Political Science 244c
Chinese Politics: New Voices and Issues for the 21st Century
Kevin J. O'Brien

Wednesday, 12pm-2pm, 706 Barrows
Fall 2012
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Course Description

This course focuses on emerging issues in the field of Chinese politics, and (mostly) younger authors who have published books since 2005. The early weeks emphasize the Chinese state and state-society relations at a high level of abstraction; later weeks turn toward state-society relations nearer the grassroots. Topics covered include: regime change, state capacity, bureaucratic politics, local legislatures, village elections, social capital, private entrepreneurs, banking, law, local cadres, policy implementation, and small-n comparison. For political science graduate students preparing for the East Asian politics exam, this syllabi should be read in conjunction with the 2006 Political Science 244c syllabus available at my website.

Books to be purchased

1) Allen Carlson, Mary Gallager, Kenneth Lieberthal and Melanie Manion, Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods, and Field Strategies (Cambridge, 2010), paperback

2) Neil Diamant, Stanley Lubman, and Kevin O'Brien, (eds.) Engaging the Law in China: State, Society, and Possibilities for Justice (Stanford, 2010), paperback

3) Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth Perry (ed.), Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China (Harvard, 2011), paperback

4) Yasheng Huang, Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: Entrepreneurship and the State (Cambridge, 2008), hardcover

5) Scott Kennedy, The Business of Lobbying in China (Harvard, 2005), paperback

6) Scott Kennedy (ed.), Beyond the Middle Kingdom: Comparative Perspectives on China's Capitalist Transformation (Stanford, 2011), paperback

7) Andrew Mertha, Water Warriors: Political Pluralization in China's Hydropower Policy (Cornell, 2008), paperback

8) Victor Shih, Factions and Finance in China: Elite Conflict and Inflation (Cambridge, 2009), paperback

9) Edward Steinfeld, Playing Our Game: Why China's Rise Doesn't Threaten the West (Oxford, 2010), paperback

10) Kelly Tsai, Capitalism Without Democracy: The Private Sector in Contemporary China (Cornell, 2007), paperback

11) Lily Tsai, Accountability Without Democracy: Solidary Groups and Public Goods Provision in Rural China (Cambridge, 2007), paperback

12) Teresa Wright, Accepting Authoritarianism: State-Society Relations in China's Reform Era (Stanford, 2010), paperback

Course Requirements

3 seminar papers (30% of course grade) -- Due on Monday evening (5 pm) of the three weeks for which a student is responsible. (Copies should be sent to the e-mail addresses of all students and, of course, to the instructor). Each paper (approx. 3-4 double-spaced pages) should critically engage the readings assigned for that week. Students may focus on gaps or conflicts in one (or more) readings and may bring in relevant material from other courses. The purpose of these papers is to stimulate class discussion. Papers should not be a summary but rather an effort to highlight an important point, a methodological issue, and/or an assumption that underlies or permeates the reading(s). Efforts should be made to explore ways in which the readings relate to each other and how they help us improve our understanding of politics. During class, each author should be ready to explain (and expand upon) the points raised. Hint: When preparing your papers, pretend you are an overburdened student racing to figure out "why this reading is so important" the night before your qualifying exams. You might also consider how the readings speak to other areas of political science (or other regions of the world) with which you are familiar.

A 15-20 page research paper (50% of course grade) or a final exam (2 out of 3 essay questions, appox. 4000 words total)

Class participation (20% of course grade) -- All students will be expected to participate in class discussions and to come to class prepared to consider the seminar papers for that week.

Please keep a copy of your essays until the instructor has returned them. Also, to sidestep easily avoidable problems related to computer failures, keep a copy of your essays on a CD or flash drive.

Week 1 (8/29) **Introduction**

Week 2 (9/5) **Entrepreneurs, Democracy and Growth**

Kelly Tsai, Capitalism Without Democracy

Yasheng Huang, Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: Entrepreneurship and the State

Student Discussants:
1) 2) 3)

Convergence?

Week 3 (9/12)

Edward Steinfeld, Playing Our Game: Why China's Rise Doesn't Threaten the West

Teresa Wright, Accepting Authoritarianism: State-Society Relations in China's Reform Era

Student Discussants:
1) 2) 3)

Week 4 (9/19) **Pluralization of High-Level Politics?**

Scott Kennedy, The Business of Lobbying in China

Andrew Mertha, Water Warriors

Student Discussants:
1) 2) 3)

Week 5 (9/26) – Instructor in China, Class Cancelled

Week 6 (10/3) **Local Legislatures and Political Change -- Institutionalization or Embeddedness? Representation or Remonstrating? Supervision Taking Off?**

Kevin J. O'Brien, "Local Legislatures and Governing China," China Journal (January 2009): 131-41 (on the web)

Kevin J. O'Brien, "Chinese People's Congresses and Legislative Embeddedness: Understanding Early Organizational Development," Comparative Political Studies (April 1994):80-107 (on the web)

Ming Xia, "Political Contestation and the Emergence of the Provincial People's Congresses as Power Players in Chinese Politics: a Network Explanation," Journal of Contemporary China (July 2000):185-214 (on the web)

Melanie Manion, "When Communist Party Candidates Can Lose, Who Wins? Assessing the Role of Local People's Congresses in the Selection of Leaders in China," China Quarterly, no. 195 (September 2008): 607-30 (on the web)

Young Nam Cho, "From 'Rubber Stamp' to 'Iron Stamps': The Emergence of Chinese Local People's Congresses as Supervisory Powerhouses," China Quarterly no. 171 (September 2002): 724-40 (on the web)

Young Nam Cho, "Symbiotic Neighbour or Extra-Court Judge? The Supervision over Courts by Chinese Local People's Congresses," China Quarterly 176 (December 2003): 1068-83 (on the web)

Young Nam Cho, "The Politics of Lawmaking in Chinese Local People's Congresses," China Quarterly 187 (September 2006): 592-609 (on the web)

Kevin J. O'Brien, "Agents and Remonstrators: Role Accumulation by Chinese People's Congress Deputies," China Quarterly, no. 138 (June 1994):359-80. (on the web)

Student Discussants:
1) 2) 3)

Week 7 (10/10) **Village Elections -- Democratic Breakthrough, Sham, or State-Building?**

Kevin J. O'Brien and Rongbin Han, "Path to Democracy? Assessing Elections in Rural China," Journal of Contemporary China (June 2009): 359-78 (on the web)

Implementation of Elections:

Daniel Kelliher, "The Chinese Debate over Village Self-Government," China Journal 37 (January 1997):63-86 (on the web)

Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, "Accommodating 'Democracy' in a One-Party State: Introducing Village Elections in China," China Quarterly 162 (June 2000): 465-89 (on the web)

Tianjian Shi, "Village Committee Elections in China: Institutionalist Tactics for Democracy," World Politics 51:3 (April 1999): 385-412 (on the web)

Lianjiang Li, "The Politics of Introducing Direct Township Elections in China," China Quarterly 171 (September 2002): 704-23 (on the web)

Effects of Elections:

Yusheng Yao, "Village Elections and Their Impact: An Investigative Report on a Northern Chinese Village," Modern China, forthcoming (available at the journal's "on-line first" page)

Bjorn Alpermann, "The Post-Election Administration of Chinese Villages," China Journal 46 (July 2001): 45-67 (on the web)

Gunter Schubert and Chen Xuelian, "Village Elections in Contemporary China: New Spaces for Generating Regime Legitimacy? Experiences from Lishu County," China Perspectives, no. 3 (2007): 12-25 (available from instructor by e-mail)

Lianjiang Li, "The Empowering Effect of Village Elections in China," Asian Survey 43:4 (July/August 2003): 648-62 (on the web)

Renfu Luo, Linxiu Zhang, Jikun Huang and Scott Rozelle, "Village Elections, Public Goods Investments and Pork Barrel Politics, Chinese Style," Journal of Development Studies 46:4 (April 2010): 662-84 (on the web)

Student Discussants:
1) 2) 3)

Week 8 (10/17) **Social Capital at the Grassroots**

Lily Tsai, Accountability Without Democracy

Student Discussants:
1) 2) 3)

Week 9 (10/24) **Banking and Factions**

Victor Shih, Factions and Finance in China

Student Discussants:
1) 2) 3)

Week 10 (10/31) **Local Cadres, Predation and Developmentalism**

Graeme Smith, "The Hollow State: Rural Governance in China," China Quarterly 203 (September 2010): 601-18 (on the web)

Anna Ahlers and Gunter Schubert, "County and Township Cadres as a Strategic Group in Local Policy-Implementation: 'Constructing a New Socialist Countryside' in Shaanxi, Zhejiang and Jiangxi Provinces," Journal of Chinese Political Science, forthcoming (available by e-mail from the instructor)

Ben Hillman, "Factions and Spoils: Examining Political Behavior Within the Local State in China," China Journal 64 (July 2010): 1-18 (on the web)

Zhou Xueguang, "The Institutional Logic of Collusion Among Local Governments in China," Modern China 36:1 (January 2010): 47-78 (on the web)

Kevin J. O'Brien, "How Authoritarian Rule Works," Modern China 36:1 (January 2010): 79-86 (a comment on Zhou Xueguang's article) (on the web)

Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, "Selective Policy Implementation in Rural China," Comparative Politics 31:2 (January 1999): 167-86 (on the web)

Maria Edin, "State Capacity and Local Agent Control in China: CCP Cadre Management from a Township Perspective," China Quarterly 173 (March 2003): 35-52 (on the web)
Lynette Ong, "Between Developmental and Clientelist States: Local State-Business Relationships in China," Comparative Politics 44:2 (January 2012): 191-209 (on the web)

Student Discussants:

1) 2) 3)

Week 11 (11/7) **Adaptive Governance**

Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth J. Perry (ed.), Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China (Harvard, 2011)

Week 12 (11/14) **Law and Politics**

Neil Diamant, Stanley Lubman, and Kevin J. O'Brien (eds.), Engaging the Law in China, chapters 1-4

Mary E. Gallagher, "Mobilizing the Law in China: 'Informed Disenchantment' and the Development of Legal Consciousness," Law and Society Review 40:4 (2006): 783-816 (on the web)

Feng Chen and Xin Xu, "Active Judiciary: Judicial Dismantling of Workers' Collective Action in China," China Journal (January 2012): 87-108 (on the web)

Ethan Michelson, "The Practice of Law as an Obstacle to Justice: Chinese Lawyers at Work," Law and Society Review 40:1 (2006): 1-38 (on the web)

Rachel E. Stern, "From Dispute to Decision: Suing Polluters in China," China Quarterly, no. 206 (June 2011): 294-312 (on the web)

Hualing Fu and Richard Cullen, "Climbing the Weiquan Ladder: A Radicalizing Process for Rights-Protect Lawyers," China Quarterly No. 205 (March 2011): 40-59 (on the web)

Student Discussants:
1) 2) 3)

Weeks 13 (11/21) **Cross-National Comparison**

Scott Kennedy (ed.), Beyond the Middle Kingdom: Comparative Perspectives on China's Capitalist Transformation (Stanford, 2011)

Student Discussants:
1) 2) 3)

Week 14 (11/28) **How We Know What We Know**

Allen Carlson, Mary Gallager, Kenneth Lieberthal and Melanie Manion, Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods, and Field Strategies (Cambridge, 2010)

Kevin J. O'Brien, "Discovery, Research Re(Design) and Theory Building," in Maria Heimer and Stig Thogersen eds., Doing Fieldwork in China (Hawaii, 2006), pp. 27-41 (available from instructor by e-mail)

Kevin J. O'Brien, "Studying Chinese Politics in an Age of Specialization," Journal of Contemporary China (September 2011): 535-41 (on the web)

Bruce Gilley, "Paradigms of Chinese Politics: Kicking Society Back Out," Journal of Contemporary China (June 2011): 517-533 (on the web)

Discussants:

1) 2) 3)

Wednesday December 5, 2pm; By e-mail to kobrien@berkeley.edu – Final Paper or Take-home Exam Due