

# CP<sup>2</sup> Week 2: From Empire to Nation-State

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## Recap: Studying Chinese politics in the changing world

- ▶ From intelligence services to academic research
- ▶ From area studies to comparative politics
- ▶ From qualitative description to data-intensive inference

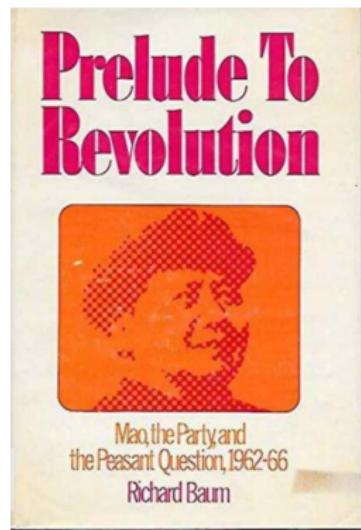
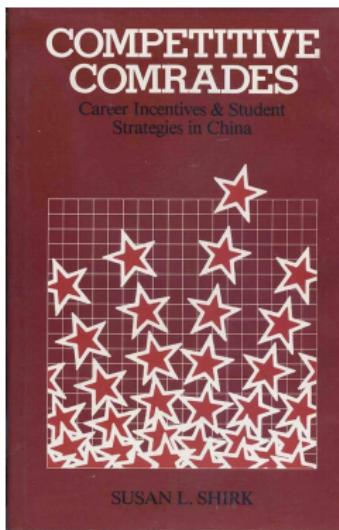
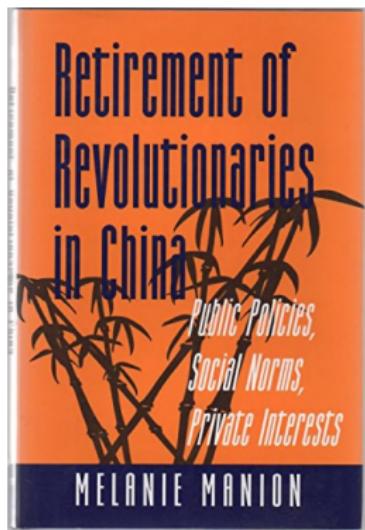
- ▶ From intelligence services to new geopolitcal tension
  - China studies ≠ Sinology; emerging as a subject area after the WWII and gain its prominence during the Cold War
  - "Echo chambers" in the making – the changing geopolitical landscape in the past decade may drag China scholars in different countries to focus on different agenda
- ▶ From area studies to comparative politics
- ▶ From qualitative description to data-intensive inference

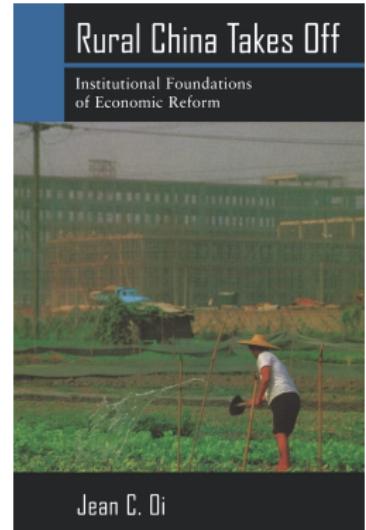
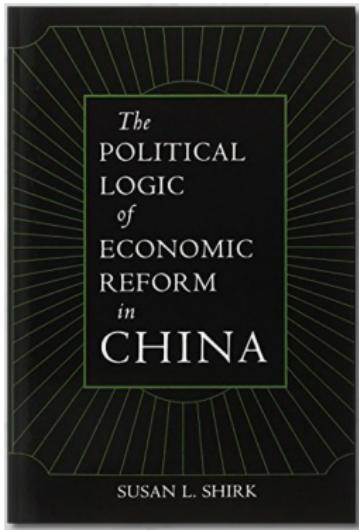
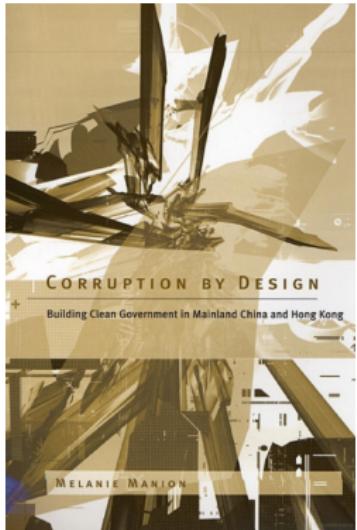


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- ▶ From intelligence services to academic research
- ▶ From area studies to comparative politics
  - Earlier generations of China scholars treat China as a distinct subfield within political science
  - Later on, China scholars begin to borrow or "stretch" concepts and ideas from other subfields to study Chinese politics (Shambaugh 2023)
  - Starting from the late 2000s, China scholars are about to generate new theoretical insights to general political science (Tsai 2017)
- ▶ From qualitative description to data-intensive inference





# "Reform and Openness": Why China's Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy

Published online by Cambridge University Press: 13 June 2011

Mary E. Gallagher

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Volume 74, Number 4 · October 2012

**World Politics**

## Article contents

Extract

References

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## Extract

Most theories that seek to explain democratization look to changes in the economy as the precursor to significant political liberalization, locating the main causal factor in either severe economic crisis or rapid economic growth. In the Chinese context, by contrast, the Communist Party has extricated itself from the socialist social contract with the urban working class without losing its grip on political power. Moreover, China has maintained a rapid pace of economic growth for over twenty-five years without significant political liberalization.

Comparative analysis of China's post-1978 reform policies yields insights both across types of socialist transition, comparing China with Eastern Europe and Russia, and across time, comparing China with other high-growth East Asian economies. A key factor in China's ability to reform the economy without sacrificing political control is the timing and sequencing of its foreign direct investment (FDI) liberalization. There are two key variables that are important to this comparative analysis: China's pattern of ownership diversification and China's mode of integration into the global economy. The article relates these two variables to the success of economic change without political liberalization, in particular, how FDI liberalization has affected relations between workers and the ruling Communist Party. "Reform and openness" in this context resulted in a strengthened Chinese state, a weakened civil society (especially labor), and a delay in political liberalization.





# Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China

Published online by Cambridge University Press: 21 May 2007

LILY L. TSAI

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## Article contents

Abstract

References

## Abstract

Why would government officials in authoritarian and transitional systems where formal democratic and bureaucratic institutions of accountability are often weak ever provide more than the minimum level of public goods needed to maintain social stability? Findings from a unique combination of in-depth case study research and an original survey of 316 villages in rural China indicate that even when formal accountability is weak, local officials can be subject to unofficial rules and norms that establish and enforce their public obligations. These informal institutions of accountability can be provided by encompassing and embedding solidary groups. Villages where these types of groups exist are more likely to have better local governmental public goods provision than villages without these solidary groups, all other things being equal.

# Making Bureaucracy Work: Patronage Networks, Performance Incentives, and Economic Development in China



**Junyan Jiang** The Chinese University of Hong Kong

**Abstract:** Patron-client networks are widely found in governments of transitional societies and are often seen as an impediment to effective governance. This article advances an alternative view that emphasizes their enabling effects. I argue that patron-client relations can be used to improve government performance by resolving principal-agent problems within political hierarchies. I substantiate this claim by examining how patronage networks shape economic performance of local governments in China. Using an original city-level panel data set between 2000 and 2011, and a new method that identifies patronage ties based on past promotions, I show that city leaders with informal ties to the incumbent provincial leaders deliver significantly faster economic growth than those without. I conduct additional analyses to rule out several important alternative explanations and provide evidence on the incentive-enhancing mechanism. These findings highlight the importance of informal institutions for bureaucratic management and authoritarian governance.

**Replication Materials:** The data, code, and any additional materials required to replicate all analyses in this article are available on the *American Journal of Political Science* Dataverse within the Harvard Dataverse Network, at: <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/XZ0IZE>.

- ▶ From intelligence services to academic research
- ▶ From area studies to comparative politics
- ▶ From qualitative description to data-intensive inference
  - Before the diplomatic reconciliation between PRC and USA (1971-1978), scholars have to rely on limited, partial and often biased qualitative evidence (archives and interviews)
  - After Reform and Opening, in the 1980s more engaging field research is likely (ethnography and case studies)
  - The mid-1990s saw the quantitative turn of China studies (surveys, econometric analysis of admin data and computational)



Susan Shirk (UCSD) with Zhou Enlai in July 1971, on a visit to China with "the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars"

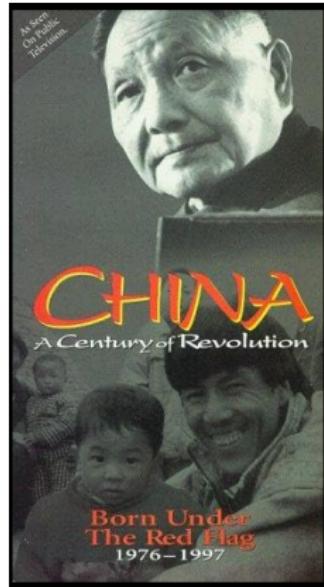
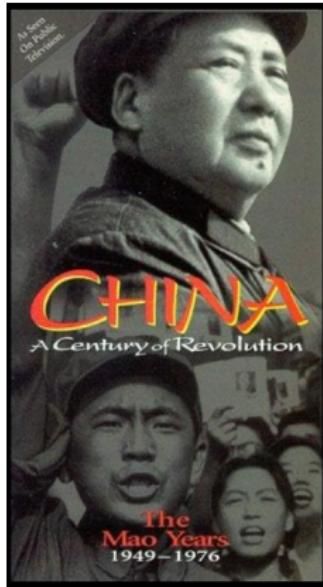
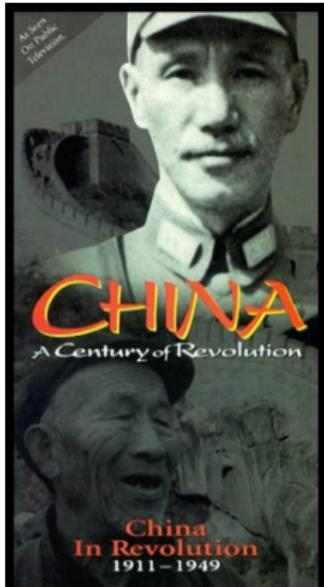
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## Week 2: Empire to Nation-State



<https://storystudio.tw/article/gushi/the-forbidden-garden>

# “China: A Century of Revolution”



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# China in the 20th century

## ► Republican China (1911-1949)

- 1911-1928: Beiyang Government (北洋政府)
- 1928-1949: Nationalist/KMT Government (民国政府)

## ► Communist China (1949-present)

- 1950s: Land reform and the Great Leap Forward (大跃进)
- 1960s: Return of Mao Zedong and the Cultural Revolution (文化大革命)
- 1970s: Power transition and "Reform and Opening" (改革开放)
- 1980s: Experiment with market economy, intra-party split and Tiananmen
- 1990s: Consolidated market reform and institutionalized political succession (?)

# Analytical highlights of the Republican Era

- ▶ Key theme: The pursuit of a "modern" China
  - Political modernization: Transforming empire to (modern) nation-state
  - Social modernization: Filling the moral vacuum and the questions against traditional ways of living (e.g., science, democracy and vernacular language and writing)
  - Economic modernization: Industrial infrastructure and production (much of this has do with security concerns)
- ▶ Question: How do we define "modernity?"

## Republican Era

- ▶ Beiyang period: Warlords and mass politics (urban students and intellectuals)
- ▶ Nationalist period: CCP/CPC v GMD/KMT
  - GMD (KMT): Started as a revolutionary party rallying around Sun Ya-sen ("three principles of the people"); fraught with corruption and internal fragmentation
  - CCP (CPC): Started as an urban party with the support from Comintern; relationship with GMD falling out and was forced (or struggled) to change and survive

# TIME

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# The Chinese Civil War(s)

## ► First Chinese Civil War (1927-1936)

- As a result of the fallout of the first United Front (1924-1927) during the North Expedition; ended by the Xi'an Incident (西安事变)
- Key developments for GMD: The Nationalist Government managed to *de facto* unify the country but Chiang Kai-shek was under constant challenges; industrial development took off in the shadow of Japanese invasion
- Key developments for CPC: The experiment with in Ruijin, Jiangxi

## ► Second Chinese Civil War (1945-1949)

- As a result of the end of WWII or the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945); ended with the CPC's military victory
- The GMD's defeat was the result of its separation from its political and economic base (Lieberthal 1995)

# Legacies of the Republican Era

- ▶ A divided "China:" CPC and GMD managed to control the Mainland China and Taiwan, respectively
- ▶ CPC's revolutionary success against all odds
  - Grassroots mobilization and campaigns in the countryside
  - Revolutionary armed forces
  - Shared challenging experiences and collective memories
  - Rise of Mao and the distance from the Soviet Union
  - ...?

## Local states in the early 20th century (Remick 2002)

- ▶ Key idea(s): The behavior and capacity of local states vary significantly in China, as these two are shaped by central policy and local social contexts (history, limitations and ideology)
- ▶ Some questions to consider:
  - What is a state and state "capacity?" How did Remick define it? Why is state-building an important question? Why did she and many scholars choose to focus on taxation and public finance?
  - Why do we need to look central and local state-building as two distinctive and yet interrelated processes?
  - She mentioned a couple of countries to put her argument in a comparative perspective. Why? Does it make sense to you? Any other cases you can think of?

## Concluding remarks: Questions remain for comparative scholars

- ▶ Revolutions: Causes, results and implications
- ▶ Communist/Socialist revolutions and their influence
- ▶ Political elites and leadership "style"
- ▶ What else?
- ▶ Why it is hard to study the early 20th century China: Taiwan, Hong Kong and Beijing

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## Issues and studies

# Recap: Key events during the Republican Era

## ► Beiyang period

- 1919: May-Fourth Movement (五四运动)
- 1926-1928: North Expedition (北伐)

## ► Republican period

- 1927-1936: 1st CCP-GMD Civil War (一次国共内战)
- 1934-1935: Long March (长征) and Zunyi Conference (遵义会议)
- 1937-1945: Anti-Japanese War (抗日战争)
- 1942-1945: Rectification Movement (整风运动)
- 1945-1949: 2nd CCP-GMD Civil War (二次国共内战)

See you next week!

