

University of Washington  
Department of Political Science/Jackson School of International Studies  
Autumn 2021

## ***Government and Politics of China***

POL S 442/JSISa 408

MW 2:30-4:20pm

MEB 238

**Professor Susan Whiting**

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**Office hours:** Tuesdays 2:30-3:30pm, 147 Gowen Hall  
and remote, by appointment

### **Course Description**

China is now the second largest economy in the world and a growing global power; at the same time, it faces considerable governance challenges at home and an increasingly wary international community abroad. This course will help you understand the rise of China. It provides an in-depth analysis of the political history, contemporary institutions, and governance issues facing China today. 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 challenges* facing China today, including labor and environmental conditions, local aspects of trade and technology, inequality and social welfare, minority rights, contemporary nationalism, and newly assertive local identities.

### **Course Requirements**

The first requirement 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 Monday, November 22. All forms of participation together constitute 20% of the final grade.

Second, students will take an in-class midterm exam (25%) on Monday, October 25, and an online final exam (25%) on Tuesday, December 14 at 2:30pm (This is our officially scheduled exam day and time). 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 ten double-spaced pages—is required (30%). 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 Wednesday, November 3. A preliminary bibliography with two scholarly, peer-reviewed sources is due on Wednesday, November 10. An annotation of one scholarly, peer-reviewed source from your bibliography is due on Monday, November 15. A draft introduction with thesis statement is due on Monday, November 29. The term paper itself is due on Monday, December 13. All submissions will be through Canvas. Unexcused late papers will be marked down 0.1 point per day.

### **Course Materials**

Journal articles and E-book chapters available in the UW Library E-Journals collection are marked “full text online.” Additional readings are available through Canvas.

### **Teaching Assistant**

**Tao Lin**, email: [soxvlin@uw.edu](mailto:soxvlin@uw.edu). Tao's office hours:

## **Additional Course Information**

### Diversity Statement

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.

### Disability Resources

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.

### Religious Accommodation

Washington state law requires that UW develop a policy for accommodation of student absences or significant hardship due to reasons of faith or conscience, or for organized religious activities. The UW's policy, including more information about how to request an accommodation, is available at Religious Accommodations Policy. Accommodations must be requested within the first two weeks of this course using the [Religious Accommodations Request](#) form.

### Academic Integrity

Students at the University of Washington (UW) are expected to maintain the highest standards of academic conduct, professional honesty, and personal integrity. Plagiarism, cheating, and other misconduct are violations of the University of Washington Student Conduct Code (WAC 478-120).

### Covid Information

We are all in this together! In class, masks covering nose and mouth are required, and eating and drinking are prohibited. The professor and TA have the authority to cancel class if students do not comply. Non-compliant students may be reported to the Community Standards and Student Conduct office. University personnel verified to be fully vaccinated may temporarily remove their face coverings when formally presenting to or instructing a class or group behind a podium or in a stage-like setting. If you have [symptoms](#), do not come to class, and do get [tested](#). For FAQs about COVID-19 and UW Policy, go [here](#).

## **Schedule of Classes and Readings**

See [Canvas Modules](#) for links to additional (optional) resources, including documentaries, podcasts, etc.

## **WEEK ONE**

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

**Wednesday, September 29, 2021**

#### **1. Introduction**

*No required reading.*

For reference:

Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *China in the 21st Century*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), Chp.1, pp. 1-16. Full text online (E-book).

Tianjian Shi and Jie Lu, "The Shadow of Confucianism," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 21, No. 4 (October 2010), pp. 123-130. Full text online (E-journal).

**WEEK TWO****Monday, October 4, 2021****2. Ideology and Political Parties**

Lucien Bianco, *Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), Chp.6 “Nationalism and Revolution,” pp.140-166, especially p. 140, pp. 148-153, pp. 153-161, and pp. 164-66. Canvas.

**Wednesday, October 6, 2021****3. Revolution**

Elizabeth J. Perry, *Rebels and Revolutionaries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), “Introduction,” pp. 1-9; “Strategies of Survival,” skim; “The Communist Movement,” pp. 208-247, especially 221-230 and 239-247. Canvas.

**WEEK THREE****Monday, October 11, 2021****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.

**Wednesday, October 13, 2021****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. 63-91, especially pp. 63-73. Full-text online.

**WEEK FOUR****Monday, October 18, 2021****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. 19-49, especially 23-32. Canvas.

Susan H. Whiting, “Land Law as a Last Gasp of the Planned Economy,” *China’s Legal Construction Program at 40 Years*, University of Michigan conference, 2019. Canvas.

**Wednesday, October 20, 2021****7. Political Economy of Development: Gradualism vs. Shock Therapy**

John McMillan and Barry Naughton, “How to Reform a Planned Economy,” in Ross Garnaut and Yiping Huang eds., *Growth Without Miracles* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 459-473, especially Part III. Canvas.

Lorand Laskai, “[Why Does Everyone Hate Made in China 2025?](#)” *Council on Foreign Relations*, March 28, 2018. Full text online.

For reference:

Nadege Rolland, “China’s ‘Belt and Road Initiative’: Underwhelming or Game-Changer?” *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 40, No. 1 (2017), pp. 127-142.

**WEEK FIVE****Monday, October 25, 2021****8. In-class Midterm Exam**

**PART II: Institutions****Wednesday, October 27, 2021****9. Institutions: Party-State Apparatus**

Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform* (New York: Norton, 2003), pp.155-218. 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. Full text online (E book).

**WEEK SIX****Monday, November 1, 2021****10. Institutions: State Capacity and Central-Local Fiscal Relations**

Arthur Kroeber, "The Fiscal System and Central-Local Government Relations," in *China's Economy: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016) pp. 111-127. E-book.

Bruce Gilley, "Taxation and Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 26, No. 105 (2017), pp. 452-464. Full text online.

Christine Wong, "Can a Modern System of Governance Work Under Xi?" *Nikkei* October 31, 2015. Canvas.

**Wednesday, November 3, 2021****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.

Joseph Fewsmith and Andrew Nathan, "Authoritarian Resilience Revisited: Joseph Fewsmith with Response from Andrew J. Nathan," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 28, No. 116 (2019), pp. 167-179. Full text online.

**WEEK SEVEN****Monday, November 8, 2021****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 Semi-competitive Elections in China?" *Journal of Politics* Vol. 64, No. 1 (February 2002), pp. 178-197. Full text online.

**Wednesday, November 10, 2021****PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE****13. Institutions: Governing Civil Society**

Xueyong Zhan and Shui-Yan Tang, "Political Opportunities, Resource Constraints and Policy Advocacy of Environmental NGOs in China," *Public Administration* Vol. 91, No. 2 (2013), pp. 381-399. 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.

**WEEK EIGHT****ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ENTRY DUE****Monday, November 15, 2021****14. Institutions: Media**

Xiao Qiang, "The Road to Digital Unfreedom: President Xi's Surveillance State," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 30, No.1 (January 2019), pp. 53-67.

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. 107, No. 2 (May 2013), pp. 1-18. Full text online.

For reference:

Simina Mistreanu, "[Life Inside China's Social Credit Laboratory](#)," *Foreign Policy*, April 3, 2018. Full text online.

Gary King, Jennifer Pan, Margaret E. Roberts, "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 111, No. 3 (2017), pp. 484-501.

**PART III: Governance Issues****Wednesday, November 17, 2021****15. Labor Conditions and Global Value Chains**

Gary Gereffi, "The Organization of Buyer-Driven Global Commodity Chains: How U.S. Retailers Shape Overseas Production Networks," in Gereffi and Korzeniewicz (eds.), *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), pp. 95-101 only. Canvas.

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.

For Reference:

Boy Lüthje & Florian Butollo, "Why the Foxconn Model Does Not Die: Production Networks and Labour Relations in the IT Industry in South China," *Globalizations* Vol. 14, No. 2 (2017), pp. 216-231.

Stefan Schmals, Bradnon Sommer, and Hui Xu, "The Yue Yuen Strike: Industrial Transformation and Labour Unrest in the Pearl River Delta," *Globalizations* Vol. 14, No. 2 (2017), pp. 285-297. Full text online.

Lei Ya-wen, "Delivering Solidarity: Platform Architecture and Collective Contention in China's Platform Economy," *American Sociological Review* 2021, Vol. 86, No. 2, pp. 279-309.

**WEEK NINE****Monday, November 22, 2021****16. Environment Conditions**

Genia Kostka & Chunman Zhang (2018) Tightening the Grip: Environmental Governance under Xi Jinping, *Environmental Politics*, 27:5, 769-781.

For reference:

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.

H. Christoph Steinhardt and Fengshi Wu, "In the Name of the Public: Environmental Protest and the Changing Landscape of Popular Contention in China," *China Journal* No. 75 (January 2016), pp. 61-82, especially 61-69. Full text online.

**Wednesday, November 24, 2021****Term Paper Preparation**

*No class meeting.*

**WEEK TEN****Monday, November 29, 2021****DRAFT INTRODUCTION DUE****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.

Bruce J. Dickson et al., "Public Goods and Regime Support in Urban China," *China Quarterly* Vol. 228 (2016), pp. 862-876 only. Full text online.

For reference:

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

**Wednesday, December 1, 2021****18. Religious and Ethnic Minorities**

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

Adrian Zenz, "'Thoroughly Reforming Them towards a Healthy Heart Attitude': China's Political Reeducation Campaign in Xinjiang," *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2019), pp. 102-128. Full text online.

**WEEK ELEVEN****Monday, December 6, 2021****19. Chinese Nationalism**

Chuyu Liu and Xiao Ma, "Popular Threats and Nationalistic Propaganda: Political Logic of China's Patriotic Campaign," *Security Studies* (July 2018), pp. Full text online.

Jessica Chen Weiss, "How Hawkish Is the Chinese Public? Another Look at 'Rising Nationalism' and Chinese Foreign Policy," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 29, No. 119 (2019), pp. 679-695. Full text online.

For reference:

Yinxian Zhang, Jiajun Liu, and Ji-Rong Wen, "Nationalism on Weibo: Towards a Multifaceted Understanding of Chinese Nationalism," *China Quarterly* No. 235 (September 2018), pp. 758-783.

**Wednesday, December 8, 2021****16. Local Identities**

Sebastian Veg, "The Rise of 'Localism' and Civic Identity in Post-handover Hong Kong: Questioning the Chinese Nation-state," *China Quarterly* No. 230 (2017), pp. 323-347.

**EXAM WEEK****Monday, December 13, 2021****FINAL PAPER DUE****Tuesday, December 14, 2021, 2:30pm** \*This is the officially scheduled exam time.**ONLINE FINAL EXAM**