

**POLITICS OF CHINA:
A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

Political Science: PSC 782
Syracuse University
Prof. Dimitar Gueorguiev
Spring 2015

Course Information

Classroom: Maxwell Hall 309A
Class Time: Tu & Th 9:30-10:50am

Instructor Information

Office: 332 Eggers
Office Hours: Wed. 10-12
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Prerequisites

Graduate Level Standing

Course Description

This is a graduate level course on Chinese politics. Course material will focus almost exclusively on China and you will be exposed to debates that concern the China literature in great detail. More importantly, however, this is a graduate level course in comparative politics. Participation does not require any prior China experience nor does it assume that students will pursue a China studies focus. The course is designed to provide all interested students, regardless of background, the tools and background necessary to study China as an important case in comparative politics. To this end, we will explore the primary features of the Chinese political system, core debates in the Chinese politics literature, and different strategies for studying politics in the People's Republic of China. These topics will be examined through a comparative politics lens and will be applicable, to varying degree, for studies of other countries, both democratic and authoritarian. Those interested in additional reading material on China, particularly from an international relations perspective, please see the Chinese Politics undergrad syllabus.

Readings

You are not required to purchase text for this class. I will provide paper copy of all assigned readings. You are strongly encouraged to purchase the recommended texts below and add them to your personal library.

Recommended

- **(CCPS)** Allen Carlson, Mary Gallagher, Kenneth Lieberthal and Melanie Manion. 2010. *Contemporary Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods, and Field Strategies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth J. Perry (eds.), *Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China* (Harvard, 2011).
- McGregor, Richard. (2010). *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers*. Harper.
- Osnos, Evan. (2014). *Age of Ambition: Chasing Fortune, Truth, and Faith in the New China*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Grading Breakdown

- Response Papers (3) x 5%
- Research Presentation 25%
- Academic Research Paper 60%

Academic Research Paper

To complete the course you will be required to submit an academic research paper on a research question chosen in collaboration by you and the instructor. In this paper, students will be required to (a) make an analytical argument, (b) synthesize literature related to that argument, (c) collect data relevant to that argument, (d) interpret that data as evidence for or against your argument. We will reserve one class meeting, scheduled on April 21st, for you to present your preliminary work and get feedback for completing your written production. Final papers will be due on Tuesday May 5th at 5:00pm. This paper will be weighted as follows:

- a. Argument 30%
- b. Literature Review 20%
- c. Data Collection and Description 25%
- d. Interpretation: 25%

Academic Integrity

Syracuse University's Academic Integrity Policy holds students accountable for the integrity of the work they submit. Students should be familiar with the policy and know that it is their responsibility to learn about course-specific expectations, as well as about University policy. The University policy governs appropriate citation and use of sources, the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments, and the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verification of participation in class activities. The policy also prohibits students from submitting the same written work in more than one class without receiving written authorization in advance from both instructors. The presumptive penalty for a first offense by an undergraduate student is course failure, accompanied by a transcript notation indicating that the failure resulted from a violation of Academic Integrity Policy. The standard sanction for a first offense by a graduate student is suspension or expulsion. For more information and the complete policy, see <http://academicintegrity.syr.edu>.

Disability-Related Accommodations

If you believe that you need accommodations for a disability, please contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS), <http://disabilityservices.syr.edu>, located in Room 309 of 804 University Avenue, or call 443-4498 for an appointment to discuss your needs and the process for requesting accommodations. ODS is responsible for coordinating disability-related accommodations and will issue students with documented disabilities Accommodation Authorization Letters, as appropriate. Since accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact ODS as soon as possible.

Religious holidays

Syracuse University's religious observances policy recognizes the diversity of faiths represented among the campus community and protects the rights of students, faculty, and staff to observe religious holy days according to their tradition. Under the policy, students are provided an opportunity to make up any examination, study, or work requirements that may be missed due to a religious observance provided they notify their instructors before the end of the second week of classes. Students have access to an online notification form they can use to notify their instructors, available at: <https://myslice.syr.edu>.

SU's Religious Observances policy: http://supolicies.syr.edu/emp_ben/religious_observance.htm

Course Schedule and Readings

Important Dates To Remember

- Feb 17 - Response Paper #1 is due
- Mar 17 - Response Paper #2 is due
- Apr 21 - Research Presentations (in class)
- Apr 28 - Response Paper #3 is due
- May 05 - Final Paper is due

Week 1 – Studying the PRC (Jan 13)

- Course Introduction and Organization
- China Studies and Political Science
- What is the best way to study China
- Suggested Readings
 - Harding. 1993. “The Evolution of American Scholarship on Contemporary China,” in David Shambaugh, ed., *American Studies of Contemporary China* (M.E. Sharpe, 1993), pp. 14-40.
 - Gilley. 2011. “Paradigms of Chinese Politics: Kicking Society Back Out,” *Journal of Contemporary China*. pp. 517-533
 - O’Brien. 2011. “Studying Chinese Politics in an Age of Specialization,” *Journal of Contemporary China*. pp. 535-41
 - Yu. 2009. “The Study of Political Science and Public Administration in China: An Overview” in *Democracy is a Good Thing*. *Brookings Press* p. 6-26.

Week 2 – Anatomy of the PRC (Jan 20)

- Naughton. 2007. “The Geographical Setting” Chapter 1 in *The Chinese Economy*, pp.15-29
- Lawrence & Martin. 2013. “Understanding China’s Political System,” CRS
- Lieberthal. 2003. Chapters 6 through 8 in *Governing China*
- Shirk. 1993. Part 2 in *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*. pp. 53-91.
- Miller. 2013. “The New Party Politburo Leadership,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 40.

Week 3 – The PRC in Comparison (Jan 27)

- Reny 2011. “What Happened to the Study of China in Comparative Politics” *Journal of East Asian Studies*, p. 105-135.
- Geddes 1990 - How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get
- Gilley 2008 - Legitimacy and Institutional Change The Case of China. *Comparative Political Studies*
- Malesky, Abrami and Zheng, 2011. “Institutions and Inequality in Single-Party Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam and China.” *Comparative Politics* 43(4): 409-427.
- Gang Guo (2009), “China’s Local Political Budget Cycles,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(3), p. 621-632.
- Mertha, and Lowry. 2006. “Unbuilt Dams: Seminal events and policy change in China, Australia, and the United States.” *Comparative Politics*. 1-20.
- Sun, and Johnston. 2009. “Does democracy check corruption? Insights from China and India.” *Comparative Politics*, 42.1, p. 1-19.
- Dimitrov. 2013. Ch 10 "Vertical Accountability in Communist Regimes *Why Communism Did Not Collapse: Understanding Authoritarian Regime Resilience in Asia and Europe*, Cambridge Press, p. 276-302.

Week 4 – Authoritarian Resilience (Feb 03)

- Nathan. 2003. "Authoritarian Resilience" *Journal of Democracy*, pp. 6-17
- Gilley, Bruce. "The limits of authoritarian resilience." *Journal of Democracy* 14.1 (2003): 18-26.
- Dimitrov. 2013. Part 1 Reform and Resilience in *Why Communism Did Not Collapse: Understanding Authoritarian Regime Resilience in Asia and Europe*, Cambridge Press, p. 3-66.
- Deng Xiaoping. 1980. "On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership," in *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)*, pp. 302-325.
- Perry, Elizabeth J. "Studying Chinese politics: farewell to revolution?." *The China Journal* (2007): 1-22.
- Li, Cheng. "The end of the CCP's resilient authoritarianism? A tripartite assessment of shifting power in China." *The China Quarterly* 211 (2012): 595-623.

Week 5 – The China Model (Feb 10)

- Pei. 2006. *China's Trapped Transition: The Limits of Developmental Autocracy* Intro and Ch 1, pp. 1-44
- Yang. 2006. "Economic Transition and the Problem of Governance in China" Chapter 1 in *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan*, pp. 1-24.
- Shirk. 1993. "Playing to the Provinces" Part 3 in *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*, pp. 147-196.
- Kurlantzick. 2013. Chapter 7 "The China Model" *Democracy in Retreat: The Revolt of the Middle Class and the Worldwide Decline of Representative Government*. Yale University Press.
- Heilmann. 2013. "Policy-Making through Experimentation: The Formation of a Distinctive Policy Process" Chapter 3. in Heilmann and Perry eds. *Mao's Invisible Hand*, p. 62-101.
- Tsang, Steve. "Consultative Leninism: China's new political framework." *Journal of Contemporary China* 18.62 (2009): 865-880.

Week 6 – Ongoing Debates – Economic Reform (Feb 17)

- Krugman. 1994. "The Myth of Asia's Miracle"
- Tsai. 2006. "Adaptive informal institutions and endogenous institutional change in China." *World Politics* 59.01: pp. 116-141.
- Montinola, Qian, & Weingast. 1995. "Federalism, Chinese Style: The Political Basis for Economic Success," *World Politics*, pp. 50-81.
- Xu. 2011. "The Fundamental Institutions of China's Reforms and Development." *Journal of Economic Literature*, pp. 1076-1151.
- Cai & Triesman. 2006. "Did Government Decentralization Cause China's Economic Miracle?" *World Politics*, pp. 505-535.
- Poncet. 2003. "Measuring Chinese domestic and international integration." pp. 1 - 21.
- Young. 2000. "The Razor's Edge: Distortions and Incremental Reform in the People's Republic of China". 115 (4): pp. 1091-1135.
- Knight. 2013. "Inequality in China: an overview." *The World Bank Research Observer*. 55-78.

Week 7 – Ongoing Debates – Leadership, Promotion, and Succession (Feb 24)

- **Response Paper #1 Due Today**
- Shih. 2008. Chapters 1 and 4 in *Factions in Finance*: pp. 1-15, 47-62.
- V. C. Shih, C. Adolph, and M. Liu, "Getting Ahead in the Communist Party: Explaining the Advancement of Central Committee Members in China," *American Political Science Review*, 106 (2012), p. 166–187.
- Li and Zhou, "Political Turnover and Economic Performance: The Incentive Role of Personnel Control in China," *Journal of Public Economics*, 89 (2005), p. 1743–1762.

- Su et al., “Local Officials’ Incentives and China's Economic Growth: Tournament Thesis Reexamined and Alternative Explanatory Framework,” *China & World Economy*, 20 (2012), p. 1–18.
- Lü and Landry, “Show Me the Money: Inter-Jurisdiction Political Competition and Fiscal Extraction in China,” *American Political Science Review*, 108 (2014), p. 706–722.
- Gueorguiev and Schuler. 2014. “Keeping Your Head Down: Public Profiles and Promotion under Autocracy”. *Working Paper*

Week 8 – Ongoing Debates – Governance

- O’Brian & Li. 1999. “Selective Policy Implementation in Rural China,” *Comparative Politics*, pp. 167-186
- Fewsmith 2013. “The Problem of Governance in China” Chapter 1 in *The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China*
- Heilmann and Perry. 2011. Embracing Uncertainty: Guerrilla Policy Style and Adaptive Governance in China. Chapter 1 in Heilmann and Perry eds. *Mao’s Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China* (Harvard, 2011)
- Cai. 2004. “Managed Participation in China”, *Political Science Quarterly*. pp. 137-156
- Li, 2012, *Hierarchical Government Trust in China* (IIAS Working Paper, Seoul, 2012), pp. 38.
- Hillman. 2010. Factions and Spoils: Examining Political Behavior Within the Local State in China. *The China Journal*, p.1-18.
- Smith. 2010. “The hollow state: rural governance in China.” *China Quarterly*, 203, p. 601-618.

Week 9 – Spring Break

Week 10 – Studying China – Foreign Policy (Mar 17)

- **Response Paper #2 Due Today**
- Beckley. 2011. China’s Century? Why America’s Edge Will Endure, *International Security*, 36(3), p. 41-78
- Weiss, Jessica. 2012, “Authoritarian signaling, mass audiences, and nationalist protest in China.” *International Organization* 67(01): 1-35.
- Nathan and Scobell. 2012. Part I “Interest and Identity In Chinese Foreign Policy” in *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress: China’s Search for Security* pp. 3-37.
- Shi. 2014. “Risky Business? A Firm-Level Analysis of Chinese Outward Direct Investments.” *Working Paper*
- Christensen. 2011. “Advantages of an Assertive China-Responding to Beijing’s Abrasive Diplomacy.” *Foreign Affairs*. 90 (2011): 54.
- Shirk. 2008. Chapters 1 & 9 in *China Fragile Superpower*. pp. 1-13, 255-270.
- Liff, Adam P., and Andrew S. Erickson. "Demystifying China's Defence Spending: Less Mysterious in the Aggregate." *The China Quarterly* 216 (2013): 805-830.

Week 11 – Studying China – Soaking and Poking (Mar 24)

- McGregor, Richard. (2010). *The Party: The Secret World of China’s Communist Rulers*.
- Osnos, Evan. (2014). *Age of Ambition: Chasing Fortune, Truth, and Faith in the New China*.
- O’Brien. 2006. “Discovery, Research Re(Design) and Theory Building,” in Heimer and Thogersen eds., *Doing Fieldwork in China* (Hawaii, 2006), pp. 27-41
- Reed. 2010. More Than an Interview, Less Than Sedaka: Studying Subtle and Hidden Politics with Site-Intensive Methods. **CCPS Chapter 8.**
- L. Tsai. 2010. “Quantitative Research and Political Sensitivity in Rural China.” **CCPS Chapter 14.**
- L. Tsai. 2007. “Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China,” *American Political Science Review*, 101. pp. 355–372.

Week 12 – Studying China – Observational Research (Mar 31)

- Shih, Shan, and Liu. 2010. “The Central Committee, Past and Present: A Method of Quantifying Elite Biographies.” **CCPS Chapter 3.**
- Xi. 2010. “State-Generated Data and Contentious Politics in China.” **CCPS Chapter 1.**
- Qian et al. 2011. “Do Local Elections in Non-Democracies Increase Accountability? Evidence from Rural China. NBER Working Paper No. 16948.
- Ghanem and Zhang. 2014. “Effortless Perfection: Do Chinese Cities Manipulate Air Pollution Data?” *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*, Forthcoming.
- Wallace, Jeremy L. "Juking the Stats? Authoritarian Information Problems in China." *British Journal of Political Science*: 1-19.
- Stockmann. 2010. “Information Overload? Collecting, Managing, and Analyzing Chinese Media Content” **CCPS Chapter 6.**
- Carlson and Duan. 2010. “Internet Resources and the Study of Chinese Foreign Relations: Can Cyberspace Shed New Light on China’s Approach to the World?” **CCPS Chapter 5.**
- Oliver and Gueorguiev. 2014. Embedded Delegates: Participation in Authoritarian Legislatures. *Working Paper*

Week 13 – Studying China – Survey Work (Apr 07)

- Li. 2010. "Rights consciousness and rules consciousness in contemporary China." *The China Journal*, p. 47-68.
- Manion. 2010. “A Survey of Survey Research on Chinese Politics: What Have We Learned?” **CCPS Chapter 10.**
- Dickson. 2010. “Surveying Prospects for Political Change: Capturing Political and Economic Variation in Empirical Research in China.” **CCPS Chapter 11.**
- Michelson and Liu. 2010. "What Do Chinese Lawyers Want? Political Values and Legal Practice." *China’s Emerging Middle Class: Beyond Economic Transformation*, p. 310-333.
- Cai, Fang, and Xu. 2011. “Eat, drink, firms and government: an investigation of corruption from entertainment and travel costs of Chinese firms.” *Journal of Law and Economics*.

Week 14 – Studying China – Experiments (Apr 14)

- Gries. 2010. Experimental Methods and Psychological Measures in the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy. **CCPS Chapter 4.**
- King, Pan, and Roberts. 2014. “Reverse-engineering censorship in China: Randomized experimentation and participant observation.” *Science*, 345.6199.
- Distelhorst and Hou, “Ethnicity and Political Responsiveness in China: A Field Experiment,” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 9 (2013), p. 203–230.
- Huang. 2012. “A War of (Mis)Information: The Political Effects of Rumors and Rumor Rebuttals in an Authoritarian Country.” *SSRN Electronic Journal* (March 5).
- Meng, Pan, and Yang. 2014. "Conditional Receptivity to Citizen Participation: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in China." *Contemporary Political Studies*. p. 1-35.
- Tai and Truex. 2014. Public Opinion towards Return Migration: A Survey Experiment of Chinese Netizens. *The China Quarterly*

Week 15 – Research Presentations (Apr 21)

Week 16 – Writing about China

- Response Paper #3 Due (Apr 28)
- Academic Research Paper Due (May 05)