

## **GOV 3410/ASNS 3060: Capitalism and State Power in China**

**Professor:** Christopher Heurlin

**Office:** Asian Studies, College Street 38, Room 204. x3801

**Office Hours:** Monday and Wednesday, 3:30-4:30

**Class Time and Location:** Tuesday and Thursday, 11:40-1:05 CT-16 Whiteside

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### **Course Description**

This seminar examines contemporary Chinese politics. Unlike the USSR and the communist states of Eastern Europe, China did not collapse at the end of the Cold War. This seminar explores the reasons for the Chinese Communist Party's resilience over the past two decades. The course focuses on issues of economic reform and development, corruption, ethnic relations with minorities, political and legal reforms, and the development of civil society. In the course students will develop and write a research paper on contemporary Chinese politics.

### **Expectations**

I expect students above all to be actively involved in the learning process. This means several things. First, I expect students to attend all classes. Second, I expect students to be active in classroom discussions. Third, I expect students to have read all of the readings listed on the syllabus assigned for each class *before* coming to class. Our classroom discussions will be centered on the readings and occasional film clips. This means that doing the readings in advance is critical to your ability to participate. Fourth, I expect students to be respectful of one another's opinions and to conduct discussions in a friendly manner.

### **Discussion Leaders**

Each student will be expected to help lead class discussions three times during the semester. In your role as discussion leader, you should come to class with a list of questions to help you start the discussion. Questions should be emailed to me by 9 AM the day of the class. You should also bring the questions with you.

### **Research Paper**

The primary assignment in this course is a research paper of 20-25 pages. Your paper should investigate some aspect of Chinese politics in the reform era, and preferably in the post-Tiananmen era (i.e., after 1989). Each student should come to office hours during the second or third week of the semester to discuss their paper topics. The research proposal (1-2 pages) and

bibliography is due February 19. The introductory paragraph, thesis statement and paper outline are due March 7. Rough drafts must be sent to discussants two days before the conference presentations. The final paper is due on May 15.

### **Mini-Conference**

Students will present their findings at a mini conference held during class on the last three class sessions. Students will both present their findings, as well as serve as a discussant for the paper of another student. Each student will give an 8 minute presentation of their paper. The discussant for the paper will give 2-3 minutes of comments and feedback on the paper. This means that each student will have to send a **ROUGH DRAFT** of their paper to their discussant at least **TWO DAYS BEFORE THE PRESENTATION**.

### **Assignments**

Grades are based on the following assignments

Participation	20 percent
Research Proposal and Bibliography	15 percent
Introduction, Thesis, and Paper Outline	15 percent
Mini-Conference Presentations	10 percent
Final Paper	40 percent

### **Readings**

As a seminar based primarily on discussion, this class will have more reading than a 2000-level course. The class structure and amount of reading is designed to approximate a graduate level seminar in political science. Sometimes you will have 70-90 pages of reading for each session (usually 3 chapters or articles from books). This might even actually be on the light side for a graduate seminar. You will need to spend a lot of time reading, but will also need to read strategically for the main arguments of the articles and chapters. The majority of the readings can be found online at blackboard. Please **PRINT THE READINGS OUT AND BRING THEM TO CLASS WITH YOU**. Classroom discussion will be centered primarily on the readings and it is therefore vital that you bring your readings with you. We will also be reading two books: Heurlin's *Responsive Authoritarianism in China* (available on Blackboard) and Hillman's *Patronage and Power*. This book is available through the college bookstore.

### **Accommodations**

Students that need special accommodations should notify me at the beginning of the term so that I can prepare reasonable accommodations for them. In order to receive these accommodations the students should follow the procedures set forth by the Office of the Dean of Student Affairs.

### Honor Code

All students are required to abide by the Bowdoin Academic Honor Code. Academic dishonesty is something I take very seriously and will treat in accordance with the Code. According to the Honor Code, “Academic Dishonesty” includes but is not limited to (1) the receiving, giving, or using of any unauthorized assistance on quizzes, tests, written assignments, examinations or laboratory assignments; (2) references to sources beyond those authorized by the instructor in preparing papers, constructing reports, solving problems or carrying out other academic assignments; (3) inadequate citation of sources; (4) acquisition, without permission, of tests, computer files or similar material which would give the student an unfair advantage on an assignment or examination; (5) submission of academic work not a student’s own original effort; (6) use of the same work for multiple courses without prior knowledge of the receiving instructors; (7) depriving learners of access, including computer access, to library information through intentional monopolization, mutilation, defacing, unauthorized removal of books or other materials from College libraries, or purposeful failure to return library materials on a timely basis; (8) unauthorized altering of academic records (transcripts, grading sheets, Course Registration Cards, etc.); (9) fabrication of research data.

### Readings by date

Each reading should be completed BEFORE class on the dates indicated, as we will be discussing these readings in class. All readings are available on Blackboard

Jan 22	Introduction – No readings
	<b>Part 1: Background on Chinese Politics</b>
Jan 24	Saich – “Political History, 1949-2012” in <i>Governance and Politics of China</i> Lieberthal – “The Organization of Political Power and Its Consequences: The View from the Outside” in <i>Governing China</i> Joseph – “Ideology and China’s Political Development” in Joseph’s <i>Politics in China</i>
	<b>Part 2: How China is Really Ruled</b>
Jan 29	Shih, Shan and Liu – “Gauging the Elite Political Equilibrium in the CCP” <i>China Quarterly</i> , (2010), March p. 79-103 Choi – “Patronage and Performance” <i>China Quarterly</i> (2012), December, p. 1-17 Sheng – “Authoritarian Co-optation, the Territorial Dimension” in <i>Studies in Comparative International Development</i> (2009) No. 44, p. 71-93.
Jan 31	Hillman – Introduction, Chapters 1-3 in <i>Patronage and Power</i>
Feb 5	Hillman – Chapters 4-6 and Conclusion in <i>Patronage and Power</i>

Feb 7	Li – “The Politics of Introducing Direct Township Elections in China” <i>China Quarterly</i> (2002), Vol. 171, September, p. 704-723 Fewsmith – “Inner-Party Democracy” in <i>The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China</i>
Feb 12	Birney – “Decentralization and Veiled Corruption under China’s ‘Rule of Mandates’” <i>World Development</i> (2014) Vol. 53, p. 55-67. Wedeman – “Incompetence, Noise and Fear in Central-Local Relations in China” <i>Studies in Comparative International Development</i> , (2001) Vol. 35, No. 4, p. 59-83
	<b>Part 3: Capitalism and Corruption</b>
Feb 14	Gallagher – “From State-Owned to National Industry” in <i>Contagious Capitalism</i> Brodsgaard – “Politics and Business Group Formation” <i>China Quarterly</i> , (2012) Vol. 211, September
Feb 19	Frazier – “Resolving the Puzzles of China’s Pension Reforms” and “Urban Governments, Social Insurance, and Rights to Revenue” in <i>Socialist Insecurity</i> <b>RESEARCH PROPOSAL DUE</b>
Feb 21	Tsai – “Diversity in Private Entrepreneurs’ Coping Strategies” and “Local Variation in Private Sector Conditions” in <i>Capitalism without Democracy</i> (Hint: skim pages 150-160)
Feb 26	Wallace – “The Fiscal Shift” and “Return to Sender” in <i>Cities and Stability</i>
Feb 28	Ang – “From Building to Preserving Markets” in <i>How China Escaped the Poverty Trap</i> Dickson – “Co-opting the Capitalists” in <i>Wealth into Power</i>
Mar 5	Wedeman – “Sequencing and Corruption” and “Systemic Transition and Corruption” in <i>Double Paradox</i> Osburg – “‘Relationships are the Law’: Elite Networks and Corruption in Contemporary China” in <i>Anxious Wealth</i>
Mar 7	Chuang – “China’s Rural Land Politics” <i>China Quarterly</i> , (2014) Vol. 219 p. 649-669 Wong – “Land Requisitions and State-Village Power Restructuring in Southern China” <i>China Quarterly</i> (2015) Vol. 224, p. 888-908 Mattingly – “Elite Capture: How Decentralization and Informal Institutions Weaken Property Rights in China” <i>World Politics</i> (2016) Vol. 68, No. 3 p. 383-412. <b>INTRODUCTION, THESIS AND OUTLINE DUE</b>
	<b>Part 4: State Power and Protest</b>
Mar 26	Kuang and Gobel – “Sustaining Collective Action in Urbanizing China” <i>China Quarterly</i> (2013) Vol. 216, p. 850-871. Hurst, Liu, Liu and Tao – “Reassessing Collective Petitioning in Rural China” <i>Comparative Politics</i> (2014) July p. 459-478.
Mar 28	Su and Feng – “Adapt or Voice” <i>Journal of Asian Studies</i> (2013) Vol. 72. No. 1. P. 445-67. Lee – “State and Social Protest” <i>Daedalus</i> (2014) Vol. 143, No. 2, p. 124-134. Fu – “Disguised Collective Action in China” <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> (2016)
Apr 2	Heurlin – Chapters 1-3 of <i>Responsive Authoritarianism in China</i>
Apr 4	Heurlin – Chapters 4-6 of <i>Responsive Authoritarianism in China</i>

Apr 9	<p>Weiss – “Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China” <i>International Organization</i> (2013) Vol. 67, No. 1, p. 1-35.</p> <p>Lorentzen – “China’s Strategic Censorship” <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> (2014) Vol. 58, No. 2, p. 402-414.</p> <p>Elfstrom – “Two Steps Forward, One Step Back” <i>China Quarterly</i>, (forthcoming).</p>
Apr 11	<p>Friedman – “Worker Insurgency and the Evolving Political Economy of the Pearl River Delta” in <i>The Insurgency Trap</i></p> <p>Hurst – “Contention, Protest and Social Order” in <i>The Chinese Worker after Socialism</i></p> <p>Chen – “Elitism and Exclusion in Mass Protest: Privatization, Resistance and State Domination in China” <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> (forthcoming)</p>
Apr 16	<p>Cliff – “The Partnership of Stability in Xinjiang: State-Society Interactions Following the July 2009 Unrest” <i>The China Journal</i>, (2012) No. 68 p. 79-105.</p> <p>Cao et al. – “Local Religious Institutions and the Impact of Interethnic Inequality on Conflict” <i>International Studies Quarterly</i>, (2018) 62, p. 765-781.</p> <p>Hong and Yang – “Oilfields, Mosques and Violence” <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> (2018)</p>
	<b>Part 5: State Power and Civil Society</b>
Apr 18	<p>Spires – “Contingent Symbiosis and Civil Society in an Authoritarian State” <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> (2011) Vol. 117, No. 1, p. 1-45.</p> <p>Teets – “Let Many Civil Societies Bloom” <i>China Quarterly</i> (2013) Vol. 213, p. 19-38</p>
Apr 23	<p>King, Pan and Roberts – “How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression” <i>Unpublished Manuscript</i></p> <p>Ng and Landry – “The Political Hierarchy of Censorship” <i>Unpublished Manuscript</i></p>
Apr 25	<b>INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS – NO CLASS</b>
Apr 30	<b>CONFERENCE 1</b>
May 2	<b>CONFERENCE 2</b>
May 7	<b>CONFERENCE 3</b>