of the Core Socialist Values, specifically 和谐 (héxié, harmony) and 文明 (wénmíng, civility).

Translation: 积极培育和践行社会主义核心价值观 [Red text on both placards: Actively cultivate and practice the Core Socialist Values].

II. Motif and Slogan Analysis

The first portion of this study comprised a selection of artistic and visual motifs as well as notable slogans and initiatives associated with the paramount leaders in power during the years covered in the archives. We now turn to a count of PSAs based both on visual characteristics as well as analysis of the text of the PSAs.

Public propaganda at its core involves the interaction between images and text – between visual rhetoric and textual rhetoric – and in Communist states during the peak of the Cold War, the centrality of the images on propaganda rose to the point that the art styles involved often became highly influential, if not the official art form of the state, until the leader’s tastes or the party’s needs changed (Landsberger 1995). During the Maoist era, propaganda posters frequently emphasized the continuing need for revolution, especially once the Sino-Soviet split became public in 1961 with the PRC’s denunciation of the Soviet Union’s so-called “revisionism” under Khrushchev. In order to assert its own independence from Soviet foreign policy and contest Soviet leadership of the Communist world, China attempted to export its revolution abroad. During the 1960s, PRC distributed posters, films, pamphlets, and other forms of cultural propaganda to other post-colonial states, especially in Africa and Latin America. Colorful, bright posters depicting Chinese rural life painted a picture of a “revolutionary imaginary” of “China as a socialist paradise” (Ibid, 237). By exporting Maoist propaganda art to other countries, China “problematically exhibited itself as both a revolutionary model for emulation and a culturally unique place” (Ferry 2000, 240). As we will explore later, the notion that China is both unique and a model for other countries has reemerged prominently during the Xi era.

The liberalization of the Chinese economy contributed to the downfall of the traditional propaganda poster in part due to layoffs in government agencies including the Central Propaganda Department leading to design talent moving to private advertising firms. Furthermore, as the priorities of the Chinese government shifted towards the reintegration of the country with the global economy, millions of new migrants flooded into Chinese cities. Between 1978, when Deng Xiaoping began China’s economic reforms, and 1998, the first year of our urban propaganda collection, the urban population of China increased from around 171 million to 421 million, or from 17.9% to 33.9% of the country’s population⁷. It was at this time that Chinese propaganda shifted towards images associated with economic development and urbanization at the same time it began a new emphasis on “spiritual civilization”, or the cultivation of behavioral norms associated with a modern, globalized economy (Lewis 2002). Later, around 2008, “spiritual civilization” became associated with “civilized cities” competitions, most famously the National Civilized City Assessment (Wu & Liu 2025).

In addition to visual motifs, the archive was analyzed for various phrases and slogans associated with the paramount leaders that ruled China during the years covered by the archive, namely Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao, and Xi Jinping. In addition, although he left office before the range of the study, Deng Xiaoping was included as well. In addition to

the main political slogans and initiatives associated with each leader, the archives were searched for mentions of them by name. Finally, two additional phrases were included in the search that were unrelated to any paramount leader in particular: Spiritual Civilization (精神文明 or Jīngshén Wénmíng) and Party (党 or Dǎng), as these are relatively baseline political phrases that are common in Chinese propaganda.

Visual motifs can thus be broadly divided into four categories:

- *General Descriptors*: General political motifs that appear in multiple years and are not expected to vary significantly based on political trends;
- *Olympics and Expo Imagery*: Including logos and famous landmarks associated with these events, such as the China Pavilion at the Shanghai Expo, or the Bird’s Nest Stadium;
- *Nationalism and Centralism*: Symbols associated with the nation, such as the national flag or Tiananmen;
- *Art*: Motifs and symbols associated with traditional Chinese art.

The latter two categories have been the focus of much academic literature on propaganda under Xi. As such, the prevalence of these two motifs should increase as the archive gets closer to the present.

Visual Analysis

The following motifs were chosen for the visual analysis:

Categories	Labels		
General Descriptors	Senior Leaders	Military	Cityscapes
Olympics/Expo-related	Olympics	Expo	
Nationalism/Centralization	Huabiao	Tiananmen	Chinese Flag
Art	Classical Chinese Art	Folk Art	

Senior Leaders

Remarkably, although photographs and paintings of senior Chinese Communist Party leaders are very common in traditional print and broadcast media, especially under Xi Jinping, on the streets of Beijing and Shanghai during these surveys they were rare, and were limited to PSAs that included images of senior leaders in traditional media (front pages of newspapers, for example). They are much more common by name and in quotations in textual rhetoric in PSAs, but their visual images are very rare. This is a promising area of future study, with the obvious hypotheses that there are strong regulations about the use of images of senior leaders in urban outdoor propaganda in China.

Military

The number of ads with military imagery in Chinese urban PSAs was somewhat lower than expected. The figures do not vary enough from year to year to form any discernible trends, other than Shanghai in 2013. Many PSAs featuring images of soldiers, military equipment, or insignia from the set are from various “Double Support Offices” (双拥工作领导小组办公室 or “Leading Group Office for Double Support Work”) at different levels of government, which are government agencies tasked with assisting former soldiers in making the transition back into civilian life. Why this is the case is a very promising potential topic for future study.

Table 1A – Prevalence of Military Imagery in Beijing PSAs, 1998–2019

Year	Occurrences	Occurrences (%)	Total Beijing PSAs
1998	6	1.53%	391
2004	4	1.75%	228
2008	3	0.98%	307
2013	1	0.76%	132
2019	1	0.22%	460

Source: Authors’ analysis.

Table 1B – Prevalence of Military Imagery in Shanghai PSAs, 1998–2019

Year	Occurrences	Occurrences (%)	Total Shanghai PSAs
1998	2	0.78%	257
2004	5	2.70 %	185
2008	1	0.35%	286
2013	14	7.69%	182
2019	2	0.35%	573

Source: Authors’ analysis.

Cityscapes

Among the general descriptors, few strong trends were found. The prevalence of these varied year by year and city from city with relatively little consistency, with the exception of “cityscape”. For most years, Shanghai showed a modestly higher prevalence of PSAs with cityscapes or skylines in comparison to Beijing. There is a modest increase in the occurrence of “cityscape” motifs from 1998 to 2008, but no noticeable trend in either city after 2008. Given their ubiquity, prevalence and ways in which cityscapes and

skylines are portrayed in propaganda are also a very promising potential future area of study.

Table 2C – Prevalence of Cityscapes in Beijing PSAs, 1998–2019

Year	Occurrences	Occurrences (%)	Total Beijing PSAs
1998	13	3.32%	391
2004	22	9.65%	228
2008	9	2.93%	307
2013	17	12.88%	132
2019	56	12.17%	460

Source: Authors' analysis.

Table 1D – Prevalence of Cityscapes in Shanghai PSAs, 1998–2019

Year	Occurrences	Occurrences (%)	Total Shanghai PSAs
1998	8	3.11%	257
2004	19	10.27 %	185
2008	55	19.23%	286
2013	38	20.88%	182
2019	100	17.45%	573

Source: Authors' analysis.

Olympics and World Expo

Although both the 2008 Olympics and 2010 World Expo caused significant shifts in local governance in both Beijing and Shanghai, albeit ephemeral in some institutions of governance, the extent to which this was expressed in the visual motifs of the local propaganda was apparently different across the cities, most likely because we surveyed Beijing streets in 2008, but not Shanghai streets in 2010. Olympics-related PSAs comprised a significant proportion of Beijing 2008's public service ads, with the Organizing Committee of the 29th Olympic Games being responsible for 64 PSAs in Beijing in 2008 (almost 21% of all PSAs in Beijing that year). In contrast, while two agencies in Shanghai explicitly dedicated to the Expo were active in 2008, they were only responsible for seven PSAs between them, or about 2% of all PSAs in Shanghai that year. It is likely there are other collections of images of Shanghai street propaganda from 2010, given the enormous number of domestic and international visitors to the Expo, and perhaps these could be gainfully compared to the ones about the Olympics in Beijing in 2008 in our collection to see how the propaganda reflects the bolstering of local government that occurred during these momentous and yet singular global events.

Symbols of Nationalism

The analysis of symbols of nationalism yielded a number of surprising results. We chose three visual symbols commonly used in propaganda to represent the nation: (a) the carved marble ceremonial columns (华表 or Huá biǎo) that flank the entrance to the Gate of Heavenly Peace and other imperial palaces, (b) the Gate of Heavenly Peace (天安门 or Tiān'ānmén) itself, upon which China's Party leaders have stood to celebrate anniversaries of the communist revolution, (c) and the PRC national flag. We had originally hypothesized that 2019 would see an increase in these nationalist visual motifs compared to previous years, given the renewed emphasis on nationalism in the rhetoric of Xi Jinping's speeches. While the data reflect this, the disparity between Shanghai 2019 and Beijing 2019 in absolute figures as well as percentage points was unexpected. Another unexpected trend was found in 2013, when Chinese flags increased relatively sharply compared to the other two motifs. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is the fact that flags are often relatively politically neutral compared to other, as they reference a nation, while the other also represents the central government.

Table 1E – Prevalence of Nationalist Motifs in Beijing and Shanghai PSAs, 1998–2019

City, year (# of PSAs)	# of Huabiao (%)	# of Tiananmen (%)	# of Chinese Flags (%)
Beijing 1998 (391)	1 (0.26)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.26)
Shanghai 1998 (257)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (0.78)
Beijing 2004 (228)	1 (0.44)	1 (0.44)	2 (0.88)
Shanghai 2004 (185)	1 (0.54)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.54)
Beijing 2008 (307)	2 (0.65)	2 (0.65)	7 (2.28)
Shanghai 2008 (286)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.35)	2 (0.70)
Beijing 2013 (132)	7 (5.30)	1 (0.76)	10 (7.58)
Shanghai 2013 (182)	3 (1.65)	2 (1.10)	12 (6.59)
Beijing 2019 (460)	35 (7.61)	37 (8.04)	56 (12.17)
Shanghai 2019 (573)	13 (2.27)	11 (1.92)	27 (4.71)

Source: Authors' analysis.

Future research might examine the interplay of these visual symbols of nationalism that are also associated with varying levels of government. The Huabiao and Tiananmen are associated with the central government, and so is the Great Wall and such iconographic venues from the Olympics as the Birds Nest stadium, but the Temple of Heaven in Beijing is associated with the municipal government. In Shanghai there are few such symbols that evoke nationalism, although potentially the first meeting place of the Chinese Communist Party in the former French Concession, and potentially the China Pavilion on the Shanghai Expo Grounds, now the "China Art Museum (Shanghai Art

Museum),” although that could also become increasingly associated with the Shanghai municipal government.

Artistic Motifs

Our analysis of trends in the style of art suggests that folk art began appearing in Beijing PSAs relatively early, possibly as an experimental run, before the use of both traditional and folk art in both cities increased drastically in 2019 in association with the China Dream campaign of Xi Jinping. However, Shanghai and Beijing show a dramatic divergence in the forms of art portrayed in urban outdoor propaganda. Whereas in 2019 Beijing PSAs tended to use folk art, the PSAs in Shanghai appeared to use traditional or “refined” art. Our analysis was fairly simplistic: we equated the “paper cut” style of art with “folk art”, as scholars such as Stefan Landsberger have done (Landsberger 1995), and associated traditional painting forms with “traditional” or “refined” art. Thus, a very likely very rich area of future study would explore more sophisticated analysis of portrayals of art in propaganda posters.

Table 1F – Prevalence of Artistic Motifs in Beijing and Shanghai PSAs, 1998–2019

City, year (# of PSAs)	# Of Traditional Art (%)	# Of Folk Art (%)
Beijing 1998 (391)	7 (1.79)	1 (0.26)
Shanghai 1998 (257)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.39)
Beijing 2004 (228)	0 (0.00)	3 (1.32)
Shanghai 2004 (185)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Beijing 2008 (307)	5 (0.65)	0 (0.00)
Shanghai 2008 (286)	6 (2.10)	2 (0.70)
Beijing 2013 (132)	2 (1.52)	25 (18.94)
Shanghai 2013 (182)	1 (0.55)	1 (0.55)
Beijing 2019 (460)	37 (8.04)	85 (18.48)
Shanghai 2019 (573)	62 (10.82)	32 (5.58)

Source: Authors’ analysis.

Textual Slogan Analysis

The following textual slogans of campaigns and political initiatives were chosen, sorted by paramount leader:

Table 2A – Textual Slogans in PSA Body Text, by Leadership, City and Year, 1998–2019

General Descriptors	“Spiritual Civilization” (精神文明)	“Party” (党)				
Deng Xiaoping	“Deng Xiaoping Theory” (邓小平理论) or mentions of Deng by name	“Socialism with Chinese Characteristics” (中国特色社会主义)				
Jiang Zemin	Mentions of Jiang Zemin by name	“Three Represents” (三个代表)				
Hu Jintao	Mentions of Hu Jintao by name	“Scientific Outlook on Development” (科学发展观)	“Knowing Honor and Shame”/“8 Honors and 8 Shames” (知荣知耻/八荣八耻)	“China’s Peaceful Rise”/“China’s Peaceful Development” (中国和平崛起/中国和平发展)	“Harmonious Society” (和谐社会)	
Xi Jinping	Mentions of Xi Jinping by name	“Chinese Dream” (中国梦)	“Belt and Road” (一带一路)	“Four Comprehensives” (四个全面)	“Sweeping Away Black and Removing Evil” (扫黑除恶)	“Core Socialist Values” (社会主义核心价值观)

Source: Authors’ analysis.

The “general descriptors” are phrases that appeared in multiple PSAs across both cities and in every year of our analysis and that are not associated with a particular paramount leader or event. These are 精神文明 (“spiritual civilization”) and 党 (“party”, invariably referring to the Chinese Communist Party in this context). While spiritual civilization and the CCP are recurring themes in Chinese urban propaganda, the prevalence of them in PSAs over the years has varied. Because some of the agencies responsible for creating PSAs also have these characters in their names, our analysis separated instances of 精神文明 and 党 appearing in the main text and instances of those phrases appearing in the bylines (where the agency or agencies responsible for creating the PSA are credited).

Table 2B – Prevalence of 精神文明 (“Spiritual Civilization”) in Body Text, by City and Year

Year	Beijing	Beijing (%)	Shanghai	Shanghai (%)
1998	2	0.51%	2	0.78%
2004	1	0.44%	1	0.54%
2008	5	1.63%	1	0.35%
2013	0	0.00%	4	2.20%
2019	0	0.00%	0	0.00%

Source: Authors’ analysis.

Table 2C – Prevalence of 党 (“Party”) in Body Text, by City and Year

Year	Beijing	Beijing (%)	Shanghai	Shanghai (%)
1998	2	0.88%	1	0.54%
2004	3	1.32%	3	1.62%
2008	3	0.98%	0	0.00%
2013	6	4.55%	12	6.59%
2019	36	7.83%	35	6.12%

Source: Authors’ analysis.

Table 2D – Prevalence of 精神文明 (“Spiritual Civilization”) in Byline, by City and Year

Year	Beijing	Beijing (%)	Shanghai	Shanghai (%)
1998	20	5.12%	12	4.67%
2004	8	3.52%	2	1.08%
2008	17	5.54%	14	4.90%
2013	14	10.61%	12	6.59%
2019	9	1.96%	133	23.25%

Source: Authors’ analysis.

Table 2E – Prevalence of 党 (“Party”) in Byline, by City and Year

Year	Beijing	Beijing (%)	Shanghai	Shanghai (%)
1998	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
2004	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
2008	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
2013	0	0.00%	5	2.75%
2019	0	0.00%	74	12.94%

Source: Authors’ analysis.

While there appear to be significant changes (either upward or downward) in the prevalence of certain phrases starting in the year 2013, the most significant changes can be seen in the 2019 set. Instances of the word “party” increased in both Beijing and Shanghai in 2019. The most dramatic changes appear in the bylines at the bottom of the PSAs, which suggest an institutional shift or a reorganization of agencies responsible for producing PSAs, at least in major urban areas. The most notable shift in this set of data occurred in Shanghai in 2019, where the number of ads that credited at least one Spiritual Civilization Office at any level of local government nearly quadrupled in frequency.

A subtler, but no less dramatic, change in the bylines occurs in Shanghai in 2013, where Party Working Committees begin to commission ads. Here, it is important to note that under the Chinese constitution, the government and party are legally separate institutions. While in practice government and party are intertwined, local governments and local party branches are still separate bodies belonging to separate institutional hierarchies. The fact that CCP branches have suddenly become involved in the production of PSAs in Shanghai since 2013 is extremely surprising, especially since we see exactly zero instances of this in Beijing. These variations across localities are likely a very promising area of future study.

III. Creator/Centralization Analysis

The second component of the study involved an analysis of the PSAs for each city and year to identify changes in the level of centralization of ads. A select sample of PSAs were analyzed and sorted into the following categories based on the level of the government agency that created and released it:

- National
- Municipal
- District
- Subdistrict
- Other or non-governmental group (such as an NGO or a private advertising company)

- Attribution absent or unclear
- Olympic Organizing Committee (Beijing 2008 only)

For PSAs with multiple government agencies at multiple levels, the PSA was classified under the highest-level agency credited in the ad.

Earlier analysis of the omnibus Spiritual Civilization campaign in PSAs of 1998 (Lewis 2002) suggested that the durability of the physical format of the PSA was itself an explanatory factor: advertisements in large metal frames or elevated billboards likely reflected a more long-standing commitment to the issues disseminated in the ad, and thus likely a greater preeminence in the minds of the propaganda officials determining format and location, since such formats were inherently more costly to erect and also to maintain. Many more ephemeral campaigns – awareness of public safety campaigns, or even public elections for the local NPC or CPPCC – were often painted or stitched on to large cloth banners, which were cheaper to produce and thus would deteriorate with exposure to the elements. This seemed a logical conclusion given the PSA printing technologies of the day. In this analysis that spans 1998 to 2019, however, we found that advances in large color billboard printing technology, and also the proliferation of new physical posting locations – especially in frames holding vertical banners along the sidewalks of major shopping streets in both cities, and also the creation of permanent bus shelters that incorporated large PSA posters, erected for the Olympics and the World Expo by municipal governments in both cities – have likely reduced the cost of PSAs for the government actors that create them. Figures 26, 27, and 30-32 are examples of “durable” formats that are included in our analysis. In contrast, Figures 28 and 29 depict large character banners, and Figure 30 a small poster. We include all of these formats in this analysis of trends in centralization. Future research, of course, might gainfully compare the relative use of certain formats by certain actors in a more comprehensive analysis. Appendix I contains examples of each of the 20 formats included in the archive, and our digital archive also includes these in the descriptions of each advertisement there.

Figure 26 – PSA, Jing’an District Double Support Office [静安区双拥办公室], Nanjing Road, Jing’an District, Shanghai, 1998



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: Formats that are more durable, such as metal signs, suggest that the PSA is meant to stay there for a long time. In that light, it may perhaps not be surprising that this PSA is talking about the need for civilians to support the military.

Translation: 爱我中华固长城 | 军民携手情谊深 [Love our China's Great Wall | The military and civilians join hands in deep friendship].

Figure 27 – PSA, Dongcheng District Committee Propaganda Department [东城区委宣传部], Chaoyangmen Road, Dongcheng District, Beijing, 1998



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: Because billboards are especially visible, PSAs in this format suggest that the topic is particularly important.

Translation: 人人动手，清洁城市 [When everyone acts, the city becomes clean].

Figure 28 – Banner, Source Agency Unclear, Chaoyangmenwai Road, Chaoyang District, Beijing, 2013



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: This large character banner reminds residents to register for conscription, the deadline for which is June 30 each year. The focus on a very local and short-term issue is especially typical of this format of public service advertisement.

Translation: 依法服兵役是每个公民应尽的义务 [It is the duty of every citizen to perform military service in accordance with the law].

Figure 29 – Banner, Source Agency Unclear, Possibly District Level, Beijing Road, Huangpu District, Shanghai, 2004



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: If they are not addressing very short-term topics, large character banners generically promote important slogans. In this case, this banner is extolling Jiang Zemin’s “Three Represents” theory.

Translation: 认真贯彻“三个代表”重要思想，努力推进静安双高建设！ [Earnestly implement the important thought of the "Three Represents" and work hard to promote "double high" construction in Jing'an!].

Figure 30 – PSA, Beijing Municipal Patriotic Public Health Campaign Committee [北京市爱国卫生运动委员会] and Beijing Municipal Health Commission [北京市卫生健康委员会], Chaoyangmen Road, Chaoyang District, Beijing, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: This campaign by the Beijing municipal government could be found at bus shelters throughout the city in 2019 regardless of district or street. The PSAs at bus stops tend to come from the municipal government.

Translation:

健康成就美好未来

请遵守《北京市控制吸烟条例》

公共场所禁止吸烟

[Healthy for a better future

Please abide by the “Beijing Smoking Control Regulations”

No smoking in public places].

Figure 31 – Posters, Beijing Patriotic Health Campaign Committee [北京市爱国卫生运动委员会], Xijiekounei Street, Xicheng District, Beijing, 2008



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: Posters, fliers, and other similar less durable PSAs are more likely to be about more immediate, topical issues, such as this notice from the Beijing municipal government reminding residents of the date that the new smoking laws banning smoking in many public areas will come into effect. In this case, May 1, 2008, coinciding with the Beijing Olympics and, not coincidentally, an influx of international visitors for whom Beijing desires to clean its image.

Translation:

2008年5月1日起 [From May 1, 2008]

《北京市公共场所禁止吸烟范围若干规定》 [“Provisions on the Scope of Smoking Ban in Public Places in Beijing”]

正式施行 [Formally implemented].

Figure 32 – Likely Municipal Level Ad, Source Agency Unclear, Beijing Road, Huangpu District, Shanghai, 2004



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

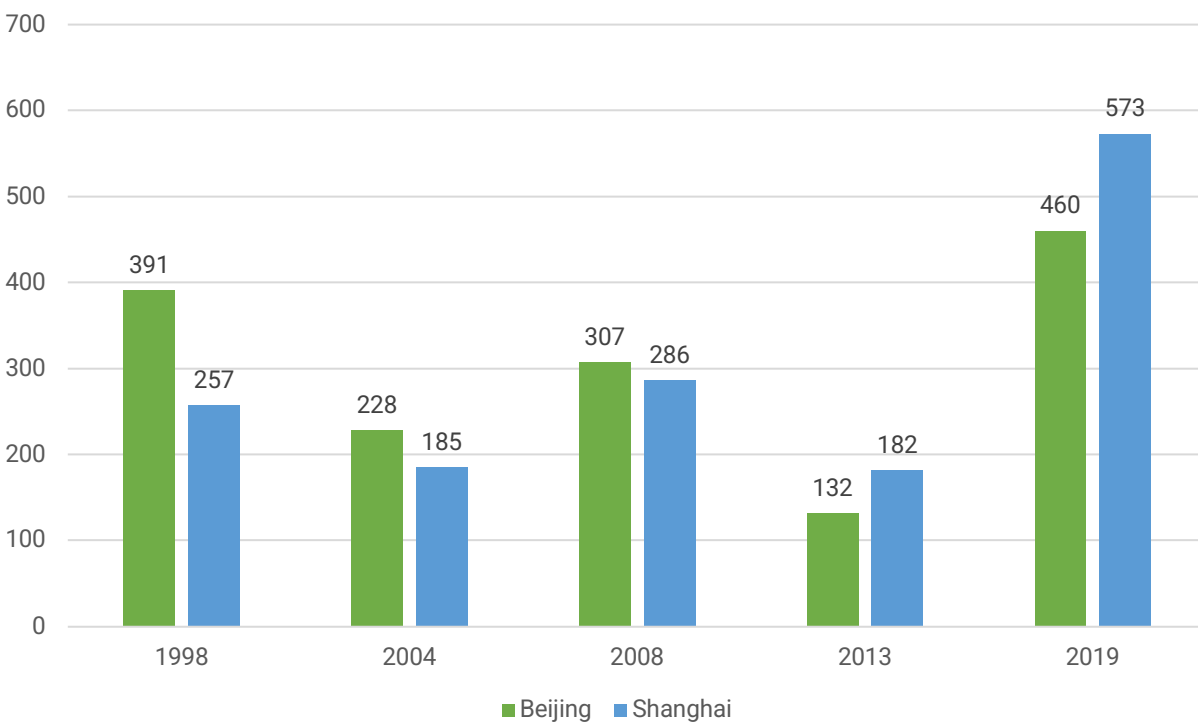
Note: Another example of a bus shelter poster from Shanghai. Because of the municipality's control of bus shelter ads, the topics mentioned are rarely about specific district or subdistrict issues.

Translation: 美化上海 | 爱护绿化 [Beautify Shanghai | Take care of the greenery].

Range of PSAs and Creators Over Time

Between 1998 and 2019, Beijing and Shanghai experienced diverging trends in the range of PSAs by year. The range of PSAs is noticeably higher in Beijing than Shanghai in 1998, with the difference narrowing each year until 2013, when Shanghai had more PSAs than Beijing and further extended this lead in 2019. Both cities see a drop in the range of PSAs to record lows in 2013 before increasing to record highs in 2019. The trend in PSAs in both cities also differs. Shanghai held relatively steady from 1998 to 2013 before peaking in 2019 at 573, the highest range of PSAs for any individual set. In contrast, Beijing experienced a relatively noticeable downward trend from 1998 to 2013 before also bouncing back in 2019. At first glance, the Olympics did not appear to have a major effect on the range of PSAs in Beijing in 2008, although as we will discuss later, they did have a major effect on the content of the PSAs.

Figure 33 – PSAs by City and Year



Source: Authors' analysis.

Another major divergence between the cities is the level of the agency or agencies involved in the creation of ads over time. Below are the figures for the total range of PSAs by the level of agency involved. Some PSAs had the involvement of multiple agencies at two or more levels of government. These comprise fewer than ten percent of PSAs in all sets and are not included in the tables below.

Graphic 1 – Beijing PSAs by Level of Agency

YEAR	National	Municipal	District	Subdistrict	Neigh.	Olympics	Other	Unknown	ALL SINGLE
1998	1	43	25	14	0		11	261	355
2004	12	28	24	26	15		29	81	215
2008	1	49	30	6	0	57	13	140	296
2013	21	15	15	15	1		3	58	128
2019	95	43	59	37	2		39	150	425

Source: Authors’ analysis.

Graphic 2 – Shanghai PSAs by Level of Agency

YEAR	National	Municipal	District	Subdistrict	Neigh.	Other	Unknown	ALL SINGLE
1998	0	19	32	9	5	32	134	231
2004	1	29	12	29	9	8	64	152
2008	5	30	42	9	3	36	146	271
2013	7	25	23	28	24	16	51	174
2019	14	19	143	124	11	57	162	530

Source: Authors’ analysis.

In both cities, “unknown” (PSAs that either did not have a creator attribution or whose attribution was obscured or illegible in the photo) formed the highest proportion of ads in 1998. Besides this, most of the other major trends in PSAs between the two cities diverge greatly. For example, the biggest shift in Beijing from 1998 to 2019 is the increasing involvement of national-level agencies. In contrast, in Shanghai, it is the range of ads produced by district- or subdistrict-level agencies that has drastically increased in more recent years. Finally, one other phenomenon of note is the impact the Olympics had on Beijing PSAs. As previously stated, the range of PSAs in Beijing did not noticeably increase in 2008. However, PSAs classified as “Olympic”⁸ formed a major portion of ads that year, while the range of PSAs at the subdistrict level decreased. This could suggest that Olympic PSAs increased at the expense of PSAs by subdistrict-level agencies, but our methodology is unable to determine this.

Furthermore, we also see an increase in the range of creators. This is not necessarily correlated with the range of PSAs. For instance, in 2019, the Central Propaganda

Department of the CCP released a large number of unique PSAs. Despite a trend towards concentration, in which a select range of creators release multiple PSAs, there also appears to be a diversification in the agencies themselves. In other words, while some agencies are creating a large range of PSAs in each city, an increasing range of agencies are commissioning one or two PSAs as well. This may be in part due to the increasing range of available spaces to display PSAs, such as bus stops or construction sites. PSAs in these spaces were rare or nonexistent in 1998 but are ubiquitous in the 2019 set. In both Beijing and Shanghai, the range of subdistrict PSAs increased from 2008 to 2013 and again from 2013 to 2019. This is despite 2013 being the year with the fewest PSAs in both cities. This also suggests an increasing focus on local-level PSAs at lower levels of government.

The year 2008 appears to be a watershed moment for public service advertisements in both cities. In Beijing, Olympic ads took up much of the share of PSAs that subdistrict ads did. In 2013, the range of subdistrict PSAs recovered at the expense of municipal level ads. In addition, national level ads in Beijing also increased in 2013 and again in 2019. On the other hand, Shanghai's PSAs have increasingly come from the local level. 2008 also marks the beginning of the National Civilized Cities competition. Because Beijing and Shanghai are both municipalities with the rank of provinces, their districts are treated as separate cities for these competitions. A cursory glance of agencies in Shanghai shows a range of district agencies with names like "Jing'an District Leading Group for the Fifth National Competition of National Civilized Cities" getting involved in PSAs after the implementation of the competition, specifically 2019. Finally, it should be noted that 2013 and 2019, the two years that diverge markedly from the rest, coincide with the years that Xi Jinping has been in power. The possibility that 2013 formed a transition period between PSA campaigns, accounting for the sudden decrease in ads, cannot be discounted. In fact, some postings that were used for PSAs in other years were used for commercial advertisements in 2013, which suggests that 2013 actually was a transition period in Chinese urban public service advertising.

That the proportion of PSAs at different levels goes through noticeable trends that appear to correlate with major changes in governance and even leadership suggests that who is responsible for commissioning the PSAs in the city during any given year is not just a cosmetic issue. We hypothesize that the composition of PSAs in any given city and year reflects competition between different government agencies for the eyes of the public. While the agencies winning out in Beijing in the most recent set appear to be largely national, those in Shanghai with the most ads recently trend towards the district and subdistrict level.

Agencies and Content of PSAs

One hypothesis suggested by this examination of creators is that there might be competition over posting positions among agencies or bodies that are authorized to disseminate PSAs. If so, we should observe that the actual content of the ads in each set should differ across both creator level and year. By examining even word clouds of

Visual 2 – Beijing 2004



Source: Authors' analysis.

Visual 3 – Beijing 2008



Source: Authors' analysis.

Visual 7 – Shanghai 2004



Source: Authors' analysis.

Visual 15 – Shanghai 2013, National



Source: Authors' analysis.

Visual 19 – Beijing 2019, National



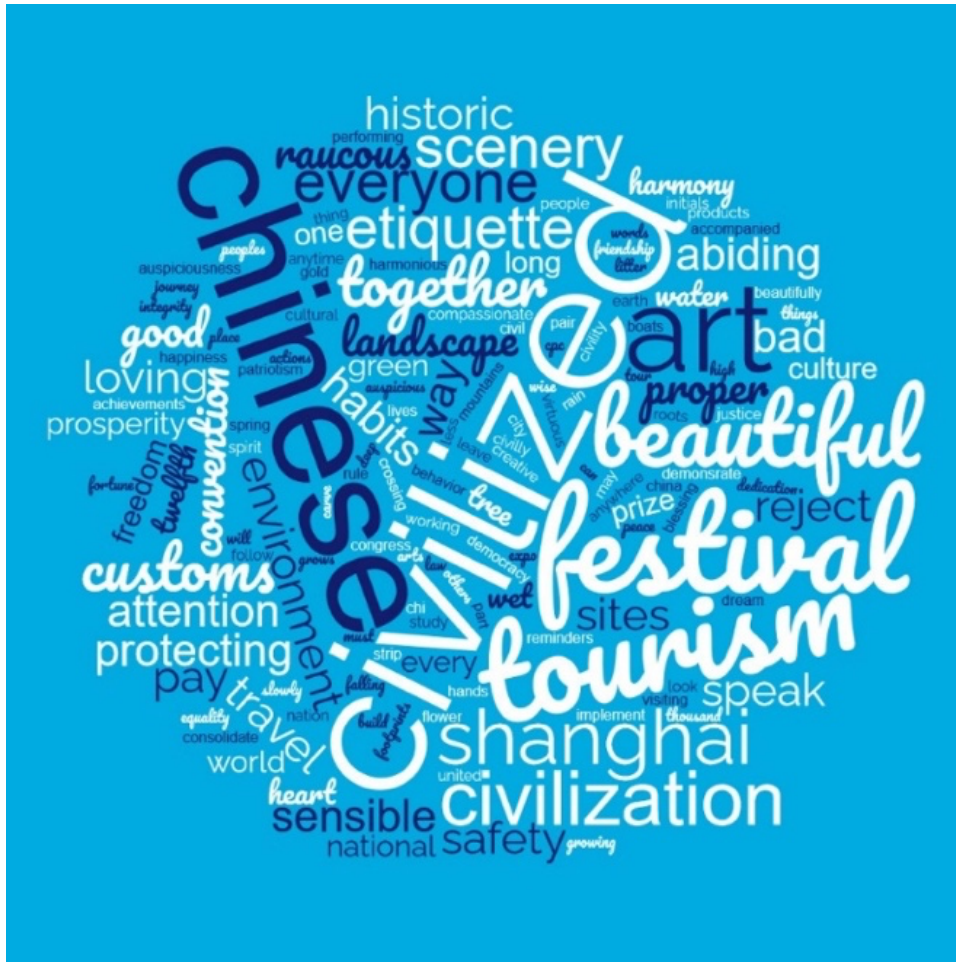
Source: Authors' analysis.

Visual 21 – Beijing 2019, Submunicipal



Source: Authors' analysis.

Visual 23 – Shanghai 2019, National



Source: Authors' analysis.

Visual 25 – Shanghai 2019, Submunicipal



Source: Authors' analysis.

Top Ten Words in Each PSA Set, Divided by City and by Year, 1998–2019

Beijing 1998 (All)			Shanghai 1998 (All)	
Terms	Count		Terms	Count
Love	44		Don't	14
Capital	38		Traffic	14
City	37		Shanghai	12
Please	33		Community	10
Environment	32		Civilized	9
Do	29		Road	8
Your	27		Let	6
National	26		People	6
Protect	25		Law	5
Civilized	25		Civilization	5
Beijing 2004 (All)			Shanghai 2004 (All)	
Terms	Count		Terms	Count
Law	37		Safety	37
Management	36		Community	37
Traffic	29		Shanghai	29
Safety	29		Your	28
Construction	29		People	28
People	28		You	27
Administrative	27		Civilized	25
City	26		Not	19
You	25		Construction	18
Beijing	25		Bank	18
Beijing 2008 (All)			Shanghai 2008 (All)	
Terms	Count		Terms	Count
Beijing	98		Shanghai	101
City	64		Expo	68
Olympics	57		Civilized	66
Your	53		China	61
National	45		City	58

Civilized	45		Create	57
You	42		World	44
Census	42		You	37
Our	40		Civilization	37
Service	39		National	34
Beijing 2013 (All)			Shanghai 2013 (All)	
Terms	Count		Terms	Count
You	25		City	34
Dream	25		Civilized	30
Chinese	24		National	27
Beijing	22		Community	24
Firearms	21		Work	21
Your	20		Support	20
Not	20		People	20
Explosives	20		Environment	20
Civilized	19		Together	19
When	18		Everyone	19
Beijing 2019 (All)			Shanghai 2019 (All)	
Terms	Count		Terms	Count
Safety	113		Chinese	129
People	97		Civilized	126
Not	87		Evil	98
Fire	74		Not	85
Party	68		People	76
Beijing	68		New	76
No	64		Forces	76
National	60		Socialist	74
Good	57		Do	71
Work	56		City	71

Source: Authors’ analysis.

In addition to analyzing the total corpus of the PSAs in each set, we also further subdivided the Beijing and Shanghai sets for the first and last years (1998 and 2019)

into the same creator levels used in the word cloud analysis (i.e. national, municipal, submunicipal, and other/unknown) to see if the word cloud data for these sets also differed significantly by creator level.

Top Ten Words in Beijing and Shanghai in 1998, Divided by Creator Level⁹

Beijing 1998 (Municipal)			Shanghai 1998 (Municipal)	
Terms	Count		Terms	Count
Love	32		Do	25
Capital	19		Please	20
City	17		Not	18
Respect	15		Capital	14
Protect	14		You	12
Public	12		With	11
Work	12		Police	10
Environment	11		Your	10
National	11		City	9
Maintain	11		When	9
Beijing 1998 (Submunicipal)			Shanghai 1998 (Submunicipal)	
Terms	Count		Terms	Count
Do	25		Community	9
Please	20		Civilized	7
Not	18		Square	4
Capital	14		Management	4
You	12		Home	4
With	11		Service	3
Police	10		Sanitation	3
Your	10		Please	3
City	9		Create	3
When	9		Serve	3
Beijing 1998 (Other/Unknown)			Shanghai 1998 (Other/Unknown)	
Terms	Count		Terms	Count
City	29		Don't	14
Environment	28		Traffic	10

Development	27		Shanghai	7
People	26		Public	5
Civilized	20		Science	4
Civilization	19		Great	4
Natural	18		Jing'an	4
Law	18		Safety	3
Create	17		Absolute	3
Promote	16		Do	3

Source: Authors' analysis.

Top Ten Words in Beijing and Shanghai in 2019, Divided by Creator Level:

Beijing 2019 (National)			Shanghai 2019 (National)	
Terms	Count		Terms	Count
Chinese	24		Civilized	12
Good	16		Chinese	10
New	14		Festival	8
Life	13		Art	8
China	13		Tourism	8
People	12		Being	6
Blessing	12		Beautiful	6
Not	11		Shanghai	5
Full	11		Civilization	5
Like	10		Etiquette	4
Beijing 2019 (Municipal)			Shanghai 2019 (Municipal)	
Terms	Count		Terms	Count
Beijing	29		Shanghai	26
Free	21		New	23
Blood	20		Army	21
Medical	17		Military	19
More	17		Chinese	19
Smoking	15		Soldiers	15
Card	14		People	13
Please	12		Support	12

Yuan	12		Party	12
Control	10		Civilized	12
Beijing 2019 (Submunicipal)		Shanghai 2019 (Submunicipal)		
Terms	Count		Terms	Count
Safety	87		Evil	158
Fire	71		Civilized	156
Not	67		Forces	108
People	66		City	94
Party	58		Not	93
With	52		National	92
National	44		People	87
You	43		Do	82
Work	43		New	79
Evil	41		Create	77
Beijing 2019 (Other/Unknown)		Shanghai 2019 (Other/Unknown)		
Terms	Count		Terms	Count
No	93		Chinese	72
Good	45		Civilized	52
Civilized	32		Socialist	44
Illegal	30		Dream	42
Safety	28		New	35
Not	27		Party	33
Production	26		together	29
New	26		Not	28
Construction	26		People	28
Socialist	25		Do	27

Source: Authors' analysis.

A longitudinal analysis of word frequency by creator level is difficult to conduct because of improvements in the resolution of photos taken by cameras that allow us to see more detail in more recent PSAs. For one thing, it is likely that some older PSAs in the set placed in the “other/unknown” category would have had bylines legible enough for the creator to be identified had they been photographed with more modern cameras. Furthermore, the frequency tables indicate something else that we already discussed –

that the range of unique PSAs commissioned by each level of government agency varies between city and year.

Nonetheless, someone familiar with the PSA archive will notice that these tables often correlate with major campaigns from that year. For instance, upon looking at the Beijing 2019 municipal table, one might infer that anti-smoking campaigns and blood donation drives featured prominently on PSAs commissioned by municipal-level government agencies in Beijing for that year. This educated guess would be correct. Similarly, one may also correctly infer that local neighborhood and subdistrict-level agencies (all grouped under “submunicipal”) were more concerned with fire safety in Beijing in 2019, while in Shanghai in 2019, these authorities preferred to emphasize the major national anti-corruption campaign that was going on at the time. Clearly there is much room for future analysis with more sophisticated quantitative and qualitative methods.

Creator Analysis

There appears to be a correlation between the range of PSAs in a given city and year and the number of creators involved in the creation of PSAs that year. While this relationship may appear intuitive, the ratio of creators to unique ads varies rather widely by city and year.

Table Y1 – Number of Creators in Beijing by Year and by Level, 1998–2019

	1998	2004	2008	2013	2019
National	1	6	9	4	13
Municipal	13	24	20	16	29
District	21	24	15	6	31
Subdistrict	12	8	10	8	10
Community	0	5	0	1	1
Other	16	24	14	11	20
Olympic	0	0	1	0	0
Total number of creators	63	91	69	46	104
Number of PSAs With At Least One Creator	132	148	167	74	310
Ratio of Attributed PSAs to Creator	2.10	1.63	2.42	1.61	2.98

Source: Authors’ analysis.

Table Y2 – Number of Creators in Shanghai by Year and by Level, 1998–2019

	1998	2004	2008	2013	2019
National	0	4	2	15	6
Municipal	12	19	20	29	28
District	33	16	30	27	49
Subdistrict	8	16	12	19	26
Community	3	5	2	11	7
Other	29	10	37	10	19
Olympics	0	0	1	0	0
Total number of creators	85	70	104	111	135
Number of PSAs With at Least One Creator	123	121	140	131	411
Ratio of Unique PSAs to Creator	1.45	1.73	1.35	1.18	3.04

Source: Authors’ analysis.

In general, sets with a larger range of unique PSAs have more unique creators, but this is not always the case, especially in Beijing. Once the ratio of unique PSAs to creators is accounted for, the only broadly discernable trends that can be found is that the Beijing sets vary wildly from year to year, while Shanghai is somewhat more consistent. A higher ratio of unique PSAs to unique creators suggests that a small number of agencies are responsible for commissioning a large number of unique PSAs. Furthermore, in any given set, the plurality of agencies listed commissioned only a single unique PSA in that city for that year.

In other words, sets with a higher “ratio of unique PSAs to unique creators” figure had either a large number of agencies who commissioned more than one PSA or a small number of agencies who commissioned a large number of unique PSAs (or some middle-combination of these two scenarios). This means that this figure cannot by itself be used as a proxy for centralization of PSA-producing agencies from year to year. However, it may serve as a useful guide for some major event happening in the city to influence the propaganda. For example, the elevated agency-to-unique-PSA ratio found in Beijing 2008 is likely attributable to a small number of agencies, most notably the Beijing Olympic Organizing Committee, being allowed to commission a large number of ads, given the importance of their ministerial scope to the city’s governance at the time. Similarly, Beijing in 2019 saw a surge in PSAs commissioned by one specific agency, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda Department. In Beijing in 2019, the Central Propaganda Department was responsible for 106 unique PSAs throughout the city, a higher number than any other creator label besides “creator unknown/not available.”

Conclusion and Areas for Further Analysis

Our research suggests that many of the narratives about the centralization of state propaganda under Xi Jinping are broadly true: PSAs under Xi's leadership have invoked his name or concepts associated with him more often than any other paramount leader covered in the span of our archive, suggesting that he has more influence over the content of PSAs than his immediate predecessors. However, the data suggest that PSAs in Beijing and Shanghai continue to be quite different from each other, at least in terms of textual and thematic content, and this in turn suggests that decentralization of urban outdoor propaganda is still as much of a fruitful subject of inquiry today as it was in 1998 (Lewis 2002).

While Beijing saw a massive centralization of local propaganda between 2013 and 2019, Shanghai significantly saw the opposite: a decentralization of propaganda towards district, subdistrict, and even community-level agencies. One potentially fruitful area for future research would be an examination of the role of sub-municipal level agencies in propagating the central government's message. At the start of this analysis, the authors noted a tendency of PSAs in the 2019 Shanghai set to use certain color schemes based on district, most likely to establish branding so that districts can compete with each other in national competitions among urban districts, but also in economic competition, to attract foreign investment, new urban residents, etc. This was beyond both the research scope of this working paper, as well as the China Studies Programs' technical capabilities. Nonetheless, this study may provide some initial evidence that the visual design of PSAs is becoming decentralized again in some cities at the district level and even lower. Future research, including the enormous impact of such centralizing campaigns as COVID mitigation, will depend on an extension of the survey here into future periods.

Appendix 1: List of Formats, With Examples (20)

Advertising Screen

Figure 34 – Advertising Screen, Central Office for the Construction of Spiritual Civilization [中央文明办] and National Tourism Administration [国家旅游局]; Nanjing Road, Jing'an District, Shanghai, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 文明旅游 | 每个人都是一道 | 亮丽的风景线 [Civilized tourism | Every person forms a part | Of a beautiful landscape].

Announcement Board

Figure 35 – Announcement Board, Source Agency Unclear, Possibly Private Ad Agency, Niujie Street, Xuanwu District, Beijing, 1998



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 做文明市民 [Be civilized city-dwellers].

Billboard

Figure 36 – Billboard, District Level Ad, Chaoyangmen Road, Dongcheng District, Beijing, 1998



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 人人动手，清洁城市 [When everyone acts, the city becomes clean].

Bulletin Board

Figure 37 – Metal Awning Bulletin Board, Source Agency Unclear, Possibly District Level; Andingmen Road, Dongcheng District, Beijing, 1998



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 万众一心 | 众志成城 [Many masses with one heart | An unstoppable unity].

Bus Shelter Ad

Figure 38 – Bus Shelter Ad, Municipal Level Ad, Chaoyangmen Road, Chaoyang District, Beijing, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 《北京市控制吸烟条例》实施4周年 [4th Anniversary of the “Beijing Smoking Control Regulation”].

Construction Site Safety Notice

Figure 39 – Construction Site Safety Notice, Other Agency [State-Owned Enterprise], Dongzhimen Road, Chaoyang District, Beijing, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation:

安全生产“六查六防” [Heading, left: “Six checks and six prevents” of production safety]
国家电网公司 | 生产作业现场“十不干” [Heading, right: State Grid Corporation | “The ten don’ts” of the production site].

Framed Large Poster

**Figure 40 – Poster, Other Agency [Private Land Development Company],
Xuanwumenwai Road, Xuanwu District, Beijing, 2004**



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 发展西城 | 建设西单 [Develop Xicheng | Build Xidan].

Glass Display Case

Figure 41 – Poster in Glass Display Case, Source Agency Unclear, Possibly Municipal Level, Chongwenmenwai Road, Chongwen District, Beijing, 2008



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 同一个世界， 同一个梦想 [One World, One Dream].

Large Character Banner

Figure 42 – Banner, Source Agency Unclear, Possibly District Level, Zhongguancun Road, Haidian District, Beijing, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 海淀创卫靠大家 | 健康惠及你我他 [Haidian's health and welfare relies on everyone | Being healthy benefits you and me and everyone else].

Large Flex Banner

Figure 43 – Large Flex Banner, National Level Ad, Xisi Road, Xicheng District, Beijing, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 中华圆梦 | 万马奔腾 [Fulfilling the Chinese Dream | Like ten thousand horses galloping].

Large Poster

Figure 44 – Large Poster, National Level Ad, Meishuguan Road, Dongcheng District, Beijing, 2013



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 丰收之后 | 颗粒归仓 [After the harvest | The grain goes in the granary].

Miniature Billboard

Figure 45 – Miniature Billboard, Municipal Level Ad, Nanjing Road, Jing’an District, Shanghai, 1998



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 我为上海做些什么? [What should I do for Shanghai?].

Miniature Sign

Figure 46 – Miniature Sign, Source Agency Unclear, Possibly Subdistrict Level, Beijing Road, Jing'an District, Shanghai, 2008



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 文明家园 | 和谐江宁 [Civilized home | Harmonious Jiangning].

Permanent Fixture

Figure 47 – Permanent Fixture, Source Agency Unclear, Possibly District Level, Dingxi Road, Changning District, Shanghai, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation:

聚结“三大纽带” | 实现组织凝聚 [Top left: Coalesce the “three ties” | Achieve organizational cohesion]

聚力“三区共建” | 实现价值凝聚 [Bottom right: Focus on the “Three Areas of Joint Construction” | Achieve a cohesion of values].

Permanent Fixture

Figure 48 – Permanent Fixture, Source Agency Unclear, Possibly District Level, Dingxi Road, Changning District, Shanghai, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Note: Another sign from the same permanent fixture pictured in Figure 45.

Translation:

人工智能是计算机科学的一个分支，研究、开发用于模拟、延伸和扩展人的智能理论、方法、技术及应用系统的一门新的技术科学。人工智能从诞生以来，模式识别、机器学习、数据挖掘、智能算法等理论和技术日益成熟，应用领域也在不断扩大。 [Artificial intelligence is a branch of computer science researching and developing a new technical science for simulating, extending and expanding human intelligence theories, methods, technologies and application systems. Since the birth of artificial intelligence, theories and technologies such as pattern recognition, machine learning, data mining, and intelligent algorithms have become increasingly mature, and their application fields are also expanding.]

Placard

Figure 49 – Placard, District Level Ad, Yuyuan Road, Jing'an District, Shanghai, 1998



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 卫生单位示范街 [Sanitary Work Unit Demonstration Street].

Framed Placard

Figure 50 – Framed Placard, District Level Ad, Julu Street, Luwan District, Shanghai, 2004



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 同创优美环境 | 共享健康生命 [Create a beautiful environment together | Enjoy a healthy life together].

Sign Post, Metal

Figure 51 – Metal Sign Post, Source Agency Unclear, Julu Street, Luwan District, Shanghai, 2004



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation:

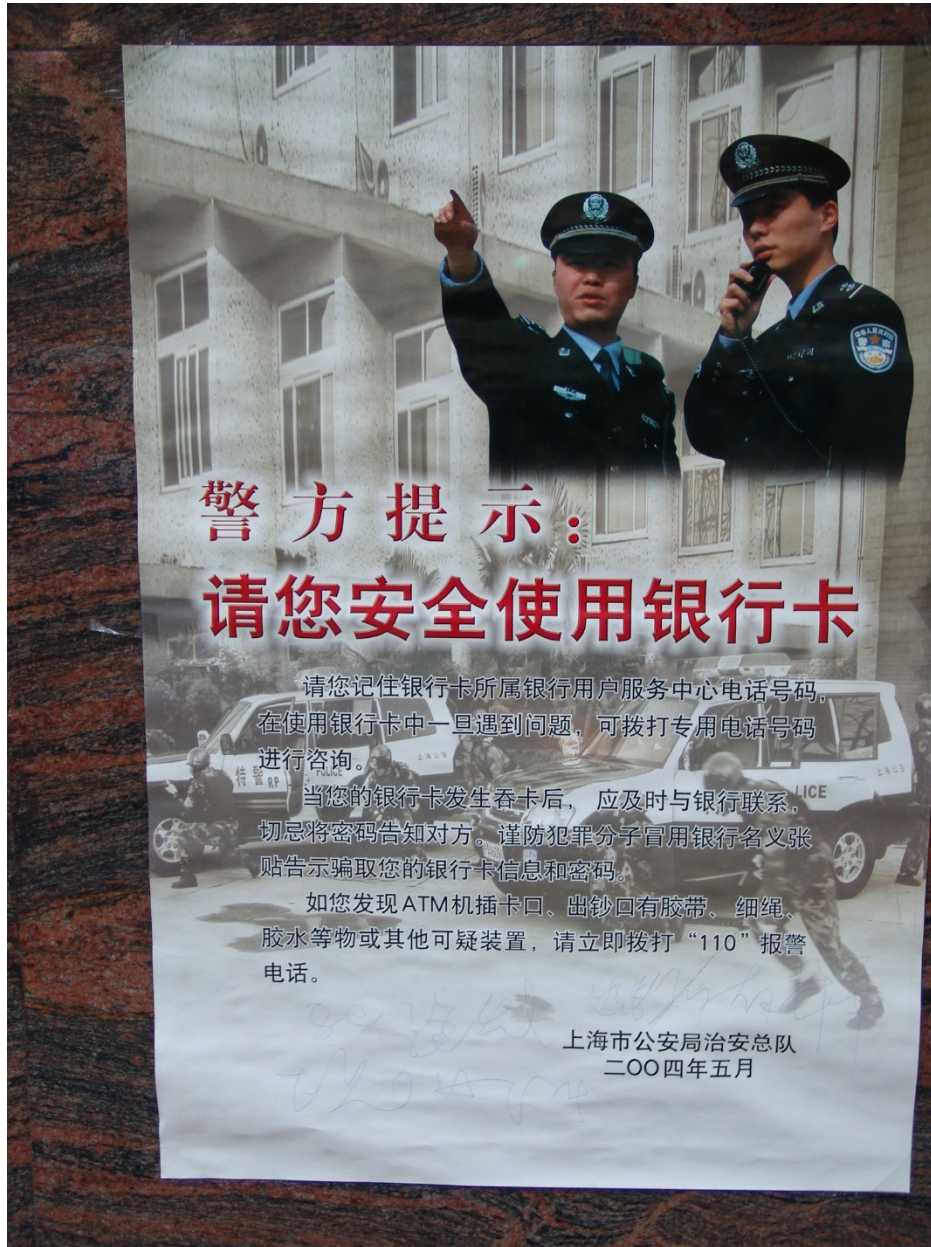
爱护绿化 | 讲究卫生 [Care for greening | Pay attention to hygiene]

内有电箱 | 请勿入内 [Electric box inside | Please do not enter]

绿地内禁止遛狗 [Dog walking is prohibited in the green space].

Small Poster

Figure 52 – Small Poster, Municipal Level Ad, Huaihai Road, Luwan District, Shanghai, 2004



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 警方提示：请您安全使用银行卡 [Police reminder: Please use your bank card safely].

Streetlamp Banner

Figure 53 – Streetlamp Banner, District Level Ad, Yuyuan Road, Jing’an District, Shanghai, 2019



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation:

(Left) 八齐行动: 时代新人齐培育 | 志愿服务齐参与 | 道德模范齐效仿 | 七不规范齐践行 | 诚实守信齐恪守 | 文明旅游齐步走 | 垃圾分类齐动手 | 交通文明齐遵守 [Eight Acts: Nurture the next generation together | Participate in volunteer service together | Emulate role models of morality together | Carry out the principle of the seven “don'ts” together | Be honest and trustworthy together | Engage in civilized tourism together | Carry out garbage sorting together | Uphold civilized traffic together]

(Right) 建设 | 崇德向善 | 文化厚重 | 和谐宜居 | 人民满意的 | 文明静安 [Build | Respecting morality towards good | Rich with culture | Harmonious and livable | One that people are pleased with | Civilized Jing'an¹⁰].

Traffic Barrier Sign

Figure 54 – Traffic Barrier Sign, District Level Ad, Fuchengmennei Road, Xicheng District, Beijing, 2013



Source: Photo by Baker Institute for Public Policy China Studies Program.

Translation: 弘扬道德文化 | 培育文明风尚 [Promote moral culture | Cultivate civilized customs].

Appendix 2: Statistics on PSA Creators by City and Year

Beijing 1998

Level	Number of Creators	Number of Unique PSAs in Set
National	1	1
Municipal	13	51
District	21	53
Subdistrict/Community	12	14
Other	16	47

Beijing 2004

Level	Number of Creators	Number of Unique PSAs in Set
National	6	16
Municipal	24	38
District	24	29
Subdistrict/Community	13	41
Other	24	36

Beijing 2008

Level	Number of Creators	Number of Unique PSAs in Set
National	9	3
Municipal	73	51
District	16	32
Subdistrict/Community	10	7
Olympics	1	64
Other	14	21

Beijing 2013

Level	Number of Creators	Number of Unique PSAs in Set
National	4	25
Municipal	16	17
District	6	15
Subdistrict/Community	9	16
Other	11	6

Beijing 2019

Level	Number of Creators	Number of Unique PSAs in Set
National	11	124
Municipal	29	50
District	31	76
Subdistrict/Community	11	59
Other	22	47

Shanghai 1998

Level	Number of Creators	Number of Unique PSAs in Set
National	0	0
Municipal	12	28
District	33	53
Subdistrict/Community	11	15
Other	29	56

Shanghai 2004

Level	Number of Creators	Number of Unique PSAs in Set
National	4	7
Municipal	19	47
District	16	38
Subdistrict/Community	21	50
Other	10	12

Shanghai 2008

Level	Number of Creators	Number of Unique PSAs in Set
National	2	7
Municipal	20	38
District	30	49
Subdistrict/Community	14	16
Olympics	1	1
Other	37	44

Shanghai 2013

Level	Number of Creators	Number of Unique PSAs in Set
National	14	11
Municipal	29	29
District	27	26
Subdistrict/Community	30	56
Other	11	20

Shanghai 2019

Level	Number of Creators	Number of Unique PSAs in Set
National	6	18
Municipal	28	26
District	49	180
Subdistrict/Community	33	171
Other	19	59

Appendix 3: Lists of Agencies, Subdivided by City, Year, and Level

Beijing Creators by Level of Agency or Other by Year, in English and Chinese

Level	Name of Agency (English Translation)	Name of Agency (Original Chinese)	1998	2004	2008	2013	2019
National	"Healthy Home" National Organizing Committee	"健康家园" 全国组委会		1			
National	All-China Women's Federation	中华全国妇女联合会		1			2
National	CCP Central Committee Propaganda Department	中国共产党中央委员会宣传部 [中宣]					2
National	CCP Central Committee Propaganda Department, Propaganda and Education Bureau	中宣部宣教局 [中国共产党中央委员会宣传部宣教局]					104
National	Central Academy of Fine Arts	中央美术学院		1			
National	Central Committee of the Communist Youth League	共青团中央 [中国共产主义青年团中央委员会]			1		
National	China Civilization Network	中国文明网					101
National	China Disabled Persons' Federation	中国残疾人联合会			1		
National	China National Theatre	中国国家话剧院					5
National	Chinese Theatre Association	中国话剧协会					5
National	Communist Youth League	共青团	1				
National	Communist Youth League Central Youth and Agriculture Department	共青团中央青农部		1			
National	Emergency Response Unit Propaganda and Education Center	应急管理部宣传教育中心					1
National	General Administration of Customs	海关总署			1		
National	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs of the People's Republic of China	中华人民共和国农业农村部					1
National	Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China, Department of Art	文化部艺术司				1	
National	Ministry of Health of the People's Republic of China	卫生部			1		
National	Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People's Republic of China	中华人民共和国住房和城乡建设部				1	
National	Ministry of Industry and Information Technology of the People's Republic of China	工业和信息化部			1		
National	Ministry of Land and Resources of the People's Republic of China	中华人民共和国国土资源部				2	
National	Ministry of Natural Resources of the People's Republic of China, Publicity and Education Center	自然资源部宣传教育中心					2
National	Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China	公安部			1		
National	National Action Leading Group Office for the Protection of the Mother River	全国保护母亲河行动领导小组办公室		1			
National	National Department of Sport	国家体育总局			1		
National	National Family Planning Commission	国家计划生育委员会		8			
National	Office of the National Production Safety Month Activity Organizing Committee	全国安全生产月活动组织委员会办公室					1
National	State Administration for Industry and Commerce	国家工商总局			1		
National	State Food and Drug Administration	国家食品药品监督管理局			1		
Municipal	Beijing Armed Police Corps Second Hospital	武警北京市总队第二医院			1		
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Administration for Industry and Commerce	北京市工商行政管理局	1	1			1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Administration for Market Supervision	北京市市场监督管理局					2
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Relics	北京市文物事业管理局			1		

Municipal	Beijing Municipal Blood Donation Office	北京市献血办公室		1			8
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Bureau of Culture	北京市文化局				1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Bureau of Culture and Tourism	北京市文化和旅游局					5
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Bureau of Justice	北京市司法局		4	2		
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Center for Disease Control and Prevention	北京市疾病预防控制中心		3	3	1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Center for Disease Control and Prevention Health Education Institute	北京市疾控中心健康教育所		2			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal City and County Election Office	北京市区县人人换届选举工作办公室		1			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal City Appearance Office Supervision Division	北京市市容监察总队	9				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Civil Affairs Bureau	北京市民政局					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Development and Reform Commission	北京市发展和改革委员会		1			1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Disabled Persons' Federation	北京市残疾人联合会					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal District and County General Election Office	北京市区县换届选举工作办公室	6				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Emergency Management Bureau	北京市应急管理局					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Engineering Administration Department	北京市市政工程管理处	2				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Family Planning Publicity and Education Center	北京市计划生育宣传教育中心		2			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Federation of Trade Unions	北京市总工会			5	1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Health and Family Planning Supervision Institute	北京市卫生和计划生育监督所					4
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Health Bureau	北京市卫生局		3	3	1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Health Commission	北京市卫生健康委员会					18
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Human Resources and Social Security Bureau	北京市人力资源和社会保障局					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Institute of Health Education	北京市健康教育所		1	1		
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Language and Writing Committee	北京市语言文字委员会	2				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Management Committee	北京市市政管理委员会			1		
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Medical Insurance Bureau	北京市医疗保险局					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of Facilities Management	北京市设施管理办公室	2				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the "2008" Green Construction Project Headquarters	北京市“2008”环境建设指挥部办公室				1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the Leading Group for Command and Coordination of the "Safe Olympics Campaign"	北京市“平安奥运行动”指挥协调领导小组办公室				1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the Leading Group for the Management of Internal Migration Population	北京市外来人口管理工作领导小组办公室	1				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the Leading Group for the Second National Economic Census	北京市第二次全国经济普查领导小组办公室				10	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the Legal System Publicity and Education Leading Group	北京市法制宣传教育领导小组办公室				1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the Narcotics Control Commission	北京市禁毒委员会办公室					4
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the Work Safety Committee	北京市安全生产委员会办公室		1			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Patriotic Health Campaign Committee	北京市爱国卫生运动委员会				2	10
Municipal	Beijing Municipal People's Government	北京市人民政府	7		1		2

Municipal	Beijing Municipal People's Government Disabled Persons Working Committee	北京市人民政府残疾人工作委员会				3	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal People's Government Flood Control and Drought Relief Command Office	北京市人民政府防汛抗旱指挥部办公室					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Public Complaints and Proposals Administration	北京市信访办公室					3
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau	北京市公安局	7	2		1	1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Anti-Narcotics Unit	北京市公安局禁毒总队					4
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Fire Bureau	北京市公安局消防局		2			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, Public Traffic Safety and Security Sub-bureaus	北京市公安局公共交通安全保卫分局				3	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Science and Technology Association	北京市科学技术协会				1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Science and Technology Commission	北京市科学技术委员会					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Taxi Administration	北京市出租汽车管理局	2				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Tourism Bureau	北京市旅游局			1		
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Urban Management and Law Enforcement Bureau	北京市城市管理综合行政执法局		1	6	1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Urban Management Committee	北京市城市管理委员会					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Urban Water Conservation Office	北京市城市节约用水办公室		1			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Water Conservation Affairs Management Center	北京市节约用水事务管理中心		1			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Water Conservation Office	北京市节约用水办公室		3			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Water Saving Management Center	北京节水展				1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Welfare Lottery Issuing Center	北京市福利彩票发行中心		1			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Women's Federation	北京市妇联				1	1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Work Safety Administration	北京市安全生产监督管理局		1			
Municipal	Beijing People's Art Theatre	北京人民艺术剧院					5
Municipal	Beijing Service Bureau for Diplomatic Missions, Fire and Security Department	北京外交人员房屋服务公司消防保安部监					1
Municipal	Beijing Xiangdao School	北京向导学校		1			
Municipal	Beijing Youth Development Foundation	北京青少年发展基金会					4
Municipal	Beijing Zhonglian Community Service Promotion Center	北京众联社区服务促进中心					1
Municipal	Capital Comprehensive Social Security Management Committee	首都社会治安综合治理委员会		4			
Municipal	Capital Office of the "Welcome in the Olympics, Pay Attention to Manners, and Cultivate a New Style Volunteer Service Campaign" Coordination Group	首都“迎奥运讲文明树新风志愿服务行动”协调小组办公室			10		
Municipal	Capital Office of the Committee for the Comprehensive Management of Public Security	首都社会治安综合治理委员会办公室			1		
Municipal	Capital Office of the Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	首都精神文明建设委员会办公室			21	2	2
Municipal	Capital Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	首都精神文明建设委员会 [首都文明办]	6			1	
Municipal	CCP Beijing Municipal Committee Propaganda Department	中共北京市委宣传部	8	4		1	6
Municipal	Committee of the Seventh Corps of the Communist Youth League Armed Police Beijing Municipal Corps	共青团武警北京市总队第七支队委员会		1			

Municipal	Communist Youth League Beijing Municipal Committee	共青团北京市委[员会]				1	1
Municipal	Office of the 2008 China Beijing International Energy Conservation and Environmental Protection Exhibition Organizing Committee	2008中国北京国际节能环保展览会组委会办公室			1		
Municipal	Project Hope Beijing Donation Center	希望工程北京捐助中心					4
Municipal	State Taxation Administration Beijing Municipal Tax Service	国家税务总局北京市税务局	5	5			
District	Beijing City Changping District People's Government	昌平区人民政府					1
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Fire and Rescue	朝阳区消防救援支队					12
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Office of the Production Safety Committee	北京市朝阳区安全生产委员会办公室					1
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Patriotic Health Campaign Committee	北京市朝阳区爱国卫生运动委员会					4
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Political and Legal Affairs Commission	朝阳区委政法委					2
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Public Health Management Committee	北京市朝阳区公共卫生管理委员会					4
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	北京市朝阳区精神文明建设委员会				2	1
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Transportation Committee	北京市朝阳区交通委员会				2	
District	Beijing City Chongwen District Administration for Industry and Commerce	崇文区工商行政管理局	1				
District	Beijing City Chongwen District Construction Management Committee	崇文区建设管理委员会		2			
District	Beijing City Chongwen District Election Committee	北京市崇文区选举委员会	1				
District	Beijing City Chongwen District People's Government	北京市崇文区人民政府	8				
District	Beijing City Chongwen District Urban Management Supervision Brigade	北京市崇文区城市管理监察大队			1		
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Anti-Corruption Office	东城区扫黑办					1
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District City Appearance Office	东城区市容办公室	1				
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Community Service Center	北京市东城区社区服务中心					1
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Cultural Committee	东城区文化委员会					5
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Drama Construction Promotion Committee	东城区戏剧建设促进委员会					10
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Family Planning Commission	北京市东城区计划生育委员会		2			
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Fire and Rescue	北京市东城区消防救援支队					3
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Housing and Urban Construction Committee	北京市东城区住房和城乡建设委员会					1
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Housing Authority	北京市东城区房屋管理局					1
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Labor and Social Security Bureau	北京市东城区劳动和社会保障局			3		
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Office of the Leading Group for the Establishment of a National Civilized City	东城区创建全国文明城区领导小组办公室			14		
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Office of the Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	东城区精神文明建设委员会办公室				5	
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District People's Government	北京市东城区人民政府			1		7

District	Beijing City Dongcheng District People's Government Conscription Office	北京市东城区人民政府征兵办公室						1
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Price Bureau	东城区物价局			1			
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Public Security Fire Brigade	北京市东城区公安消防支队						1
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	东城区精神文明建设委员会				3		
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Urban Management and Law Enforcement Bureau	东城城管监察大队			1			
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Urban Management Comprehensive Administrative Law Enforcement Supervision Bureau	北京市东城区城市管理综合行政执法监察局						1
District	Beijing City Haidian District Civilized City Creation Headquarters	海淀区创建文明城区指挥部			3			
District	Beijing City Haidian District Commerce Bureau	海淀区商务局				1		
District	Beijing City Haidian District Federation of Commerce	海淀区商业联合会				1		
District	Beijing City Haidian District Fire Safety Committee	海淀区防火安全委员会						1
District	Beijing City Haidian District Geographical Naming Office	海淀区地名办		2				
District	Beijing City Haidian District Office of the Central Leading Group for the Work of Creating a National Health District	海淀区创建国家卫生区工作领导小组办公室						4
District	Beijing City Haidian District People's Government	海淀区人民政府		2		4		
District	Beijing City Haidian District Planning Bureau	海淀区规划局		2				
District	Beijing City Haidian District Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	海淀区精神文明建设委员会			5			
District	Beijing City Haidian District Urban Management Committee	海淀区市政管委会			3			
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Administration for Industry and Commerce	北京市西城区工商行政管理局		1				
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Blood Donation Office	北京市西城区献血办公室			1			
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Bureau of Cultural Figures	北京市西城区文化人物局		1				
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Cultural Industry Association	北京市西城区文化产业协会			1			
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Health Bureau	北京市西城区卫生局				1		
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Justice Bureau	西城区司法局			1			
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Office of the Leading Group for the Rule of Law	西城区依法治区领导小组办公室			1			
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Office of the Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	西城区精神文明建设委员会办公室					5	6
District	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government	北京市西城区人民政府		2				
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Urban Management Committee	西城区城市管理委员会						1
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Industry and Commerce Bureau	北京市宣武区工商行政管理局		1				
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Leading Group of the Comprehensive Management Committee for the Prevention of Juvenile Crimes	宣武区综治委预防青少年违法犯罪工作领导小组			1			
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Local Taxation Administration	宣武区地方税务局			1			
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Minors Protection Committee	宣武区未成年人保护委员会			1			
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Office of the Leading Group for Rule of Law	宣武区依法治区领导小组办公室					1	

District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Office of the Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	北京市宣武区精神文明办公室	13	1			
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Patriotic Health Campaign Committee	宣武区爱国卫生运动委员会		1			
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District People's Government	宣武区人民政府		3	1		
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	宣武区精神文明建设委员会	1	1	1		
District	Beijing Municipal Administration for Industry and Commerce Chongwen District Branch	北京市工商行政管理局崇文分局		1			
District	Beijing Municipal Administration for Industry and Commerce Dongcheng District Branch	北京市工商行政管理局东城分局					1
District	Beijing Municipal Administration for Industry and Commerce Xuanwu District Branch	北京市工商行政管理局宣武分局		1			
District	Beijing Municipal Planning Commission, Dongcheng District Branch	北京市规划委员会东城分局					1
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chongwen District Branch	北京市公安局崇文分局	2				
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Xicheng District Branch Exit-Entry Administration Office	西城公安分局出入境管理处			1		
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Xicheng District Branch Leading Group for the Special Fight Against Evil	西城公安分局扫黑除恶专项斗争领导小组					1
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, Haidian District Branch	海淀公安 [北京市公安局海淀分局]					1
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, Traffic Management Bureau, Chaoyang District Traffic Corps	北京市公安局公安交通管理局朝阳交通支队					1
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, Xicheng Branch Anti-Arms, Anti-Explosives, and Anti-Knife Office	北京市公安局西城分局缉枪治爆管刀办公室				1	
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, Xicheng District Branch	北京市公安局西城分局					2
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, Xicheng District Branch Population Management Corps	北京市公安局西城分局人口管理支队					2
District	Beijing Municipal Taxi Administration, Dongcheng District Branch	北京市东城区地方税务局	2				
District	CCP Beijing City Chongwen District Committee	中共崇文区委员会	1				
District	CCP Beijing City Dongcheng District Committee	中共北京市东城区委	4		1		7
District	CCP Beijing City Dongcheng District Committee Propaganda Department	中共北京市东城区委宣传部	8	5		5	14
District	CCP Beijing City Haidian District Committee	中共北京市海淀区委			3		
District	CCP Beijing City Xuanwu District Committee	中共北京市宣武区委		2			
District	CCP Beijing City Xuanwu District Committee Propaganda Department	中共北京市宣武区委宣传部	13	2			
District	Communist Youth League Beijing City Dongcheng District Branch	东城区团委	1				
District	Communist Youth League Beijing City Dongcheng District Branch, Education Bureau	东城区教育局团委	1				

District	Communist Youth League Beijing City Xuanwu District Committee	共青团北京市宣武区委员会		2			
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chaoyang District Chaowai Subdistrict Office	朝外大街街道				7	
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chaoyang District Hujialou Subdistrict Health and Welfare Office	呼家楼街道创卫办					11
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chaoyang District Hujialou Subdistrict Unit First Police Area	呼家楼队一警区			1		
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chaoyang District Sanlitun Subdistrict Working Committee	三里屯街道工委				3	
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chongwen District Chongwen Street Management Office	崇文大街管理处			1		
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chongwen District Chongwenmenwai Area Comprehensive Management Committee	崇文门外地区综治委员会			1		
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chongwen District Urban Management Brigade Chongwai Area Team	城管大队崇外地区分队			1		
Subdistrict	Beijing City Dongcheng District Dongzhimen Subdistrict Comprehensive Law Enforcement Team	东直门街道综合执法组					1
Subdistrict	Beijing City Dongcheng District Dongzhimen Subdistrict Office of the Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	东直门街道精神文明建设办公室					1
Subdistrict	Beijing City Dongcheng District People's Government Hepingli Subdistrict Office	和平里街道办事处	1				
Subdistrict	Beijing City Dongcheng District People's Government Jiaodaokou Subdistrict Office	北京市东城区人民政府交道口街道办事处					1
Subdistrict	Beijing City Dongcheng District People's Government Jingshan Subdistrict Office	景山街道办事处				1	
Subdistrict	Beijing City Dongcheng District Traffic Branch, Dongsì Team, Dongsì Station	北京东城交通支队东四队东四岗		1			
Subdistrict	Beijing City Haidian District Zhongguancun Subdistrict Justice Office	中关村街道司法所					3
Subdistrict	Beijing City Haidian District Zhongguancun Subdistrict Science and Technology Park Management Committee	中关村科技园区管理委员会					1
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District Guangnei Subdistrict Sanitation Office	广内街道环卫所			1		
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Niujie Subdistrict Office	牛街街道办事处		22			
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Niujie Subdistrict Office Community Residents Committee	牛街居委会	1				
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Taoranting Subdistrict Office	陶然亭街道办事处		1			
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District Xinjiekou Subdistrict Armed Forces Department	新街口街道武装部					1
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District Xinjiekou Subdistrict Housing Management Office	新街口房管所					1
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District Xinjiekou Subdistrict Office	{北京市西城区}新街口街道办事处					33
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District Xinjiekou Subdistrict Office of the Leading Group for the Special Fight Against Evil	新街口街道扫黑除恶专项斗争领导小组办公室					8

Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District Xinjiekou Subdistrict Party Working Committee	北京市西城区新街口街道工委						32
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xuanwu District Election Committee Baizhifang Constituency Branch	宣武区选举委员会白纸坊地区分会	4					
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xuanwu District People's Government Baizhifang Subdistrict Office	宣武区政府白纸坊街道办事处	1					
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Administration for Industry and Commerce Dongcheng District Branch Jingshan Industrial and Commercial Office	北京市工商行政管理局东城分局景山工商所				1		
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Eastern District Post and Telecommunications Bureau, Dongsì Subdistrict Branch	北京市东区邮电局东四邮电支局团支部			1			
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chaoyang District Branch Chaoyangmen Subdistrict Police Station	朝阳门派出所	1	1				
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chaoyang District Branch Hujialou Subdistrict Police Station	朝阳公安分局呼家楼派出所					1	
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chongwen Branch Chongwai Subdistrict Police Station	崇文分局崇外大街派出所				1		
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chongwen District Branch Chongwenmen Street Police Station	崇文门大街派出所	2					
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chongwen District Branch Tiyuguan Road Subdistrict Police Station	崇文公安分局体育馆路派出所			1			
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chongwen District Qianmen Subdistrict Traffic Squadron	崇文区前门交通中队				1		
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Dongcheng District Branch Donghuamen Subdistrict Police Station	东城分局东华门派出所	2					
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Dongcheng District Branch Jingshan Subdistrict Police Station	景山派出所					1	
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Dongcheng District Qianmen Subdistrict Police Station	前门派出所	1					
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Haidian District Branch Huayuan Road Subdistrict Police Station	花园路派出所	2					
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Xicheng District Branch Fengsheng Subdistrict Police Station	丰盛派出所	1					
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Xicheng District Branch Fusujing Subdistrict Police Station	西城区福绥境派出所					1	
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Xicheng District Branch Taoranting Subdistrict Police Station	陶然亭派出所			1			
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Xicheng District Branch Xinjiekou Subdistrict Police Station	西城公安分局新街口派出所	1			1	1	
Subdistrict	CCP Beijing City Xicheng District Niujie Subdistrict Committee Propaganda Department	牛街街道工委宣传部				2		
Subdistrict	CCP Beijing City Xicheng District Niujie Subdistrict Working Committee	牛街街道工委			22			
Subdistrict	CCP Beijing City Xuanwu District Baizhifang Subdistrict Working Committee	中共白纸坊街道工委	1					
Community	Beijing City Dongcheng District Chaoyangmen Subdistrict Chaoxi Community Neighborhood Committee	朝西社区居委会			3			

Community	Beijing City Dongcheng District People's Government Hepingli Subdistrict Office Xinghua Community Committee	兴化社区居委会		1			
Community	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Shichahai Subdistrict Dahongluo Community Committee	什刹海街道大红罗社区				1	
Community	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Shichahai Subdistrict Office Xisibei Community Committee	西西北社区居委会		3			
Community	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Xinjiekou Subdistrict Anping Lane Community Committee	安平巷居委会		2			
Community	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Xinjiekou Subdistrict Anping Lane Community Party Committee	安平巷社区党委					1
Community	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Xinjiekou Subdistrict Office Xisibei Toutiao Community Committee	西西北头条社区居委会		5			
Olympic	Organizing Committee of the 29th Olympic Games	第29届奥林匹克运动会组织委员会			64		
Other	Aluminum Corporation of China	中国铝业公司					2
Other	Beijing CBD International Forum	北京CBD国际论坛			1		
Other	Beijing City Huarong Advertising Co., Ltd.	北京市华融广告公司	1				
Other	Beijing City Yihun March Art Company	北京市艺魂三月艺术公司		1			
Other	Beijing Gehua Cultural Development Group	北京歌华文化发展集团			1		
Other	Beijing Golte Property Management Co., Ltd.	N/A					1
Other	Beijing Haoyang Real Estate Development Co., Ltd.	北京浩洋房地产开发有限公司		1			
Other	Beijing Longqingxia Tourism Development Co., Ltd.	北京龙庆峡旅游发展有限公司		1			
Other	Beijing Lu Lu Ming Advertising Co., Ltd.	北京路路明广告有限公司	12				
Other	Beijing Lunshida Advertising Design Co., Ltd.	北京伦世达广告企划有限公司	7				
Other	Beijing Municipal Transportation & Communications Card Co., Ltd.	北京市政交通一卡通有限公司					1
Other	Beijing North Tiannuo Community Management Co. Ltd.	北京天诺物业					1
Other	Beijing Oriental Culture Economic Development Group Co., Ltd.	北京东方文化经济发展集团有限公司				1	5
Other	Beijing Oriental International Drama Capital Management Co., Ltd.	北京东方国际戏剧产业基金管理有限公司				1	
Other	Beijing Public Traffic Advertisement Company, Ltd.	北京公交广告有限责任公司		14			
Other	Beijing Public Transport Holdings (Group) Co., Ltd.	北京公共交通控股(集团)有限公司			1		
Other	Beijing Publishing Group	北京出版社出版集团		2			
Other	Beijing Ruixing Advertising Co., Ltd.	北京瑞星广告有限公司	4				
Other	Beijing Sunlight Advertising and Exhibition Art Company	北京阳光广告展览艺术公司	1				
Other	Beijing Tianhui Ginseng Industry Co., Ltd.	北京天惠参业有限公司		1			
Other	Beijing Xiaoguang Advertising Co., Ltd.	北京晓光广告有限责任公司	2				
Other	Beijing Yilong Shengshi Advertising Co., Ltd.	北京亿龙盛世广告有限公司			1		
Other	Beijing Zhuzong Group Co., Ltd.	北京住总					1
Other	Bohong Xunda Advertising Co., Ltd.	博鸿讯达广告有限公司		1			
Other	Chengdu Municipal Tourism Bureau	成都市旅游局		2			
Other	China Children and Teenagers' Fund	中国儿童少年基金会			1		
Other	China Electrical Advertising Corporation	中国机电广告公司	1				
Other	China International Software Expo	中国国际软件博览					1
Other	China Minmetals Corporation	中国五矿集团公司					2

Other	China Mobile	中国移动通信			5		
Other	China National Ethnic Song and Dance Ensemble	中央民族歌舞团					2
Other	China National Gold Corporation	中国黄金集团公司					2
Other	China National Offshore Oil Corporation	中国海洋石油总公司					2
Other	China National Petroleum Corporation	中国石油天然气集团公司					2
Other	China Network Television	中国网络电视台				21	7
Other	China Painting and Calligraphy Art Development Fund	著名书画家/慈善家吴东魁作品中国书画艺术发展基金			4		
Other	China People's Property Insurance Co., Ltd.	中保财产保险有限公司	1				
Other	China Petroleum & Chemical Corporation	中国石油化工集团公司					2
Other	China Railway Construction Corporation Limited	中国铁建股份有限公司					1
Other	China Railway Tunnel Group Co., Ltd.	中隧集团		1			
Other	China Sports Broker Management Co., Ltd.	中体经纪管理有限公司		1			
Other	China Sports Competition Group	中体竞赛集团		1			
Other	China Women's University	中华女子学院		1			
Other	China Work Safety News	中国安全生产报社		1			
Other	China Xingfa Group	中国兴发集团	3				
Other	Chinese Basketball Association	中国篮球协会		1			
Other	Chinese Children's Drama Research Association	中国儿童戏剧研究会					2
Other	Chinese Society of Blood Transfusion	中国输血协会		3			
Other	Coca-Cola	N/A			1		
Other	Damai.cn	大麦网					5
Other	Gehua TV	歌华集团	1				
Other	Guangdong Kangxiang Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd.	广东康祥药业有限公司		1			
Other	Guizhou Provincial Tourism Bureau	贵州省旅游局		4			
Other	Hainan White Horse Advertising Media Investment Co., Ltd.	海南白马广告媒体投资有限公司					7
Other	Haisen Environmental Art	海森环艺			1		
Other	Hufangqiao Elementary School	虎坊桥小学	1				
Other	Leshan Giant Buddha Scenic Area Management Committee	乐山大佛景区管理委员会		1			
Other	Lihui World Fitness Center	力汇时空健身中心		1			
Other	Linghang Technology Building	领航科技大厦					12
Other	Longfan Media Co., Ltd.	龙帆传媒广告有限公司					3
Other	Nantong Suzhong Construction Co., Ltd.	南通苏中建设公司		1			
Other	New World (China) Technology Media Co., Ltd.	新世界 (中国) 科技传媒有限公司			1		
Other	Oriental (Beijing) International Culture and Art Center Co., Ltd.	东方 (北京) 国际文化艺术中心有限公司					5
Other	Peking University People's Hospital	北京大学人民医院					1
Other	People's Daily	人民日报					6
Other	People's Daily Nationwide Print Media	人民日报社全国平媒					2
Other	Poly Theatre Management Co., Ltd.	保利剧院管理有限公司					5
Other	Save the Children Fund	救助儿童会			1		
Other	Shandong Province Qingzhou Municipal People's Government	山东省青州市人民政府				2	
Other	Shenzhen Beijing Artron Color Shadow Brush Co., Ltd.	深圳北京雅昌彩色影刷有限公司		2			
Other	Shougang Basketball Club	首钢篮球俱乐部		1			
Other	Sichuan Everbright Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd.	四川光大制药有限公司		1			

Other	Sky Street Group	天街集团							5
Other	State Grid Beijing Municipal Electric Power Company	国网北京市电力公司							4
Other	Tourism Malaysia	N/A		2					
Other	Volunteers of Chaowai Street	朝外志愿者							2
Other	WildAid	野生救援			2				
Other	Xiamen City High-level Talent Development Center	厦门市高层次人才发展中心							3
Other	Xiamen Municipal Party Committee, Talent Work Bureau of Organization Department	厦门市委组织部人才工作局							3
Other	Xidan Pedicab Management Station	西单三轮车管理站	1						
Other	Xidan Shopping Center Police Station	西单商场派出所	2						
Other	Xingfa Group Beijing New Artistic Conception Advertising Co., Ltd.	兴发集团北京新意境广告公司	2						
Other	Yeshu Group Haikou Canned Foods Factory Co., Ltd.	椰树集团海口罐头厂有限公司	8						
Other	Yunnan Province Lijiang Municipal People's Government	云南省丽江市人民政府			1				
Other	Zhengyang Advertising Co., Ltd.	正阳广告公司	1						
Other	Zhongda Construction Co., Ltd.	中大建设						1	
Other	Zhongguancun Innovation & Entrepreneurship Festival	中关村创新创业季							2
NA/unclear	<i>No attribution/unclear</i>	N/A	259	81	140			58	150

	1998	2004	2008	2013	2019
National	1	6	9	3	10
Municipal	13	24	20	16	29
District	21	24	15	6	31
Subdistrict	12	8	10	8	10
Community	0	5	0	1	1
Other	16	24	14	12	23
Olympic	0	0	1	0	0
Total number of creators	63	91	69	46	104
<i>Total number of unique PSAs in set</i>	391	228	307	132	460
<i>" " with at least one identified creator</i>	132	148	167	74	310
Ratio of PSAs to creator (attributed PSAs only)	2.10	1.63	2.42	1.61	2.98

Shanghai Creators by Level of Agency or Other by Year, in English and Chinese

Level	Name of Agency (English Translation)	Name of Agency (Original Chinese)	1998	2004	2008	2013	2019
National	"Healthy Home" National Organizing Committee	"健康家园" 全国组委会		1			
National	All-China Women's Federation	中华全国妇女联合会		1			2
National	CCP Central Committee Propaganda Department	中国共产党中央委员会宣传部 [中宣]					2
National	CCP Central Committee Propaganda Department, Propaganda and Education Bureau	中宣部宣教局 [中国共产党中央委员会宣传部宣教局]					104
National	Central Academy of Fine Arts	中央美术学院		1			
National	Central Committee of the Communist Youth League	共青团中央 [中国共产主义青年团中央委员会]			1		
National	China Civilization Network	中国文明网					101
National	China Disabled Persons' Federation	中国残疾人联合会			1		
National	China National Theatre	中国国家话剧院					5
National	Chinese Theatre Association	中国话剧协会					5
National	Communist Youth League	共青团	1				
National	Communist Youth League Central Youth and Agriculture Department	共青团中央青农部		1			
National	Emergency Response Unit Propaganda and Education Center	应急管理部宣传教育中心					1
National	General Administration of Customs	海关总署			1		
National	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs of the People's Republic of China	中华人民共和国农业农村部					1
National	Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China, Department of Art	文化部艺术司				1	
National	Ministry of Health of the People's Republic of China	卫生部			1		
National	Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People's Republic of China	中华人民共和国住房和城乡建设部				1	
National	Ministry of Industry and Information Technology of the People's Republic of China	工业和信息化部			1		
National	Ministry of Land and Resources of the People's Republic of China	中华人民共和国国土资源部				2	
National	Ministry of Natural Resources of the People's Republic of China, Publicity and Education Center	自然资源部宣传教育中心					2
National	Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China	公安部			1		
National	National Action Leading Group Office for the Protection of the Mother River	全国保护母亲河行动领导小组办公室		1			
National	National Department of Sport	国家体育总局			1		
National	National Family Planning Commission	国家计划生育委员会		8			
National	Office of the National Production Safety Month Activity Organizing Committee	全国安全生产月活动组织委员会办公室					1
National	State Administration for Industry and Commerce	国家工商总局			1		
National	State Food and Drug Administration	国家食品药品监督管理局			1		
Municipal	Beijing Armed Police Corps Second Hospital	武警北京市总队第二医院			1		
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Administration for Industry and Commerce	北京市工商行政管理局	1	1			1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Administration for Market Supervision	北京市市场监督管理局					2
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Relics	北京市文物事业管理局			1		

Municipal	Beijing Municipal Blood Donation Office	北京市献血办公室		1			8
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Bureau of Culture	北京市文化局				1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Bureau of Culture and Tourism	北京市文化和旅游局					5
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Bureau of Justice	北京市司法局		4	2		
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Center for Disease Control and Prevention	北京市疾病预防控制中心		3	3	1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Center for Disease Control and Prevention Health Education Institute	北京市疾控中心健康教育所		2			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal City and County Election Office	北京市区县人人换届选举工作办公室		1			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal City Appearance Office Supervision Division	北京市市容监察总队	9				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Civil Affairs Bureau	北京市民政局					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Development and Reform Commission	北京市发展和改革委员会		1			1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Disabled Persons' Federation	北京市残疾人联合会					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal District and County General Election Office	北京市区县换届选举工作办公室	6				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Emergency Management Bureau	北京市应急管理局					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Engineering Administration Department	北京市市政工程管理处	2				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Family Planning Publicity and Education Center	北京市计划生育宣传教育中心		2			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Federation of Trade Unions	北京市总工会			5	1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Health and Family Planning Supervision Institute	北京市卫生和计划生育监督所					4
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Health Bureau	北京市卫生局		3	3	1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Health Commission	北京市卫生健康委员会					18
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Human Resources and Social Security Bureau	北京市人力资源和社会保障局					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Institute of Health Education	北京市健康教育所		1	1		
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Language and Writing Committee	北京市语言文字委员会	2				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Management Committee	北京市市政管理委员会			1		
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Medical Insurance Bureau	北京市医疗保险局					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of Facilities Management	北京市设施管理办公室	2				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the "2008" Green Construction Project Headquarters	北京市“2008”环境建设指挥部办公室				1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the Leading Group for Command and Coordination of the "Safe Olympics Campaign"	北京市“平安奥运行动”指挥协调领导小组办公室				1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the Leading Group for the Management of Internal Migration Population	北京市外来人口管理工作领导小组办公室	1				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the Leading Group for the Second National Economic Census	北京市第二次全国经济普查领导小组办公室				10	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the Legal System Publicity and Education Leading Group	北京市法制宣传教育领导小组办公室				1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the Narcotics Control Commission	北京市禁毒委员会办公室					4
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Office of the Work Safety Committee	北京市安全生产委员会办公室		1			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Patriotic Health Campaign Committee	北京市爱国卫生运动委员会				2	10
Municipal	Beijing Municipal People's Government	北京市人民政府	7		1		2

Municipal	Beijing Municipal People's Government Disabled Persons Working Committee	北京市人民政府残疾人工作委员会				3	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal People's Government Flood Control and Drought Relief Command Office	北京市人民政府防汛抗旱指挥部办公室					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Public Complaints and Proposals Administration	北京市信访办公室					3
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau	北京市公安局	7	2		1	1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Anti-Narcotics Unit	北京市公安局禁毒总队					4
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Fire Bureau	北京市公安局消防局		2			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, Public Traffic Safety and Security Sub-bureaus	北京市公安局公共交通安全保卫分局				3	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Science and Technology Association	北京市科学技术协会				1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Science and Technology Commission	北京市科学技术委员会					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Taxi Administration	北京市出租汽车管理局	2				
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Tourism Bureau	北京市旅游局			1		
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Urban Management and Law Enforcement Bureau	北京市城市管理综合行政执法局		1	6	1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Urban Management Committee	北京市城市管理委员会					1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Urban Water Conservation Office	北京市城市节约用水办公室		1			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Water Conservation Affairs Management Center	北京市节约用水事务管理中心		1			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Water Conservation Office	北京市节约用水办公室		3			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Water Saving Management Center	北京节水展				1	
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Welfare Lottery Issuing Center	北京市福利彩票发行中心		1			
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Women's Federation	北京市妇联				1	1
Municipal	Beijing Municipal Work Safety Administration	北京市安全生产监督管理局		1			
Municipal	Beijing People's Art Theatre	北京人民艺术剧院					5
Municipal	Beijing Service Bureau for Diplomatic Missions, Fire and Security Department	北京外交人员房屋服务公司消防保安部监					1
Municipal	Beijing Xiangdao School	北京向导学校		1			
Municipal	Beijing Youth Development Foundation	北京青少年发展基金会					4
Municipal	Beijing Zhonglian Community Service Promotion Center	北京众联社区服务促进中心					1
Municipal	Capital Comprehensive Social Security Management Committee	首都社会治安综合治理委员会		4			
Municipal	Capital Office of the "Welcome in the Olympics, Pay Attention to Manners, and Cultivate a New Style Volunteer Service Campaign" Coordination Group	首都“迎奥运讲文明树新风志愿服务行动”协调小组办公室			10		
Municipal	Capital Office of the Committee for the Comprehensive Management of Public Security	首都社会治安综合治理委员会办公室			1		
Municipal	Capital Office of the Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	首都精神文明建设委员会办公室			21	2	2
Municipal	Capital Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	首都精神文明建设委员会 [首都文明办]	6			1	
Municipal	CCP Beijing Municipal Committee Propaganda Department	中共北京市委宣传部	8	4		1	6
Municipal	Committee of the Seventh Corps of the Communist Youth League Armed Police Beijing Municipal Corps	共青团武警北京市总队第七支队委员会		1			

Municipal	Communist Youth League Beijing Municipal Committee	共青团北京市委[员会]				1	1
Municipal	Office of the 2008 China Beijing International Energy Conservation and Environmental Protection Exhibition Organizing Committee	2008中国北京国际节能环保展览会组委会办公室			1		
Municipal	Project Hope Beijing Donation Center	希望工程北京捐助中心					4
Municipal	State Taxation Administration Beijing Municipal Tax Service	国家税务总局北京市税务局	5	5			
District	Beijing City Changping District People's Government	昌平区人民政府					1
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Fire and Rescue	朝阳区消防救援支队					12
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Office of the Production Safety Committee	北京市朝阳区安全生产委员会办公室					1
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Patriotic Health Campaign Committee	北京市朝阳区爱国卫生运动委员会					4
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Political and Legal Affairs Commission	朝阳区委政法委					2
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Public Health Management Committee	北京市朝阳区公共卫生管理委员会					4
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	北京市朝阳区精神文明建设委员会				2	1
District	Beijing City Chaoyang District Transportation Committee	北京市朝阳区交通委员会				2	
District	Beijing City Chongwen District Administration for Industry and Commerce	崇文区工商行政管理局	1				
District	Beijing City Chongwen District Construction Management Committee	崇文区建设管理委员会		2			
District	Beijing City Chongwen District Election Committee	北京市崇文区选举委员会	1				
District	Beijing City Chongwen District People's Government	北京市崇文区人民政府	8				
District	Beijing City Chongwen District Urban Management Supervision Brigade	北京市崇文区城市管理监察大队			1		
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Anti-Corruption Office	东城区扫黑办					1
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District City Appearance Office	东城区市容办公室	1				
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Community Service Center	北京市东城区社区服务中心					1
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Cultural Committee	东城区文化委员会					5
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Drama Construction Promotion Committee	东城区戏剧建设促进委员会					10
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Family Planning Commission	北京市东城区计划生育委员会		2			
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Fire and Rescue	北京市东城区消防救援支队					3
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Housing and Urban Construction Committee	北京市东城区住房和城乡建设委员会					1
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Housing Authority	北京市东城区房屋管理局					1
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Labor and Social Security Bureau	北京市东城区劳动和社会保障局			3		
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Office of the Leading Group for the Establishment of a National Civilized City	东城区创建全国文明城区领导小组办公室			14		
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Office of the Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	东城区精神文明建设委员会办公室				5	
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District People's Government	北京市东城区人民政府			1		7

District	Beijing City Dongcheng District People's Government Conscription Office	北京市东城区人民政府征兵办公室						1
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Price Bureau	东城区物价局			1			
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Public Security Fire Brigade	北京市东城区公安消防支队						1
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	东城区精神文明建设委员会				3		
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Urban Management and Law Enforcement Bureau	东城城管监察大队			1			
District	Beijing City Dongcheng District Urban Management Comprehensive Administrative Law Enforcement Supervision Bureau	北京市东城区城市管理综合行政执法监察局						1
District	Beijing City Haidian District Civilized City Creation Headquarters	海淀区创建文明城区指挥部			3			
District	Beijing City Haidian District Commerce Bureau	海淀区商务局				1		
District	Beijing City Haidian District Federation of Commerce	海淀区商业联合会				1		
District	Beijing City Haidian District Fire Safety Committee	海淀区防火安全委员会						1
District	Beijing City Haidian District Geographical Naming Office	海淀区地名办		2				
District	Beijing City Haidian District Office of the Central Leading Group for the Work of Creating a National Health District	海淀区创建国家卫生区工作领导小组办公室						4
District	Beijing City Haidian District People's Government	海淀区人民政府		2		4		
District	Beijing City Haidian District Planning Bureau	海淀区规划局		2				
District	Beijing City Haidian District Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	海淀区精神文明建设委员会			5			
District	Beijing City Haidian District Urban Management Committee	海淀区市政管委会			3			
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Administration for Industry and Commerce	北京市西城区工商行政管理局		1				
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Blood Donation Office	北京市西城区献血办公室			1			
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Bureau of Cultural Figures	北京市西城区文化人物局		1				
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Cultural Industry Association	北京市西城区文化产业协会			1			
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Health Bureau	北京市西城区卫生局				1		
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Justice Bureau	西城区司法局			1			
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Office of the Leading Group for the Rule of Law	西城区依法治区领导小组办公室			1			
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Office of the Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	西城区精神文明建设委员会办公室					5	6
District	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government	北京市西城区人民政府		2				
District	Beijing City Xicheng District Urban Management Committee	西城区城市管理委员会						1
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Industry and Commerce Bureau	北京市宣武区工商行政管理局		1				
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Leading Group of the Comprehensive Management Committee for the Prevention of Juvenile Crimes	宣武区综治委预防青少年违法犯罪工作领导小组			1			
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Local Taxation Administration	宣武区地方税务局			1			
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Minors Protection Committee	宣武区未成年人保护委员会			1			
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Office of the Leading Group for Rule of Law	宣武区依法治区领导小组办公室					1	

District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Office of the Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	北京市宣武区精神文明办公室	13	1			
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Patriotic Health Campaign Committee	宣武区爱国卫生运动委员会		1			
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District People's Government	宣武区人民政府		3	1		
District	Beijing City Xuanwu District Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	宣武区精神文明建设委员会	1	1	1		
District	Beijing Municipal Administration for Industry and Commerce Chongwen District Branch	北京市工商行政管理局崇文分局		1			
District	Beijing Municipal Administration for Industry and Commerce Dongcheng District Branch	北京市工商行政管理局东城分局					1
District	Beijing Municipal Administration for Industry and Commerce Xuanwu District Branch	北京市工商行政管理局宣武分局		1			
District	Beijing Municipal Planning Commission, Dongcheng District Branch	北京市规划委员会东城分局					1
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chongwen District Branch	北京市公安局崇文分局	2				
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Xicheng District Branch Exit-Entry Administration Office	西城公安分局出入境管理处			1		
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Xicheng District Branch Leading Group for the Special Fight Against Evil	西城公安分局扫黑除恶专项斗争领导小组					1
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, Haidian District Branch	海淀公安 [北京市公安局海淀分局]					1
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, Traffic Management Bureau, Chaoyang District Traffic Corps	北京市公安局公安交通管理局朝阳交通支队					1
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, Xicheng Branch Anti-Arms, Anti-Explosives, and Anti-Knife Office	北京市公安局西城分局缉枪治爆管刀办公室				1	
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, Xicheng District Branch	北京市公安局西城分局					2
District	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, Xicheng District Branch Population Management Corps	北京市公安局西城分局人口管理支队					2
District	Beijing Municipal Taxi Administration, Dongcheng District Branch	北京市东城区地方税务局	2				
District	CCP Beijing City Chongwen District Committee	中共崇文区委员会	1				
District	CCP Beijing City Dongcheng District Committee	中共北京市东城区委	4		1		7
District	CCP Beijing City Dongcheng District Committee Propaganda Department	中共北京市东城区委宣传部	8	5		5	14
District	CCP Beijing City Haidian District Committee	中共北京市海淀区委			3		
District	CCP Beijing City Xuanwu District Committee	中共北京市宣武区委		2			
District	CCP Beijing City Xuanwu District Committee Propaganda Department	中共北京市宣武区委宣传部	13	2			
District	Communist Youth League Beijing City Dongcheng District Branch	东城区团委	1				
District	Communist Youth League Beijing City Dongcheng District Branch, Education Bureau	东城区教育局团委	1				

District	Communist Youth League Beijing City Xuanwu District Committee	共青团北京市宣武区委员会		2			
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chaoyang District Chaowai Subdistrict Office	朝外大街街道				7	
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chaoyang District Hujialou Subdistrict Health and Welfare Office	呼家楼街道创卫办					11
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chaoyang District Hujialou Subdistrict Unit First Police Area	呼家楼队一警区			1		
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chaoyang District Sanlitun Subdistrict Working Committee	三里屯街道工委				3	
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chongwen District Chongwen Street Management Office	崇文大街管理处			1		
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chongwen District Chongwenmenwai Area Comprehensive Management Committee	崇文门外地区综治委员会			1		
Subdistrict	Beijing City Chongwen District Urban Management Brigade Chongwai Area Team	城管大队崇外地区分队			1		
Subdistrict	Beijing City Dongcheng District Dongzhimen Subdistrict Comprehensive Law Enforcement Team	东直门街道综合执法组					1
Subdistrict	Beijing City Dongcheng District Dongzhimen Subdistrict Office of the Spiritual Civilization Construction Committee	东直门街道精神文明建设办公室					1
Subdistrict	Beijing City Dongcheng District People's Government Hepingli Subdistrict Office	和平里街道办事处	1				
Subdistrict	Beijing City Dongcheng District People's Government Jiaodaokou Subdistrict Office	北京市东城区人民政府交道口街道办事处					1
Subdistrict	Beijing City Dongcheng District People's Government Jingshan Subdistrict Office	景山街道办事处				1	
Subdistrict	Beijing City Dongcheng District Traffic Branch, Dongsì Team, Dongsì Station	北京东城交通支队东四队东四岗		1			
Subdistrict	Beijing City Haidian District Zhongguancun Subdistrict Justice Office	中关村街道司法所					3
Subdistrict	Beijing City Haidian District Zhongguancun Subdistrict Science and Technology Park Management Committee	中关村科技园区管理委员会					1
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District Guangnei Subdistrict Sanitation Office	广内街道环卫所			1		
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Niujie Subdistrict Office	牛街街道办事处		22			
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Niujie Subdistrict Office Community Residents Committee	牛街居委会	1				
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Taoranting Subdistrict Office	陶然亭街道办事处		1			
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District Xinjiekou Subdistrict Armed Forces Department	新街口街道武装部					1
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District Xinjiekou Subdistrict Housing Management Office	新街口房管所					1
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District Xinjiekou Subdistrict Office	{北京市西城区}新街口街道办事处					33
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District Xinjiekou Subdistrict Office of the Leading Group for the Special Fight Against Evil	新街口街道扫黑除恶专项斗争领导小组办公室					8

Subdistrict	Beijing City Xicheng District Xinjiekou Subdistrict Party Working Committee	北京市西城区新街口街道工委						32
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xuanwu District Election Committee Baizhifang Constituency Branch	宣武区选举委员会白纸坊地区分会	4					
Subdistrict	Beijing City Xuanwu District People's Government Baizhifang Subdistrict Office	宣武区政府白纸坊街道办事处	1					
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Administration for Industry and Commerce Dongcheng District Branch Jingshan Industrial and Commercial Office	北京市工商行政管理局东城分局景山工商所				1		
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Eastern District Post and Telecommunications Bureau, Dongsu Subdistrict Branch	北京市东区邮电局东四邮电支局团支部			1			
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chaoyang District Branch Chaoyangmen Subdistrict Police Station	朝阳门派出所	1	1				
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chaoyang District Branch Hujialou Subdistrict Police Station	朝阳公安分局呼家楼派出所					1	
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chongwen Branch Chongwai Subdistrict Police Station	崇文分局崇外大街派出所				1		
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chongwen District Branch Chongwenmen Street Police Station	崇文门大街派出所	2					
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chongwen District Branch Tiyuguan Road Subdistrict Police Station	崇文公安分局体育馆路派出所			1			
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Chongwen District Qianmen Subdistrict Traffic Squadron	崇文区前门交通中队				1		
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Dongcheng District Branch Donghuamen Subdistrict Police Station	东城分局东华门派出所	2					
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Dongcheng District Branch Jingshan Subdistrict Police Station	景山派出所					1	
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Dongcheng District Qianmen Subdistrict Police Station	前门派出所	1					
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Haidian District Branch Huayuan Road Subdistrict Police Station	花园路派出所	2					
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Xicheng District Branch Fengsheng Subdistrict Police Station	丰盛派出所	1					
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Xicheng District Branch Fusujing Subdistrict Police Station	西城区福绥境派出所					1	
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Xicheng District Branch Taoranting Subdistrict Police Station	陶然亭派出所			1			
Subdistrict	Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Xicheng District Branch Xinjiekou Subdistrict Police Station	西城公安分局新街口派出所	1			1	1	
Subdistrict	CCP Beijing City Xicheng District Niujie Subdistrict Committee Propaganda Department	牛街街道工委宣传部				2		
Subdistrict	CCP Beijing City Xicheng District Niujie Subdistrict Working Committee	牛街街道工委			22			
Subdistrict	CCP Beijing City Xuanwu District Baizhifang Subdistrict Working Committee	中共白纸坊街道工委	1					
Community	Beijing City Dongcheng District Chaoyangmen Subdistrict Chaoxi Community Neighborhood Committee	朝西社区居委会			3			

Community	Beijing City Dongcheng District People's Government Hepingli Subdistrict Office Xinghua Community Committee	兴化社区居委会		1			
Community	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Shichahai Subdistrict Dahongluo Community Committee	什刹海街道大红罗社区				1	
Community	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Shichahai Subdistrict Office Xisibei Community Committee	西西北社区居委会		3			
Community	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Xinjiekou Subdistrict Anping Lane Community Committee	安平巷居委会		2			
Community	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Xinjiekou Subdistrict Anping Lane Community Party Committee	安平巷社区党委					1
Community	Beijing City Xicheng District People's Government Xinjiekou Subdistrict Office Xisibei Toutiao Community Committee	西西北头条社区居委会		5			
Olympic	Organizing Committee of the 29th Olympic Games	第29届奥林匹克运动会组织委员会			64		
Other	Aluminum Corporation of China	中国铝业公司				2	
Other	Beijing CBD International Forum	北京CBD国际论坛			1		
Other	Beijing City Huarong Advertising Co., Ltd.	北京市华融广告公司	1				
Other	Beijing City Yihun March Art Company	北京市艺魂三月艺术公司		1			
Other	Beijing Gehua Cultural Development Group	北京歌华文化发展集团			1		
Other	Beijing Golte Property Management Co., Ltd.	N/A				1	
Other	Beijing Haoyang Real Estate Development Co., Ltd.	北京浩洋房地产开发有限公司		1			
Other	Beijing Longqingxia Tourism Development Co., Ltd.	北京龙庆峡旅游发展有限公司		1			
Other	Beijing Lu Lu Ming Advertising Co., Ltd.	北京路路明广告有限公司	12				
Other	Beijing Lunshida Advertising Design Co., Ltd.	北京伦世达广告企划有限公司	7				
Other	Beijing Municipal Transportation & Communications Card Co., Ltd.	北京市政交通一卡通有限公司					1
Other	Beijing North Tiannuo Community Management Co. Ltd.	北京天诺物业					1
Other	Beijing Oriental Culture Economic Development Group Co., Ltd.	北京东方文化经济发展集团有限公司				1	5
Other	Beijing Oriental International Drama Capital Management Co., Ltd.	北京东方国际戏剧产业基金管理有限公司				1	
Other	Beijing Public Traffic Advertisement Company, Ltd.	北京公交广告有限责任公司		14			
Other	Beijing Public Transport Holdings (Group) Co., Ltd.	北京公共交通控股(集团)有限公司			1		
Other	Beijing Publishing Group	北京出版社出版集团		2			
Other	Beijing Ruixing Advertising Co., Ltd.	北京瑞星广告有限公司	4				
Other	Beijing Sunlight Advertising and Exhibition Art Company	北京阳光广告展览艺术公司	1				
Other	Beijing Tianhui Ginseng Industry Co., Ltd.	北京天惠参业有限公司		1			
Other	Beijing Xiaoguang Advertising Co., Ltd.	北京晓光广告有限责任公司	2				
Other	Beijing Yilong Shengshi Advertising Co., Ltd.	北京亿龙盛世广告有限公司			1		
Other	Beijing Zhuzong Group Co., Ltd.	北京住总					1
Other	Bohong Xunda Advertising Co., Ltd.	博鸿讯达广告有限公司		1			
Other	Chengdu Municipal Tourism Bureau	成都市旅游局		2			
Other	China Children and Teenagers' Fund	中国儿童少年基金会			1		
Other	China Electrical Advertising Corporation	中国机电广告公司	1				
Other	China International Software Expo	中国国际软件博览					1
Other	China Minmetals Corporation	中国五矿集团公司				2	

Other	China Mobile	中国移动通信			5	
Other	China National Ethnic Song and Dance Ensemble	中央民族歌舞团				2
Other	China National Gold Corporation	中国黄金集团公司				2
Other	China National Offshore Oil Corporation	中国海洋石油总公司				2
Other	China National Petroleum Corporation	中国石油天然气集团公司				2
Other	China Network Television	中国网络电视台			21	7
Other	China Painting and Calligraphy Art Development Fund	著名书画家/慈善家吴东魁作品中国书画艺术发展基金			4	
Other	China People's Property Insurance Co., Ltd.	中保财产保险有限公司	1			
Other	China Petroleum & Chemical Corporation	中国石油化工集团公司				2
Other	China Railway Construction Corporation Limited	中国铁建股份有限公司				1
Other	China Railway Tunnel Group Co., Ltd.	中隧集团		1		
Other	China Sports Broker Management Co., Ltd.	中体经纪管理有限公司		1		
Other	China Sports Competition Group	中体竞赛集团		1		
Other	China Women's University	中华女子学院		1		
Other	China Work Safety News	中国安全生产报社		1		
Other	China Xingfa Group	中国兴发集团	3			
Other	Chinese Basketball Association	中国篮球协会		1		
Other	Chinese Children's Drama Research Association	中国儿童戏剧研究会				2
Other	Chinese Society of Blood Transfusion	中国输血协会		3		
Other	Coca-Cola	N/A			1	
Other	Damai.cn	大麦网				5
Other	Gehua TV	歌华集团	1			
Other	Guangdong Kangxiang Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd.	广东康祥药业有限公司		1		
Other	Guizhou Provincial Tourism Bureau	贵州省旅游局		4		
Other	Hainan White Horse Advertising Media Investment Co., Ltd.	海南白马广告媒体投资有限公司				7
Other	Haisen Environmental Art	海森环艺			1	
Other	Hufangqiao Elementary School	虎坊桥小学	1			
Other	Leshan Giant Buddha Scenic Area Management Committee	乐山大佛景区管理委员会		1		
Other	Lihui World Fitness Center	力汇时空健身中心		1		
Other	Linghang Technology Building	领航科技大厦				12
Other	Longfan Media Co., Ltd.	龙帆传媒广告有限公司				3
Other	Nantong Suzhong Construction Co., Ltd.	南通苏中建设公司		1		
Other	New World (China) Technology Media Co., Ltd.	新世界(中国)科技传媒有限公司			1	
Other	Oriental (Beijing) International Culture and Art Center Co., Ltd.	东方(北京)国际文化艺术中心有限公司				5
Other	Peking University People's Hospital	北京大学人民医院				1
Other	People's Daily	人民日报				6
Other	People's Daily Nationwide Print Media	人民日报社全国平媒				2
Other	Poly Theatre Management Co., Ltd.	保利剧院管理有限公司				5
Other	Save the Children Fund	救助儿童会			1	
Other	Shandong Province Qingzhou Municipal People's Government	山东省青州市人民政府			2	
Other	Shenzhen Beijing Artron Color Shadow Brush Co., Ltd.	深圳北京雅昌彩色影刷有限公司		2		
Other	Shougang Basketball Club	首钢篮球俱乐部		1		
Other	Sichuan Everbright Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd.	四川光大制药有限公司		1		

Other	Sky Street Group	天街集团							5
Other	State Grid Beijing Municipal Electric Power Company	国网北京市电力公司							4
Other	Tourism Malaysia	N/A		2					
Other	Volunteers of Chaowai Street	朝外志愿者							2
Other	WildAid	野生救援			2				
Other	Xiamen City High-level Talent Development Center	厦门市高层次人才发展中心							3
Other	Xiamen Municipal Party Committee, Talent Work Bureau of Organization Department	厦门市委组织部人才工作局							3
Other	Xidan Pedicab Management Station	西单三轮车管理站	1						
Other	Xidan Shopping Center Police Station	西单商场派出所	2						
Other	Xingfa Group Beijing New Artistic Conception Advertising Co., Ltd.	兴发集团北京新意境广告公司	2						
Other	Yeshu Group Haikou Canned Foods Factory Co., Ltd.	椰树集团海口罐头厂有限公司	8						
Other	Yunnan Province Lijiang Municipal People's Government	云南省丽江市人民政府			1				
Other	Zhengyang Advertising Co., Ltd.	正阳广告公司	1						
Other	Zhongda Construction Co., Ltd.	中大建设						1	
Other	Zhongguancun Innovation & Entrepreneurship Festival	中关村创新创业季							2
NA/unclear	No attribution/unclear	N/A	259	81	140			58	150

	1998	2004	2008	2013	2019
National	1	6	9	3	10
Municipal	13	24	20	16	29
District	21	24	15	6	31
Subdistrict	12	8	10	8	10
Community	0	5	0	1	1
Other	16	24	14	12	23
Olympic	0	0	1	0	0
Total number of creators	63	91	69	46	104
<i>Total number of unique PSAs in set</i>	391	228	307	132	460
<i>" " with at least one identified creator</i>	132	148	167	74	310
Ratio of PSAs to creator (attributed PSAs only)	2.10	1.63	2.42	1.61	2.98

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Notes

¹ We are using the term “public service announcement” as an English translation for 公益广告 (*gōngyì guǎnggào*), which in the PRC context can refer to anything from safety campaigns to anti-littering signs to more political forms of public propaganda.

² All images in this working paper and in the archive are property of the China Studies Program at the Baker Institute for Public Policy. The images were collected by researchers of the China Studies Program (formerly the Transnational China Project) of the Baker Institute for Public Policy at Rice University, with organization provided by Steven W. Lewis, and coding and translation by Brandon Zheng. This archive was produced with the funding support of the Starr Foundation and the Luce foundation, both of New York, and the technical support of staff from the Baker Institute for Public Policy and Fondren Library of Rice University. The archive is currently restricted to scholars of the China Studies Program and associated academic collaborators. It will be made public in the future. Questions about the archive should be shared with Steven W. Lewis at swlewis@rice.edu.

³ Many such examples of bylines in which both government employees and subcontracted private advertising firms are both credited with the production of different Chinese PSAs can be seen in Lewis 2012a, as well as in the Chinese PSA Archive. In particular, photos from earlier in the collection, especially the 1998 Beijing and Shanghai sets, contain many examples of such public-private collaborations being publicly acknowledged in the bylines on the bottom of the ad.

⁴ Prosperity (富强, fùqiáng), Democracy (民主, mínzhǔ), Civility (文明, wénmíng), Harmony (和谐, héxié), Freedom (自由, zìyóu), Equality (平等, píngděng), Justice (公正, gōngzhèng), Rule of law (法治, fǎzhì), Patriotism (爱国, àiguó), Dedication (敬业, jìngyè), Integrity (诚信, chéngxìn), Friendship (友善, yǒushàn).

⁵ Examples of such “Mao revivalist” Chinese Dream posters can be found in the Chinese PSA Archive for the year 2013 (with a few examples photographed in 2019), especially in the Beijing set for Dongcheng District on Meishuguan Road

⁶ **Beijing 1998:** Chongwen District (*Chongwenmenwai Ave, Guangqumennei Ave, Zhushikou East Ave*); Dongcheng District (*Andingmen Ave, Chaoyangmennei Ave*); Haidian District (*Haidian Rd, Zhichun Rd*); Xicheng District (*Fuchengmen Ave, Xinjiekou Ave*); Xuanwu District (*Niujie Rd, Xuanwumenwai Ave, Zhushikou West Ave*).

Shanghai 1998: Changning District (*Yuyuan Rd*); Huangpu District (*Beijing Rd, Nanjing Rd*); Jing'an District (*Beijing Rd, Julu Rd, Nanjing Rd, Yuyuan Rd*); Luwan District (*Huaihai Rd, Julu Rd*); Xuhui District (*Huaihai Rd*).

Beijing 2004: Chongwen District (*Chongwenmenwai Ave, Zhushikou East Ave*); Dongcheng District (*Chaoyangmennei Ave, Meishuguan Rd*); Haidian District (*Zhichun Rd*); Xicheng District (*Fuchengmennei Ave, Xinjiekou Ave, Dianmen Ave*); Xuanwu District (*Niujie Rd, Xuanwumenwai Ave*).

Shanghai 2004: Changning District (*Dingxi Rd, Yuyuan Rd*); Huangpu District (*Beijing Rd, Nanjing Rd*); Jing'an District (*Beijing Rd, Julu Rd, Nanjing Rd*); Luwan District (*Huaihai Rd, Julu Rd*); Xuhui District (*Huaihai Rd*).

Beijing 2008: Chaoyang District (*Guanghua Rd, Jianguomenwai Rd, Chang'anmen Ave*); Chongwen District (*Chongwenmenwai Ave, Guangqumennei Ave, Zhushikou East Ave*); Dongcheng District (*Andingmennei Ave, Chaoyangmennei Ave, Chongwenmennei Ave*); Haidian District (*Haidian Rd, Zhichun Rd*); Xicheng District (*Fuchengmennei Ave, Xinjiekounei Ave*); Xuanwu District (*Guang'anmennei Ave, Nanheng Ave, Niujie Rd, Xuanwumenwai Ave*).

Shanghai 2008: Changning District (*Dingxi Rd, Yuyuan Rd*); Huangpu District (*Beijing Rd, Nanjing Rd*); Jing'an District (*Beijing Rd, Julu Rd, Nanjing Rd*); Luwan District (*Huaihai Rd, Julu Rd*); Xuhui District (*Huaihai Rd, Julu Rd*).

Beijing 2013: Chaoyang District (*Chaoyangmenwai Ave, Dongzhimenwai Ave*); Dongcheng District (*Chaoyangmennei Ave, Meishuguan Ave*); Haidian District (*Zhichun Rd*); Xicheng District (*Fuchengmennei Ave, Jishuitan Ave*).

Shanghai 2013: Changning District (*Dingxi Rd, Fahuazhen Rd, Yuyuan Rd*); Huangpu District (*Beijing Rd, Nanjing Rd*); Jing'an District (*Beijing Rd, Julu Rd, Nanjing Rd*); [former] Luwan District (*Huaihai Rd, Julu Rd*); Xuhui District (*Huaihai Rd*).

Beijing 2019: Chaoyang District (*Chaoyangmenwai Ave, Dongzhimenwai Ave*); Dongcheng District (*Chaoyangmennei Ave, Dongsu Rd, Dongzhimennei Ave, Meishuguan Ave*); Haidian District (*Zhichun Rd, Zhongguancun Ave*); Xicheng District (*Fuchengmennei Ave, Xisi Rd*).

Shanghai 2019: Changning District (*Dingxi Rd, Fahuazhen Rd, Yuyuan Rd*); Huangpu District (*Beijing Rd, Huaihai Rd, Nanjing Rd*); Jing'an District (*Beijing Rd, Huashan Rd, Nanjing Rd, Yuyuan Rd*); Xuhui District (*Huaihai Rd*).

⁷ Source: World Bank.

⁸ PSAs credited to the Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games, which was an ad hoc agency created to organize the Olympics and was dissolved a year afterwards.

⁹ There were virtually zero PSAs in 1998 at the national level in either city; only one PSA commissioned by a national-level agency (the Communist Youth League) was found in Beijing that year and none in Shanghai. Therefore, national level analyses were excluded for 1998.

¹⁰ A more grammatically accurate way of translating the start of this stanza is, "Build a civilized Jing'an that...", but this breaks with the arrangement of the words in the original Chinese.

