

## International Relation and Political Sciences (IRPS)

Academic year 2019 - 2020

## Political Economy of Contemporary China

RI-SP075- Spring- 6 ECTS

### Course Description

China has achieved phenomenal economic success as a one-party authoritarian state since the reform era. This course investigates the process and consequences of economic reforms after 1978, as well as major challenges that the regime has been dealing with. What was the role of the central government in achieving such high levels of economic growth? How did decentralization affect the principal-agent relationships between the central and local state authorities? What were the incentives of government officials at the local level in pursuing regional economic growth and providing public goods? Why were some regions more successful than others? Finally, this course will address how the state has been dealing with the most significant political and social problems, such as social protests, income inequality, and environmental pollution.

### > PROFESSOR

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### > ASSISTANT

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## Syllabus

### Requirements :

- **Class participation (20%).** All students are expected to complete the reading assignments before the class and to actively participate in class discussion. If you miss more than two classes, other than documented emergencies, you will automatically receive zero for class participation.
- **Book review (20%).** Each student will be paired with another student to read a book and write a book review. The review should discuss the author's main arguments and supporting evidence as well as implications for understanding the theme of the week. Students will be asked to make a short presentation on the book during class. 4 pages max.

- **Response paper (20%).** Student will be asked to write a response paper, presenting a critical evaluation of a required reading(s). The response paper should discuss the assigned work in the context of the week's other readings. 4 pages max.
  - Students will be asked to choose one week from Part 2 and Part 3 of this course to write the book review and response paper at the start of session 2.
- **Final exam (40%).** There will be an in-class final exam on, covering assigned readings and lectures.

### **Paper Policy :**

All of the assignments should be submitted electronically to the Moodle class site by the beginning of the class. No late work will be accepted without prior written agreement. It is your responsibility to ensure that your computer and internet work properly and submit the assignments on time.

### **Academic Integrity :**

Any act of academic dishonesty including plagiarism and resubmission of one's own work used in other classes will result in a failing grade. For further information, please refer to "*Institute's Internal Guidelines Governing Citation of Sources and Plagiarism.*" Students are expected to read and understand the guideline before submission of any assignment.

### **Office Hours :**

To meet with Prof. Rho, students are asked to sign up for a 15-minute slot online. The time slots will be posted on <https://wejoinin.com/sungmin.rho@graduateinstitute.ch> every Monday. Please do not sign up for more than one slot at a time. If you need more than 15 minutes, please email Prof. Rho.

## **Weekly Session Schedules (SUBJECT TO CHANGE)**

### Part 1 : China under the Planned Economy

#### Session 1 (02/21) Introduction

- Lieberthal, K., 1995. *Governing China: From revolution through reform* (p. 356). New York: WW Norton, pp. 59-83
- Naughton, B., 2007. *The Chinese economy: Transitions and growth*. MIT press, pp.55-84

#### Supplementary

- Chen village, pp.1-73
- To live (1994)
- Joseph, William A., ed. 2014. *Politics in China: an introduction*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 1
- China: A Century of Revolution 1949-1976 Part 2 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GgpKv-xXqf8>)

#### Session 2. (02/28) Legacies of the Mao era

- China: A Century of Revolution 1976-1994 Part 3 (first 54 minutes) (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IZLYKnQ8c4Q>)

- Oi, J.C., 1985. Communism and clientelism: rural politics in China. *World Politics*, 37(02), pp.238-266.
- "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China" Beijing Review, Vol. 24, No. 27 (July 6, 1981)

#### Supplementary

- Chen village, pp.74-168
- Chang, J., 2008. *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China*. Simon and Schuster.
- Heng, L., Shapiro, J., Liang, H. and Heng, L., 1984. *Son of the Revolution*. New York: Vintage.
- Walder, A., 2015. *China under Mao*. Harvard University Press.

### Part 2 : Political Economy of Reform

#### Session 3. (03/06) Introduction of Market

- Baum, R., 1996. *Burying Mao: Chinese politics in the age of Deng Xiaoping*. Princeton University Press, pp.27-47
- Oi, Jean C. 1990. "The Fate of the Collective after the Commune." In Deborah Davis and Ezra Vogel, eds., *Chinese Society on the Eve of Tiananmen: The Impact of Reform* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Contemporary China Series), pp.15-36
- McMillan, J. and Naughton, B., 1992. How to reform a planned economy: lessons from China. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 8(1), pp.130-143.

#### Supplementary

- Naughton, B., 1996. *Growing out of the plan: Chinese economic reform, 1978-1993*. Cambridge university press.
- Fewsmith, J., 1994. *Dilemmas of reform in China: Political conflict and economic debate*. ME Sharpe.
- Vogel, E.F., 2011. *Deng Xiaoping and the transformation of China*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

#### Session 4. (03/13) Decentralization and Economic Growth

- Oi, J.C., 1999. *Rural China takes off: Institutional foundations of economic reform*. Univ of California Press, Chapters 1-2
- Montinola, G., Qian, Y. and Weingast, B.R., 1995. Federalism, Chinese style: the political basis for economic success in China. *World politics*, 48(01), pp.50-81.
- Cai, H. and Treisman, D., 2006. Did government decentralization cause China's economic miracle?. *World Politics*, 58(04), pp.505-535.

#### Supplementary

- Whiting, S.H., 2006. *Power and wealth in rural China: the political economy of institutional change*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chung, J.H., 2000. *Central Control and Local Discretion in China: Leadership and Implementation during Post-Mao Decollectivization*. Oxford University Press.
- Ang, Y.Y., 2016. *How China Escaped the Poverty Trap*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

#### Session 5. (03/20) The Party State and Economic Reform

- Joseph, William A., ed. 2014. *Politics in China: an introduction*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 6.
- Edin, M., 2003. State capacity and local agent control in China: CCP cadre management from a township perspective. *The China Quarterly*, 173, pp.35-52.

- Solnick, S.L., 1996. The breakdown of hierarchies in the Soviet Union and China: a neoinstitutional perspective. *World Politics*, 48(2), pp.209-238.

#### Supplementary

- Shirk, S.L., 1993. *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China* (Vol. 24). Univ of California Press.
- Oi, J.C., 1999. *Rural China takes off: Institutional foundations of economic reform*. Univ of California Press, Chapters 4-6
- Huang, Y., 1999. *Inflation and investment controls in China: The political economy of central-local relations during the reform era*. Cambridge University Press.
- Landry, P.F., 2008. Decentralized authoritarianism in China. *New York: Cambridge University Press*
- Saich, T., 2010. Governance and politics of China. Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 5.

#### Session 6. (03/27) Private Property Rights

- Dickson, B.J., 2007. Integrating wealth and power in China: The Communist Party's embrace of the private sector. *The China Quarterly*, 192, pp.827-854.
- Gregory, N.F., Tenev, S. and Wagle, D.M., 2000. China's emerging private enterprises: Prospects for the new century. World Bank Publications, pp,1-34
- Tsai, K.S., 2006. Adaptive informal institutions and endogenous institutional change in China. *World Politics*, 59(01), pp.116-141.

#### Supplementary

- Pearson, M.M., 1997. *China's new business elite: The political consequences of economic reform*. Univ of California Press.
- Tsai, K.S., 2007. *Capitalism without democracy: The private sector in contemporary China*. Cornell University Press.
- Kennedy, S., 2009. *The business of lobbying in China*. Harvard University Press
- Chen, J. and Dickson, B.J., 2010. *Allies of the state: China's private entrepreneurs and democratic change*. Harvard University Press.

#### Session 7. (04/03) Opening Up and SOE reform

- Gallagher, M.E., 2002. "Reform and Openness": Why China's Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy. *World Politics*, 54(03), pp.338-372.
- Ding, X.L., 2000. The illicit asset stripping of Chinese state firms. *The China Journal*, pp.1-28.
- Giles, J., Park, A. and Cai, F., 2006. How has economic restructuring affected China's urban workers?. *The China Quarterly*, 185, pp.61-95.
- Chen, F., 2006. Privatization and its discontents in Chinese factories. *The China Quarterly*, 185, pp.42-60.

#### Supplementary

- Pearson, M.M., 1992. *Joint ventures in the People's Republic of China: The control of foreign direct investment under socialism*. Princeton University Press.
- Steinfeld, E.S., 2000. *Forging reform in China: The fate of state-owned industry*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sheng, Y., 2010. *Economic Openness and Territorial Politics in China*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cai, Y., 2006. *State and laid-off workers in reform China: the silence and collective action of the retrenched*. London: Routledge.
- Gold, T., Hurst, W., Won, J. and Li, Q. eds., 2009. *Laid-Off Workers in a Workers' State: Unemployment with Chinese Characteristics*. Springer.

No class on April 10<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> (Easter Friday and Easter Break)

### Part 3: Reform and its Aftermath

#### Session 8. (04/24) 1989 Tiananmen Incident

- Burying Mao, pp.225-310
- Walder, A.G., 1989. The Political Sociology of the Beijing Uprising of 1989. *Problems of Communism*, 38(5), pp.30-40.
- Jacobs, A. 2014. "Q & A: Chen Guang on the Soldiers Who Retook Tiananmen Square," *New York Times*

#### Supplementary

- Carma Hinton, Gate of Heavenly Peace (<https://vimeopro.com/graduateinstitutelibrary/political-economy-of-contemporary-china>)
- Zhao, D., 2004. *The power of Tiananmen: State-society relations and the 1989 Beijing student movement*. University of Chicago Press.
- Zhao, S., 1998. A state-led nationalism: The patriotic education campaign in post-Tiananmen China. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 31(3), pp.287-302.
- Fewsmith, J., 2001. *China since Tiananmen: The politics of transition*. Cambridge University Press.

No class on May 1<sup>st</sup> (Labor Day)

#### Session 9. (05/08) Rural Governance

- Oi, J.C. and Shukai, Z., 2007. "Fiscal Crisis in China's Townships: Causes and Consequences", in Perry, Elizabeth and Merle Goldman. *Grassroots Political Reform in Contemporary China*, pp.75-96
- Manion, M., 1996. The electoral connection in the Chinese countryside. *American Political Science Review*, 90(04), pp.736-748.
- Tsai, L.L., 2007. Solidary groups, informal accountability, and local public goods provision in rural China. *American Political Science Review*, 101(02), pp.355-372.

#### Supplementary

- Bernstein, T.P. and Lü, X., 2003. *Taxation without representation in contemporary rural China* (Vol. 37). Cambridge University Press.
- Cho, Young Nam. 2008. *Local People's Congresses in China: Development and Transition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lu, J., 2014. *Varieties of governance in China: migration and institutional change in Chinese villages*. Oxford University Press.

#### Session 10. (05/15) Urbanization and Migration

- Wang, F.L., 2010. Conflict, resistance and the transformation of the *hukou* system. In *Chinese Society: Change, conflict and resistance*, Routledge, pp.80-100
- Zhan, S., 2011. What determines migrant workers' life chances in contemporary China? Hukou, social exclusion, and the market. *Modern China*, 37(3), pp.243-285.
- Jaros, K.A., 2016. Forging Greater Xi'an: The Political Logic of Metropolitanization. *Modern China*, 42(6), pp.638-673.

Supplementary

- Solinger, D.J., 1999. *Contesting citizenship in urban China: Peasant migrants, the state, and the logic of the market*. Univ of California Press.
- Wang, F.L., 2005. *Organizing through division and exclusion: China's hukou system*. Stanford University Press.
- Chang, L.T., 2009. *Factory girls: From village to city in a changing China*. Random House Digital, Inc..
- Zhang, L., 2001. *Strangers in the city: Reconfigurations of space, power, and social networks within China's floating population*. Stanford University Press.
- Wallace, J., 2014. *Cities and stability: urbanization, redistribution, and regime survival in China*. Oxford University Press.

Session 11. (05/22) Protest and Resistance

- O'brien, K.J., 1996. Rightful resistance. *World Politics*, 49(01), pp.31-55.
- Perry, E., 2010. Popular protest: playing by the rules. In Joseph Fewsmith. eds., *China today, China tomorrow: Domestic politics, economy, and society*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, pp.11-28.
- Lorentzen, P.L., 2013. Regularizing rioting: Permitting public protest in an authoritarian regime. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 8(2), pp.127-158.

Supplementary

- Mertha, A., 2008. *China's water warriors: citizen action and policy change*. Cornell University Press.
- Chen, X., 2012. *Social protest and contentious authoritarianism in China*. Cambridge University Press
- Yang, G., 2009. *The power of the Internet in China: Citizen activism online*. Columbia University Press.
- Fu, D., 2017. *Mobilizing Without the Masses: Control and Contention in China*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gallagher, M.E., 2017. *Authoritarian Legality in China: Law, Workers, and the State*. Cambridge University Press.

Session 12. (05/29) Final Exam