

Key Issues in Contemporary Chinese Politics: A Graduate Seminar

Politics 261 • Spring 2014
University of California, Santa Cruz
Prof. Benjamin L. Read

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Course web site: <http://ecommons.ucsc.edu/>
Course meetings: Merrill 134, Thursdays, 5pm–8pm
Office hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2:00pm–3:30pm, and by appointment
Date of this syllabus: April 3, 2014. Subject to change; check websites for latest version.

Overview:

The purpose of this graduate seminar is to acquaint students with recent academic research on major topics in the politics of China. We will focus on the present day and the past decade or two, not least because UC Santa Cruz students are fortunate enough to have access to other courses covering earlier eras of the People's Republic. The seminar addresses topics ranging from the core institutions of the party-state to local politics, economic governance, and state-society interactions in multiple realms. We will consider China in its own terms while also evaluating the relevance of theoretical concepts from various fields in the social sciences, and we will aim to identify opportunities for new research projects.

No knowledge of the Chinese language is assumed, though it is, of course, helpful. Graduate students from all departments and disciplines are welcome. Undergraduates should contact the instructor before enrolling.

Assignments and ground rules:

- Actively help build an enthusiastic, far-ranging, thoughtful, critical and constructive discussion.
- Do the required readings prior to each class session and come prepared to contribute to the conversation. Acquire the readings well in advance of class so as to avoid logistical problems.
- Attend each class session unless unavoidable circumstances make it impossible to do so. Given that we have only ten class meetings, please plan to attend every one and do not schedule things that conflict with class.
- In the event that you are truly unable to attend class, you must 1) email me promptly with a brief explanation; 2) Within the two weeks after the class date in question, submit an extra reading response on the readings for the class you missed. This will not count toward the five regularly assigned reading responses.
- Present a reading approximately every other class, as assigned. Participation and presentations together constitute 20% of the quarter grade.
- Write five reading responses, at least three pages and one thousand words each (40%). My web site has a page providing guidance for these. You may choose the weeks you wish to address, and the first week of class is fair game. On those weeks, turn in your response paper by 9 a.m. on the day of class, via email attachment (Word or PDF format).
- Students will also submit a final paper (40%). Most likely it will present a thorough review of an issue related to the course, drawing on a reasonably wide selection of material, although other formats may be discussed. Please suggest a topic to me before Week 5. The paper should be at least 12 pages in length and turned in both via email and in hard copy; it should be work that you have written this quarter and not used in other classes for academic credit.

Academic integrity:

- Excerpts from UCSC's Policy on Academic Integrity for Graduate Students (http://www.ucsc.edu/academics/academic_integrity/graduate_students/): "Academic misconduct includes but is not limited to cheating, plagiarism, fabrication, falsification, research fraud, or facilitating academic dishonesty or as further specified in campus policies and regulations, including the Campus Policy on Research Integrity. ... In cases in which academic misconduct has been determined to occur, sanctions may include dismissal, suspension for a specified period, and notation of academic misconduct on a student's transcript, including all external copies, for a specified period."
- I take academic integrity very seriously and I expect all students to do the same.
- Concerning the use of sources in your writing, and understanding and avoiding plagiarism, the single most thorough (though it is concise) and illuminating discussion I know of is Gordon Harvey, *Writing with Sources: A Guide for Students*, 2nd edition (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2008). I strongly recommend that you obtain and read this inexpensive book, both for your own use and for your work as an instructor.

Special accommodations:

If you qualify for classroom accommodations because of a disability, please submit your Accommodation Authorization from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me during my office hours in a timely manner, preferably within the first two weeks of the quarter. Contact DRC at 459-2089 (voice), 459-4806 (TTY).

Week 1: Conceptualizing and comparing China in political terms

Thursday, April 3, 2014

- Elizabeth J. Perry, "Studying Chinese Politics: Farewell to Revolution?", *The China Journal* 57 (January 2007), 1-22.
- Kevin J. O'Brien, "Studying Chinese Politics in an Age of Specialization," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 20/71 (2011), 535-41.
- Marie-Eve Reny, "Review Essay: What Happened to the Study of China in Comparative Politics?," *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 11 (2011), 105-135.

Further reading

- Xu Jilin, "Grass-roots Design is Needed for Chinese Reform," 2012
- Yasheng Huang, "Rethinking the Beijing Consensus," *Asia Policy*, 11/1 (2011), 1-26.
- Susan Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Robert P. Weller, "Responsive Authoritarianism and Blind-Eye Governance in China," in Nina Bandelj and Dorothy J. Solinger (eds.), *Socialism Vanquished, Socialism Challenged: Eastern Europe and China, 1989-2009* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Frank N. Pieke, "The Communist Party and Social Management in China," *China Information*, 26/2 (2012), 149-65.
- Scott Kennedy, "The Myth of the Beijing Consensus," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 19/65 (2010), 461-77.
- Joshua Cooper Ramo, *The Beijing Consensus* (London: Foreign Policy Centre, 2004).

Week 2: Core institutions

Thursday, April 10, 2014

- Susan V. Lawrence and Michael F. Martin, "Understanding China's Political System," Congressional Research Service report, January 31, 2013 [if you are already familiar with the basics of China's political institutions, just skim this; otherwise, read it carefully.]
- Frank N. Pieke, *The Good Communist: Elite Training and State Building in Today's China* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Victor C. Shih, "Getting Ahead in the Communist Party: Explaining the Advancement of Central Committee Members in China," *American Political Science Review*, 106/1 (February 2012), 166-87.
- Andrew Hall Wedeman, *Double Paradox: Rapid Growth and Rising Corruption in China* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), chapters 1 and 6, pp. 1-14, 142-76

Further reading

- David Shambaugh, *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).
- Victor C. Shih, *Factions and Finance in China: Elite Conflict and Inflation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Patricia M. Thornton, "The New Life of the Party: Party-Building and Social Engineering in Greater Shanghai," *The China Journal* 68 (July 2012), 58-78.
- Richard McGregor, *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers* (New York: Harper, 2010).

Week 3: Politics at the province/county and city/district level

Thursday, April 17, 2014

- John A. Donaldson, *Small Works: Poverty and Economic Development in Southwestern China* (Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2011)
- You-tien Hsing, *The Great Urban Transformation: Politics of Land and Property in China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pages to be announced
- Philip C.C. Huang, "Chongqing: Equitable Development Driven by a 'Third Hand'?", *Modern China*, 37/6 (November 2011), 569-622
- Ben Hillman, "Factions and Spoils: Examining Political Behavior within the Local State in China," *The China Journal*, /64 (2010), 1-18.

Further reading

- Pierre F. Landry, *Decentralized Authoritarianism in China: The Communist Party's Control of Local Elites in the Post-Mao Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Xiangming Chen, ed. *Shanghai Rising: State Power and Local Transformations in a Global Megacity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009)
- Fulong Wu, "How Neoliberal Is China's Reform? The Origins of Change During Transition," *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 51 (2010), 619-31
- Carolyn Cartier, "Neoliberalism and the Neoauthoritarian City in China — Contexts and Research Directions: Commentary in Conversation with Jennifer Robinson's Urban Geography Plenary Lecture," *Urban Geography*, 32/8 (2011), 1110-21
- Fulong Wu, *China's Emerging Cities: The Making of New Urbanism* (Routledge Contemporary China Series; Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2007).
- Thomas Heberer and Gunter Schubert, "County and Township Cadres as a Strategic Group: A New Approach to Political Agency in China's Local State," *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 17/3 (2012), 221-49.

Week 4: Politics at the village and neighborhood level

Thursday, April 24, 2014

- Chris Bramall, "Chinese Land Reform in Long-Run Perspective and in the Wider East Asian Context," *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 4/1&2 (2004), 107-141
- Philip Huang, Gao Yuan, and Yusheng Peng, "Capitalization without Proletarianization in China's Agricultural Development," *Modern China*, 38/2 (2012), 139-173
- Guo Xiaolin. "Land Expropriation and Rural Conflicts in China," *The China Quarterly*, No. 166 (2001), 422-439
- Kevin J. O'Brien and Rongbin Han, "Path to Democracy? Assessing Village Elections in China" *Journal of Contemporary China*, 18/60 (2009), 359-78.
- Lily L. Tsai, *Accountability without Democracy: How Solidary Groups Provide Public Goods in Rural China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pages to be announced
- Graeme Smith, "The Hollow State: Rural Governance in China," *The China Quarterly*, /203 (2010), 601-18.

Further reading

- John James Kennedy, "Supply and Support for Grassroots Political Reform in Rural China," *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 15/2 (2010), 169-90.
- Gunter Schubert and Anna L. Ahlers, *Participation and Empowerment at the Grassroots: Chinese Village Elections in Perspective* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2012).

- Edward Friedman, Paul G. Pickowicz, and Mark Selden, *Revolution, Resistance, and Reform in Village China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
- Benjamin L. Read, *Roots of the State: Neighborhood Organization and Social Networks in Beijing and Taipei* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012)
- Q. Forrest Zhang and John Donaldson. "From Peasants to Farmers: Peasant Differentiation, Labor Regimes, and Land-Rights Institutions in China's Agrarian Transition," *Politics & Society*, 38/4 (2010), 458-489
- Anita Chan, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger, *Chen Village: Revolution to Globalization* (3rd edn.; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

Week 5: Political economy

Thursday, May 1, 2014

- Dali Yang, *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan: Market Transition and the Politics of Governance in China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004)
- Wang Hui, "Restructuring and the Historical Fate of China's Working Class: A Report on an Investigation into the Tongyu Textile Group of Jiangsu," *Critical Asian Studies*, 40/2 (2008), 163-210
- Margaret M. Pearson, "The Business of Governing Business in China: Institutions and Norms of the Emerging Regulatory State," *World Politics*, 57/2 (2005), 296-322
- He Li, "Debating China's Economic Reform: New Leftists Vs. Liberals," *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 15/1 (2010), 1-23.
- Meg Rithmire, "Land Politics and Local State Capacities: The Political Economy of Urban Change in China," *China Quarterly*, 216 (December 2013), 1-24.

Further reading

- Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2007).
- Mary E. Gallagher, *Contagious Capitalism: Globalization and the Politics of Labor in China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005)
- Roselyn Hsueh, *China's Regulatory State: A New Strategy for Globalization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011)
- Yasheng Huang, *Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: Entrepreneurship and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Pun Ngai and Jenny Chan, "Global Capital, the State, and Chinese Workers: The Foxconn Experience," *Modern China*, 38/4 (2012), 383-410
- Eric Thun, *Changing Lanes in China: Foreign Direct Investment, Local Governments, and Auto Sector Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Scott Kennedy, *The Business of Lobbying in China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).
- Henry Sanderson and Michael Forsythe, *China's Superbank* (Singapore: John Wiley and Sons, 2013)
- William Hurst, *The Chinese Worker after Socialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- World Bank, "China 2030: Building a Modern, Harmonious, and Creative High-Income Society" (2012)

Week 6: Peripheries and Center

Thursday, May 8, 2014

- Gardner Bovington, *The Uyghurs: Strangers in Their Own Land* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010)
- Thomas M. Mullaney, *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), pages to be announced
- Colin Patrick Mackerras, "Tibetans, Uyghurs, and Multinational 'China': Han-Minority Relations and State Legitimation," in Peter Hays Gries and Stanley Rosen (eds.), *Chinese Politics, State, Society and the Market* (Routledge, 2010), 222-42.

Further reading

- Ralph Litzinger, *Other Chinas: The Yao and the Politics of National Belonging* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).
- Suzanne Pepper, *Keeping Democracy at Bay: Hong Kong and the Challenge of Chinese Political Reform* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008)

Week 7: Contention, Civil Society and Their Adversaries

Thursday, May 15, 2014

- Yongshun Cai, *Collective Resistance in China: Why Popular Protests Succeed or Fail* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010)
- Ching Kwan Lee, "The Power of Instability: How the Grassroots State Absorbs Popular Unrest in China"
- Andrew G. Walder, "Unruly Stability: Why China's Regime Has Staying Power," *Current History*, 108/719 (September 2009), 257-63
- Yu Jianrong, "Reassessing Chinese Society's 'Rigid Stability'"

Further reading

- Karla W. Simon, *Civil Society in China: The Legal Framework from Ancient Times to the New Reform Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Timothy Hildebrandt, *Social Organizations and the Authoritarian State in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, *Rightful Resistance in Rural China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Ching Kwan Lee, *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007)
- Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "The Civil Society and Public Sphere Debate: Western Reflections on Chinese Political Culture," *Modern China*, 19/2 (April 1993), 108-38.

Week 8: Public Opinion

Thursday, May 22, 2014

- Teresa Wright, *Accepting Authoritarianism: State-Society Relations in China's Reform Era* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010).
- Martin King Whyte, *Myth of the Social Volcano: Perceptions of Inequality and Distributive Injustice in Contemporary China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010), pages to be announced
- Melanie Manion, "A Survey of Survey Research on Chinese Politics: What Have We Learned?," in Allen Carlson, et al. (eds.), *Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods, and Field Strategies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 181-99

Further reading

- Kellee S. Tsai, *Capitalism without Democracy: The Private Sector in Contemporary China* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007).
- Bruce J. Dickson, *Wealth into Power: The Communist Party's Embrace of China's Private Sector* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Wenfang Tang, *Public Opinion and Political Change in China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005).
- Jie Chen, *Popular Political Support in Urban China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

Week 9: Law and Politics

Thursday, May 29, 2014

- Rachel E. Stern, *Environmental Litigation in China: A Study in Political Ambivalence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- Randall Peerenboom, *China's Long March toward Rule of Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pages to be announced
- Ethan Michelson "The Practice of Law as an Obstacle to Justice: Chinese Lawyers at Work" *Law and Society Review* 40/1 (2006): 1-38.
- Jonathan Kinkel and William Hurst, "Access to Justice in Post-Mao China: Assessing the Politics of Criminal and Administrative Law," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 11/3 (2011): 467-499.

Further reading

- Stanley B. Lubman, *Bird in a Cage: Legal Reform in China after Mao* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
- Benjamin L. Read and Ethan Michelson, "Mediating the Mediation Debate: Conflict Resolution and the Local State in China," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 52/5 (October 2008), 737-64.

Week 10: Public Policy

Thursday, June 5, 2014

- Mark W. Frazier, *Socialist Insecurity: Pensions and the Politics of Uneven Development in China* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010).
- Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, "Incorporating the Peasantry into the System of Social Security: The Paternalistic State and Good Governance at the Local Level"
- Sebastian Heilmann, "Policy-Making through Experimentation: The Formation of a Distinctive Policy Process," in Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth J. Perry (eds.), *Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 62-101.
- Shaoguang Wang, "Changing Models of China's Policy Agenda Setting," *Modern China*, 34/1 (2008), 56-87.

Further reading

- Andrew C. Mertha, *China's Water Warriors: Citizen Action and Policy Change* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).
- Susan Greenhalgh, *Just One Child: Science and Policy in Deng's China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).
- Shaoguang Wang, "Regulating Death at Coal Mines: Changing Mode of Governance in China," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 15/46 (2006), 1-30.