

**University of Toronto  
Department of Political Science**

Pol. 431Y/2416Y  
Politics and Society in Contemporary China

Summer, 2019  
Mr. Falkenheim

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**Course Outline**

This course will explore the dynamics of political change in post-Mao China through an examination of selected systemic challenges and regime responses. The primary focus will be on processes of institutional development and decay as the Party-State regime evolves from hard to soft authoritarianism. A secondary theme will deal with evolving state-society relations, exploring the regime's efforts to manage an increasingly diverse and restive society. An important goal of the course will be to introduce students to the major scholarly debates within the contemporary China studies field, as well as to the primary and secondary materials available for empirical research on these questions.

**Course Format and Requirements**

The course will be organized as a colloquium/seminar centred on each class readings. Responsibility for summarizing and critiquing the readings will be rotated among seminar participants. Grades will be based on the following:

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|---|------|
| (1) Participation:                          | 20%; |
| (2) 5 reading summary/critiques (2-3 pages) | 50%  |
| (3) Biographic Exercise 3-5 pages,          | 30%  |

**Readings: Posted on Quercus by topic and date.**

**Topics and Readings:**

May 6

**Course Introduction/Historical Overview**

1. Randall Peerenboom, China Modernizes: Threat to the West or Model for the Rest?, Oxford, 2007, Chapter 1.

May 7

## **Problematics, Paradigms, and Hunches: Pekingology Revisited**

2. Joseph Fewsmith, "The Changing Methodology of Beijingology."
3. Alice Miller, 'Valedictory', China Leadership Monitor, # 57
4. Kevin O'Brien, "Studying Chinese Politics in an Age of Specialization," Journal of Contemporary China, September, 2011.
5. Scott Kennedy, "Overcoming our Middle Kingdom Complex: Finding China's Place in Comparative Politics," in Scott Kennedy, Ed. Beyond the Middle Kingdom, Stanford, 2011.
6. Kevin O'Brien, "Speaking to Theory and Speaking to the China Field," Issues and Studies, December, 2018.
7. Vivienne Shue and Patricia Thornton, To Govern China, Introduction/Chapter 1.
8. William Overholt, China's Crisis of Success, Chapter 1.

May 8.

## **China: 'Resilient Authoritarianism' or "Trapped Transition"?**

1. Bruce Gilley, "Should We Try to Predict Transitions to Democracy? Lessons for China," (2005)
2. Minxin Pei, "Is China's Transition Trapped and What should the West do about it?" Centre for Social and Legal Studies, University of Oxford, 2007/
3. Elizabeth Perry, "Studying Chinese Politics: Farewell to Revolution," The China Journal, January, 2007
4. Andrew Nathan, "Authoritarian Impermanence," Journal of Democracy, 2009.
5. Vivienne Shue and Patricia Thornton, To Govern China, Introduction.

May 9

## **Chinese Perspectives on Systemic Challenges**

1. David Shambaugh, "Learning from Abroad to Reinvent Itself: External Influences on Internal CCP Reforms," in Cheng Li, Editor, China's Changing Political Landscape: Prospects for Democracy, pp.283-301.
2. Bruce Gilley and Heike Holbig, "The Debate on Party Legitimacy in China: A mixed quantitative/qualitative analysis," Journal of Contemporary China, March, 2009.

May 13

## **Change as Process: Three Models**

1. Yu Keping, "Ideological Change in and Incremental Democracy in Reform Era China," in Cheng Li, Ed. China's Changing Political Landscape, pp. 44-57.
2. Kellee S. Tsai, Capitalism Without Democracy, Chapters 2&7, (pp. 17-43; 200-221)
3. George Gilboy and Benjamin Read, "Political and Social Reform in China: Alive and Walking," Washington Quarterly, 2008.
4. Andrew Mertha, "Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0," China Quarterly, 2007.

May 14

### **Village Democracy**

1. Daniel Kelliher, "The Chinese Debate over Village Self-Government," The China Journal, January, 1997.
2. Tianjian Shi, "Insitutionalist Tactics for Democracy," World Politics, 1999.
3. Lianjiang Li, "The Empowering Effect of Village Elections in China," Asian Survey, 2003.

May 15

### **Can the Party Reinvent itself?**

1. Bruce Dickson, "Integrating Wealth and Power in China: The Communist Party's Embrace of the Private Sector," China Quarterly, no. 192 (December, 2007).
2. Stig Thorgersen, "Parasites or Civilisers: The Legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party in Rural Areas," China: An International Journal, September, 2003, pp.200-223
3. Andrew G. Walder, "The Party Elite and China's Trajectory of Change," China: An International Journal, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2004)
4. Patricia Thornton, "The New Life of the Party," The China Journal, 2012.

May 16

### **Ideology and Legitimacy: Restoring Orthodoxy?**

1. Feng Chen, "Rebuilding the Party's Normative Authority: China's Socialist Spiritual Civilization Campaign," Problems of Post-Communism, Nov.-Dec., 1998.
2. Anne-Marie Brady and Wang Juntao, "China's Strengthened New Order," Journal of Contemporary China, 2009,
3. Daniel Bell, "From Marx to Confucius: Changing Discourse on China's Political Future," Dissent, 2009.
4. "Internet Commentator"

5. Central Document # 9 (2013)
6. TBA (XJP Thought...)

May 20.

No Class: Victoria Day

May 21

### **Managing Protest**

1. Murray Scot Tanner, "Cracks in the Wall: China's Eroding Coercive State," Current History, September, 2001.(PDF)
2. Jianying Zha, "Enemy of the State," The New Yorker, April 23, 2007.
3. Teresa Wright, "The Chinese Democratic Party and the Politics of Protest in the 1980s-1990s," China Quarterly, No. 172 (December, 2002).
4. James Tong, "Anatomy of Regime Repression in China," Asian Survey, November-December, 2002.
5. TBA (New Technologies of Repression, Uighur Repression Case)

May 22

### **Making Law Work**

1. Randall Perenboom, China's Long March to the Rule of Law, preface, PP. 1-23; 558-589.
2. Guo Luoji, "How I sued the Chinese Communist Party," 1993.
3. Pan Wei, "Towards a Consultative Rule of Law Regime in China."
4. Hualing Fu and Richard Cullen, "Weiquan Lawyering in an Authoritarian State," China Journal, 2008
5. TBA (Readings on July 9 2015)

May 23

### **Elite Conflict and Institutionalization**

1. Susan Shirk, (The Political Logic of Economic Reform (1993), Chapter 4 ("Leadership Incentives."))
2. David Shambaugh, "The Dynamics of Elite Politics During the Jiang Era," China Journal, January, 2001.
3. Richard Daniel Ewing, "Hu Jintao: The Making of a Chinese General Secretary," China Quarterly, March 2002.
4. Cheng Li, "The Battle for China's Top Nine Leadership Posts," Washington Quarterly, 2012.

May 27

### **The 19<sup>th</sup> CCP Congress: Predictions, Outcomes, Consequences.**

1. Evan Osnos, "Born Red," The New Yorker, April 6, 2015
2. Susan Shirk, "Return to Personalistic Leadership," Journal of Democracy, 2016.
3. Elizabeth Economy, China's Third Revolution, Chapter 1.
4. TBA (Constitutional Change: 2-term limit eliminated, etc.)

May 28

### **Bio Presentations**

May 29

### **Civil Society and Political Change**

1. Omar Encarnacion, "Civil Society Reconsidered," Comparative Politics, April, 2006.\*
2. Ian Johnson, "The Death and Life of China's Civil Society," Perspectives, September. 2003.\*
3. Tony Saich, "Negotiating the State," China Quarterly, 2002.\*
4. "China From the Inside" (Video, 2007)
5. TBA (Crackdown)

May 30

### **Combating Corruption**

1. Chengze Simon Fan and Herschel I. Grossman, "Incentives and Corruption in Chinese Economic Reform" Journal of Policy Reform, 4 (3), 2001.\*
2. Minxin Pei, "Will China Become Another Indonesia?" Foreign Policy, Fall, 1999.
3. Andrew Wedeman, "Stealing from the Farmers: Institutional Corruption and the 1992 IOU Crisis," China Quarterly, December, 2005
4. TBA (XJP Anti Corruption Drive)

June 3

### **Decentralization, Development and Predation**

1. Tony Saich, "Citizens' Perceptions of Governance in Rural and Urban China," Journal of Chinese Political Science, 2007.
2. Sally Sargeson and Jian Zhang, "Reassessing the Role of the Local State: A Case Study of Local Government Interventions in Property Rights Reform in a Hangzhou District," The China Journal, July, 1999.
3. Graeme Smith, "Political Machinations in a Rural County," China Journal, 2009.

June 4.

### **China's Rising Middle Class: Force for Change?**

1. Andrew Nathan, "The Puzzle of China's Middle Class," Journal of Democracy, 2017
2. Luigi Tomba, "Creating an Urban Middle Class: Social Engineering in Beijing," The China Journal, January, 2004.
3. Benjamin L. Read, "Inadvertent Political Reform via Private Associations: Assessing Homeowners' Groups in New Neighborhoods," in Perry and Goldman, Grassroots Political Reform in Contemporary China, Harvard, 2007.

June 5

### **Media and Political Change**

1. Ashley Esarey, "Cornering the Market: State Strategies for Controlling China's Commercial Media," Asian Perspectives, 2005.
2. Rebecca MacKinnon, "Networked Authoritarianism in China and Beyond," Journal of Democracy, 2010.
3. Philip Pan, Out of Mao's Shadow, Chapter 9.
4. Jonathan Hassid, China's Unruly Journalists, Chapter 1.
5. TBA (Social Credit System)

June 6

### **Public Opinion and Value Change in China**

1. Tianjian Shi, "Mass Political Behavior in Beijing," in Goldman and MacFarquhar, Paradox of China's Post Mao Reforms.
2. Tianjian Shi, "China: Democratic Values Supporting an Authoritarian System," in Chu, et. al., How East Asians View Democracy, 2008.

June 11

### **China's Political Economy at the Crossroad**

1. Arthur Kroeber, "Developmental Dreams" in Kennedy Ch 3.
2. Daniel Lynch, China's Futures, Chapter 3.
3. TBA

June 12

### **Chinese Foreign Policy**

- 1 Daniel Lynch, China's Futures, Chapter 4.
- 2 Ian Johnson, "Will China become Supreme?" NYRB,
- 3 Graham Allison, "Destined for War," 2015
- 4 Frank Pieke, Knowing China, Chapter 6

June 13

### **China's Periphery**

- 1 Nathan and Scobell, China's Search for Security, Chapter

- 2 Dru Gladney, Deconstructing China, Chapter 2.
- 3 TBA

June 14

### **China's Future**

- 1 William Overholt, China's Crisis of Success, Conclusion.