

**University of Washington**  
**Department of Political Science/Jackson School of International Studies**  
**Government and Politics of China, POL S 442/JSISa 408**  
**Autumn 2017**  
**211 Smith Hall, TTh 1:30-3:20pm**  
**Professor Susan Whiting**  
**147 Gowen Hall, 543-9163, [swhiting@uw.edu](mailto:swhiting@uw.edu)**

### **Course Description**

China is now the world's second largest economy and a growing global power; at the same time, it faces considerable governance challenges. This upper-division course provides an in-depth analysis of the political history, institutions, and governance issues facing China. It highlights several major themes from the twentieth century to the present: the role of nationalism, the changing place of markets and private property, and the shifting penetration of the state from the center to the grassroots. The first part of the course addresses China's modern political history and provides an essential foundation for subsequent topics. It addresses the collapse of imperial China in social and ideological terms, the formation of political parties, revolutionary change, state-building, the planned economy, and the re-introduction of markets. The second part of the course focuses on the political institutions that govern China today, including the organization of the party-state, how the state controls its own agents, how it uses elections, and how it attempts to control civil society and the media. The final part of the course uses the foundations of political history and political institutions to analyze crucial issues facing China today, including labor and environmental conditions, inequality and social welfare, minority rights, contemporary nationalism, and relations with Taiwan and Hong Kong.

### **Course Requirements**

The first requirement of the course is participation. The more actively you participate, the more you learn. Successful participation is based on completion of all readings, assignments, quizzes, and in-class activities, including the in-class debate on Tuesday, November 21<sup>st</sup>. All forms of participation together constitute 25% of the final grade.

Second, students will take an in-class midterm exam (25%) on Thursday, October 26<sup>th</sup> and an online final exam (25%) on Friday, December 15<sup>th</sup>. The final exam allows you to integrate what you learned in the first two sections of the course on political history and institutions and apply it to analyzing China's contemporary governance challenges.

Third, a term paper—not to exceed 10 double-spaced pages—is required (25%). The term paper is an opportunity to explore a facet of governance in greater depth and to develop an argument based on evidence. Paper topics will be introduced on Thursday, November 2<sup>nd</sup>. A preliminary bibliography with two scholarly, peer-reviewed sources is due on Tuesday, November 7<sup>th</sup>. An annotation of one scholarly, peer-reviewed source from your bibliography is due on Thursday, November 9<sup>th</sup>. A draft introduction with thesis statement is due on Thursday, November 30<sup>th</sup>. The term paper itself is due on Monday, December 11<sup>th</sup>. All submissions will be through Canvas. Unexcused late papers will be marked down 0.1 point per day.

### **Course Materials**

Assigned reading selections are available on Canvas. Journal articles marked “full text online” are available in the UW Library E-Journals collection.

### **Office Hours**

Wednesdays and Thursdays 11:00am-12:00noon and by appointment in 147 Gowen Hall.

### **Additional Course Information**

The Department of Political Science recognizes and affirms the University of Washington's mission to “value and honor diverse experiences and perspectives, strive to create welcoming and respectful learning environments, and promote access, opportunity and justice for all.” We expect every member of this community to contribute toward cultivating an inclusive and respectful culture throughout our classrooms, work environments, and campus events.

If you would like to request academic accommodations due to a disability, please contact Disability Resources for Students, 011 Mary Gates Hall (<http://depts.washington.edu/uwdrs> ). If you have a letter from DRS indicating you have a disability that requires academic accommodations, please present the letter to me so that we can discuss the accommodations you may need for class.

## Schedule of Classes

### WEEK ONE

#### **Part I: Political and Institutional History**

Thursday, September 28, 2017

#### 1. Introduction

### WEEK TWO

Tuesday, October 3, 2017

#### 2. Ideology and Political Parties

Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *China in the 21st Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), Chp.1, pp.1-16 only. Canvas.

Lucien Bianco, *Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), Chp.6 "Nationalism and Revolution," pp.140-166. Canvas.

Zheng Wang, "National Humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory: Patriotic Education Campaign in China," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 52, No. 4 (December 2008), "Patriotic Education Campaign," pp.788-792 only. Canvas.

For reference:

Daniel Little, "Re-reading Chalmers Johnson," *China Beat* (December 2, 2010), <http://www.thechinabeat.org/?p=2950> .

Thursday, October 5, 2017

#### 3. Revolution

Elizabeth J. Perry, *Rebels and Revolutionaries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), "Introduction," pp. 1-9; "Strategies of Survival," skim; "The Communist Movement," 208-247. Canvas.

### WEEK THREE

Tuesday, October 10, 2017

#### 4. State-led Development: The Planned Economy and the Great Leap Forward

Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007), pp. 56-62 only. Canvas.

Barry Naughton, "Danwei: The Economic Foundations of a Unique Institution," in Xiaobo Lü and Elizabeth J. Perry, eds., *Danwei: The Changing Chinese Workplace in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 169-182 only. Canvas.

Thursday, October 12, 2017

#### 5. State-led Development (Continued); Elite and Mass Political Conflict in the Cultural Revolution

Anita Chan, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger, *Chen Village under Mao and Deng* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 13-40 and 74-97 (top) only. Canvas.

Tang Tsou, "The Cultural Revolution and the Chinese Political System," *China Quarterly*, No. 38 (Apr. - Jun., 1969), pp. 63-73 only. Full-text online.

### WEEK FOUR

Tuesday, October 17, 2017

#### 6. Political Economy of Development: The Reform Impulse

Joseph Fewsmith, "The Emergence of Rural Reform," in *Dilemmas of Reform in China* (M.E. Sharpe, 1994), pp. 19-34, 41-49 only. Canvas.

Ray Yep, "Containing Land Grabs: A Misguided Response to Rural Conflicts over Land," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 22, No. 80 (2013), pp. 273-291. Full-text online.

**Thursday, October 19, 2017**

**7. Political Economy of Development: Gradual Reform**

John McMillan Barry Naughton, "How to Reform a Planned Economy," in Ross Garnaut and Yiping Huang eds., *Growth Without Miracles* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 459-. Canvas.

Susan H. Whiting, "The Cadre Evaluation System at the Grassroots: The Paradox of Party Rule," in Dali Yang and Barry Naughton, eds., *Holding China Together* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp. 101-119. Canvas.

**WEEK FIVE**

**Tuesday, October 24, 2017**

**8. Institutions: Party-State Apparatus**

Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform* (New York: Norton, 2003), pp.155-218. Canvas.

Richard McGregor, *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers* (New York: Harper, 2010), pp. 1-33. Canvas.

**PART II: Institutions**

**Thursday, October 26, 2017**

**9. IN-CLASS MIDTERM EXAM**

**WEEK SIX**

**Tuesday, October 31, 2017**

**10. Institutions: State Capacity and Central-Local Fiscal Relations**

Minxin Pei, "China's Governance Crisis," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 81 (September-April 2002), pp. 96-109. Full text online.

Dali Yang, "State Capacity on the Rebound," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.14, No. 1 (January 2003), 43-50. Full text online.

Dali Yang, "Dirty Deeds: Will Corruption Doom China?" *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2017), pp. 149-153. Full text online.

For further reference:

Arthur Kroeber, "Changing the Growth Model," in *China's Economy: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016) pp.210-232. Canvas.

**Thursday, November 2, 2017**

**INTRODUCTION OF PAPER TOPICS**

**11. Institutions: Authoritarian Resilience**

Andrew Nathan, "Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 14, No. 1 (January 2003), pp. 6-17. Full text online.

Li Cheng, "The End of the CCP's Resilient Authoritarianism? A Tripartite Assessment of Shifting Power in China," *China Quarterly* Vol. 211 (September 2012), pp. 595-623. Full text online.

For further reference:

Bruce Dickson, "Who Wants to Be a Communist? Career Incentives and Mobilized Loyalty in Contemporary China," *China Quarterly*, No. 217 (March 2014), pp. 42-68.

**WEEK SEVEN**

**Tuesday, November 7, 2017**

**PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE**

**12. Institutions: Local Elections**

Kevin J. O'Brien and Rongbin Han, "Path to Democracy? Assessing Village Elections in China," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 18, No. 60 (June 2009), pp. 359-378. Full text online.

Jie Chen and Yang Zhong, "Why do People Vote in Semicompetitive Elections in China?" *The Journal of Politics* Vol. 64, No. 1 (February 2002), pp. 178-197. Full text online.

For further reference:

Xiaopeng Pang, Junxia Zeng and Scott Rozelle, "Does Women's Knowledge of Voting Rights Affect their Voting Behaviour in Village Elections? Evidence from a Randomized Controlled Trial in China." *China Quarterly*, No. 213 (2013), pp 39-59. Full text online.

**Thursday, November 9, 2017**

**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE**

**13. Institutions: Governing Civil Society**

Shui-Yan Tang and Xueyong Zhan, "Civic Environmental NGOs, Civil Society, and Democratisation in China," *Journal of Development Studies* Vol. 44, No. 3 (March 2008), pp. 425-448. Full text online.

Florian Butollo and Tobias ten Brink, "Challenging the Atomization of Discontent," *Critical Asian Studies* Vol. 44, No. 3 (2012), pp. 419-440. Full text online.

For further reference:

Yanfei Sun and Dingxin Zhao, "Environmental Campaigns," in Kevin J. O'Brien, ed., *Popular Protest in China* (Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 144-163. Canvas.

Elizabeth J. Perry, "Casting a Chinese 'Democracy' Movement: The Roles of Students, Workers, and Entrepreneurs," in Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom and Elizabeth J. Perry, eds., *Popular Protest and Political Culture in Modern China* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), pp. 74-92. Canvas.

**WEEK EIGHT**

**Tuesday, November 14, 2017**

**14. Institutions: Controlling the Media**

Jeremy Goldkorn, "Behind the Great Firewall," in Geremie R. Barmé, ed., *Red Rising Red Eclipse* (Canberra: Australian Centre for China in the World, 2012)  
[http://www.thechinastory.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/ChinaStory2012\\_ch07.pdf](http://www.thechinastory.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/ChinaStory2012_ch07.pdf) Full text online.

Gary King, Jennifer Pan, Margaret E. Roberts, "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression," *American Political Science Review* Vol. No. (May 2013), pp. 1-18. Full-text online.

For further reference:

Rogier Creemers, "Cyber China: Upgrading Propaganda, Public Opinion Work and Social Management for the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 26, No. 103 (2017), pp.85-100.

Han, R. (2015). Defending the Authoritarian Regime Online: China's "Voluntary Fifty-cent Army," *China Quarterly*, Vol. 224, pp. 1006-1025.

Xiao Qiang, "The Rise of Online Public Opinion and Its Political Impact," in Susan Shirk, ed., *Changing Media Changing China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 202-224. Canvas.

James Leibold, "Blogging Alone: China, the Internet and the Democratic Illusion?" *Journal of Asian Studies* (2011), pp. 1-19. Full text online.

**PART III: Governance Issues**

**Thursday, November 16, 2017**

**15. Labor Conditions**

Pun Ngai, "Global Production, Company codes of Conduct, and Labor Conditions in China: A Case Study of Two Factories," *The China Journal* No. 54 (July 2005), pp. 101-113. Full text online.

Eli Friedman and Ching Kwan Lee, *British Journal of Industrial Relations* Vol. 48, No. 3 (September 2010), pp.507-533. Full text online.

For further reading:

Ching Kwan Lee, "The Making of New Labor," *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 157-203.

**WEEK NINE****Tuesday, November 21, 2017****16. Environmental Conditions****IN-CLASS DEBATE: DEBATE PREPARATION WORKSHEET DUE**

Elizabeth Economy, "Environmental Governance in China: State Control to Crisis Management," *Daedalus* Vol. 143, No. 2 (Spring 2014), pp. 184-194. Full text online.

Arthur P. J. Mol and Neil T. Carter, "China's Environmental Governance in Transition," *Environmental Politics* Vol. 15, No. 2 (April 2006), pp. 149-170. Full text online.

**Thursday, November 23, 2017****Thanksgiving Holiday****WEEK TEN****Thursday, November 28, 2017****17. Inequality and Social Welfare**

Martin King Whyte and Dong-Kyun Im, "Is the Social Volcano Still Dormant? Trends in Chinese Attitudes toward Inequality," *Social Science Research* Vol 48 (2014), pp. 62-76. Full text online.

William C. Hsiao, "Correcting Past Health Policy Mistakes," *Daedalus* Vol. 143, No. 2 (2014), pp. 53-68. Full text online.

Niny Khor, Scott Rozelle, et al., "China's Looming Human Capital Crisis," *China Quarterly* Vol. 228 (2016), 905-926. Full text online.

**Thursday, November 30, 2017****DRAFT INTRODUCTION OF FINAL PAPER DUE****18. Religious and Ethnic Minorities**

Richard Madsen, "The Upsurge of Religion in China," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 21, No. 4 (April 2010), pp. 58-70. Full text online.

Carsten T. Vala and Kevin J. O'Brien, "Recruitment to Protestant House Churches in Kevin J. O'Brien, ed., *Popular Protest in China* (Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 108-. Canvas.

Dru Gladney, "Islam in China: State Policing and Identity Politics," in Yoshiko Ashiwa and David Wank, eds., *Making Religion, Making the State* (Stanford University Press, 2009), pp. 151-178. Canvas.

For further reference:

Ashild Kolas and Monika P. Thowsen, *On the Margins of Tibet: Cultural Survival on the Sino-Tibetan Frontier* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).

Gardner Bovingdon, "Heteronomy and Its Discontents: 'Minzu Regional Autonomy' in Xinjiang," Chapter 4 in Morris Rossabi, ed. *Studies on Ethnic Groups in China : Governing China's Multiethnic Frontiers* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014).

**WEEK ELEVEN****Tuesday, December 5, 2017****19. Nationalism and International Relations**

Yinan He, "History, Chinese Nationalism, and the Emerging Sino-Japanese Conflict," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 16, No. 50 (February 2007), pp. 1-24. Full text online.

Jessica Chen Weiss, "Autocratic Signaling, Mass Audiences, and National Protest in China," *International Organization* Vol. 67, No. 1 (January 2013), pp. 1-35. Full text online.

Jackson Woods and Bruce Dickson, "Victims and Patriots: Disaggregating Nationalism in Urban China," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 26, No. 104 (2017), pp. 167-182

For further reference:

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Is Chinese Nationalism Rising?" *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Winter 2016/17), pp. 7-43,

**Thursday, December 7, 2017**

**20. Political and Economic Development in Taiwan and Hong Kong**

Yun-han Chu and Jih-wen Lin, "Political Development in 20th-Century Taiwan: State-Building, Regime Transformation and the Construction of National Identity," *China Quarterly* No. 165 (March 2001), pp. 102-129. Full text online.

Cheng Tun-jen, "Transforming Taiwan's Economic Structure in the 20th Century," *China Quarterly* No. 16 (March 2001), pp. 19-36. Full text online.

Stephan Ortmann, "The Umbrella Movement and Hong Kong's Protracted Democratization Process," *Asian Affairs* Vol. 46, No. 1 (2015), pp. 32-50.

For further reference:

Sebastian Veg, "Creating a Textual Public Space: Slogans and Texts from Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement," *Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 75, No. 3 (August) 2016: 673-702. Full text online.

Sebastian Veg, "The Rise of 'Localism' and Civic Identity in Post-handover Hong Kong: Questioning the Chinese Nation-state," *China Quarterly* (2017), pp.

Samson Yuen, "Hong Kong After the Umbrella Movement: An Uncertain Future for 'One Country Two Systems,'" *China Perspectives* No. 1 (2015).

**FINAL PAPER DUE**

**Monday, December 11, 2017**

**ONLINE FINAL EXAM**

**Friday, December 15, 2017, 2:30-4:30pm**