

Draft syllabus for a course to be taught in Spring 2023. This version: September 20, 2022

PS324: Political Power in Contemporary China

Spring 2023

Department of Political Science
University of Wisconsin-Madison

a. General Information

Instructor Information

Name: Jingyuan (Juan) Qian

Email: juan.qian@wisc.edu

Office hours: M/W 10:00-11:30 AM

Course Information

Lecture time: T/Th 4:00-5:15PM

Instructional mode: Face to Face

Meeting location: TBD

Course description

This course takes an in-depth look into Chinese political institutions and behaviors through a comparative perspective. It is divided into four modules. Module one overviews the historical development of the Chinese state and explores how its imperial legacies have shaped political norms and practices in the modern era. Module two examines the roles and functions of the PRC's major political institutions, including the Party, the central and local bureaucracy, the people's congresses, and the judiciary. We hope to understand how those institutions engage with each other in policymaking and implementation, and when tensions will arise among different agencies. Module three looks into three major "paradigm shifts" in modern Chinese politics, namely Mao's socialist transformation in 1949, Deng's reform and opening-up in 1978, and Xi's power consolidation since 2012. We will discuss the political and economic challenges those reforms aim to address, and their effects and consequences. Lastly, module four explores major governance challenges facing the Chinese regime, including corruption, censorship and propaganda, ethnic conflicts, among many others.

Course credit information

This is a **3-credit** course. This class meets for two, 50-minute class periods each week over the spring semester and carries the expectation that students will work on course learning activities (reading, writing, problem sets, studying, etc.) for about 2 hours out of the classroom for every class period. The syllabus includes additional information about meeting times and expectations for student work.

Textbooks

1. Dreyer, June Teufel. 2019. *China's Political System: Modernization and Tradition*. 10th edition. Routledge. (Thereafter "Dreyer")
2. Saich, Tony. 2015. *Governance and Politics of China*. 4th edition. Palgrave Macmillan. (Thereafter "Saich")
3. Zheng, Yongnian, and Lance L. P. Gore (eds.) 2020. *The Chinese Communist Party in Action: Consolidating Party Rule*. 1st edition. Routledge. (Thereafter "Zheng and Gore eds.")

Journal articles and book chapters will be assigned as supplemental readings. All materials are available on the Canvas course page.

Grading Criteria

There are four major components of the course grade, namely:

- **Term Paper (30%).** Students are required to complete a term paper that analyzes a major *domestic* challenge that faces the contemporary Chinese leadership. Potential topics include but are not limited to climate change, corruption, censorship and propaganda, demographic decline, economic slowdown, side effects of the "zero-Covid" policy, etc. The paper should (1) define the issue, (2) identify the underlying causes and factors that contribute to the challenge, (3) summarize existing studies on the issue, and (4) propose a policy solution to mitigate the problem. The length of the term paper should be *no longer than 20 double-spaced pages*. Each student is required to schedule an appointment with the instructor in advance to discuss their topic proposal.
- **Midterm Exam (30%).** The midterm will be a close-book, one-hour exam. The midterm will cover all materials in the first half semester. The instructor will hold a review session before the midterm. The exam will take place on March 7, 2022.
- **Final Exam (30%).** The final will be a cumulative, close-book, 1.5-hour exam. Everything covered throughout the semester may be tested. The instructor will hold a review session before the final. The exam will take place on May 11, 2022.
- **Participation (10%).** Attendance to the class is mandatory. Each unexcused absence will result in the loss of 0.5% of your total grade.

The grading scale is as follows, including the overall points as well as the University of Wisconsin's range for letter grades:

Point Range	Letter Grade	GPA
90–100	A (Excellent)	4.0
85–89	AB (Intermediate grade)	3.5
80–84	B (Good)	3.0
75–79	BC (Intermediate grade)	2.5
70–74	C (Fair)	2.0
60–69	D (Poor)	1.0
59 and below	F (Failure)	0.0

b. Classroom Policies

Plagiarism and Academic Honesty

By virtue of enrollment, each student agrees to uphold the high academic standards of the University of Wisconsin-Madison; academic misconduct is behavior that negatively impacts the integrity of the institution. Cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, and helping others commit these previously listed acts are examples of misconduct which may result in disciplinary action. Examples of disciplinary action include, but is not limited to, failure on the assignment/course, written reprimand, disciplinary probation, suspension, or expulsion. To understand more about plagiarism and proper attribution of sources, please consult the Writing Center, at: <https://writing.wisc.edu/>.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

The University of Wisconsin-Madison supports the right of all enrolled students to a full and equal educational opportunity. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), Wisconsin State Statute (36.12), and UW-Madison policy (Faculty Document 1071) require that students with disabilities be reasonably accommodated in instruction and campus life. Reasonable accommodations for students with disabilities is a shared faculty and student responsibility. Students are expected to inform McBurney Disability Resource Center (<https://mcburney.wisc.edu/>) and the instructor of their need for instructional accommodations by the end of the third week of the semester, or as soon as possible after a disability has been incurred or recognized. I will work either directly with the student [you] or in coordination with the McBurney Center to identify and provide reasonable instructional accommodations. I am more than happy to accommodate needs, but it is your responsibility to complete this process officially and in a timely manner, within three weeks of course inception (or upon the recognition of a disability).

Diversity and Inclusion

Diversity is a source of strength, creativity, and innovation for UW-Madison. We value the contributions of each person and respect the profound ways their identity, culture, background, experience, status, abilities, and opinion enrich the university community. We commit ourselves to the pursuit of excellence in teaching, research, outreach, and diversity as inextricably linked goals. The University of Wisconsin-Madison fulfills its public mission by creating a welcoming and inclusive community for people from every background – people who as students, faculty, and staff

serve Wisconsin and the world. For more information, please visit: <https://diversity.wisc.edu/>.

c. Course Schedule

Module I. Traditions and Transformation of the Chinese State

January 24: **Introduction: What is so different about China?**

- Dreyer. Chapter 1. pp. 1-23.
- Saich. Chapter 1. pp. 1-16.
- (Optional) Marshall, Tim. 2015. *The Prisoner of Geography: Ten Maps that Explain Everything About the World*. pp. 40-67

January 26: **Early Chinese Statebuilding**

- Dreyer. Chapter 2. pp. 24-45.
- Zhao, Dingxin. 2015. *The Confucian-Legalist State: A New Theory of Chinese History*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 1. pp. 29-50
- Hui, Victoria Tin-Bor. 2006. *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2. pp. 54-108.
- (Optional) Wang, Yuhua. 2022. *The Rise and Fall of Imperial China: The Social Origins of State Development*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1-2. pp. 3-60.
- (Optional) Peng, Peng. "Governing the Empire: Meritocracy and Patronage in Imperial China." Unpublished Working Paper.

January 31: **China's Struggles for a Modern State, 1840–1949**

- Dreyer. Chapter 3. pp. 46-75.
- Moore, Barrington. 1974. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Penguin University Books. Chapter 4. pp. 162-227.
- Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 7. pp. 236-283.
- (Optional) Hsu, Immanuel C. Y. 1999. *The Rise of Modern China*. 6th edition. Oxford University Press. Chapters 21-24. pp. 493-618.

Module II. The PRC's Political Institutions

February 2: **The Chinese Communist Party I: Organization and Structure**

- Saich. Chapter 4. pp. 85-115.

- Gore, Lance L. P. “Managing Human Resources to Sustain the One-Party Rule,” in Zheng and Gore (eds). Chapter 3. pp. 51-80.
- Wang, Zhengxu and Dragan Pavličević. “Party Chiefs, Formal and Informal Rules and Institutions,” in Zheng and Gore (eds). Chapter 4. pp. 81-98.
- (Optional) Wu, Guoguang. 2015. *China’s Party Congress: Power, Legitimacy, and Institutional Manipulation*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 & 2. pp. 1-53.
- (Optional) Miller, Alice. 2017. “The CCP Central Committee’s Leading Small Groups,” in *Critical Readings of the Communist Party of China*. Brill. pp. 279-303.

February 7: **The Chinese Communist Party II: Party Members**

- Brødsgaard, Kjeld Erik. “Turning the CCP into an Elite Party,” In Zheng and Gore (eds.) Chapter 2. pp. 33-48.
- Koss, Daniel. 2018. *Where the Party Rules The Rank and File of China’s Communist State*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1. pp. 3-33.
- Ji, Chengyuan and Junyan Jiang. 2020. “Enlightened One-Party Rule? Ideological Differences between Chinese Communist Party Members and the Mass Public.” *Political Research Quarterly*, 73(3). pp. 651–666.
- (Optional) Koss. Chapter 6. pp. 193-242.
- (Optional) Tang, Wenfang. 2017. “Same Bed, Different Dreams: The Bifurcation of the Chinese Communist Party,” in Wei Shan and Lijun Yang (eds.) *The Rising Civil Society and State Society Relations in China*. World Scientific. pp. 123–51.

February 9: **The Chinese Communist Party III: Political Selection and Control**

- Brødsgaard, Kjeld Erik. 2017. “Management of Party Cadres in China.” in Kjeld Erik Brødsgaard (eds.), *Critical Readings of the Communist Party of China*. Brill. pp. 390–420.
- Li, Hongbin and Li-An Zhou. 2005. “Political Turnover and Economic Performance: the Incentive Role of Personnel Control in China.” *Journal of Public Economics* 89(9-10). pp. 1743-1762
- Shih, Victor, Christopher Adolph, and Mingxing Liu. 2012. “Getting Ahead in the Communist Party: Explaining the Advancement of Central Committee Members in China.” *American Political Science Review* 106(1). pp. 166–87.
- (Optional) Jia, Ruixue, Masayuki Kudamatsu, and David Seim. 2015. “Political Selection in China: The Complementary Roles of Connections and Performance.” *Journal of the European Economic Association* 13(4). pp. 631-668.
- (Optional) Jiang, Junyan, and Zhaotian Luo. 2021. “Leadership Styles and Political Survival of Chinese Communist Party Elites.” *The Journal of Politics* 83(2). pp. 777-782.
- (Optional) Landry, Pierre F., Xiaobo Lü, and Haiyan Duan. “Does Performance Matter? Evaluating Political Selection along the Chinese Administrative Ladder.” *Comparative Political Studies* 51(8). pp. 1074-1105.

February 14: **Government I: Central Bureaucracy**

- Saich. Chapter 5. pp. 116-153.
- Xu, Yi-chong, and Patrick Weller. 2016. "The Challenges of Governing: The State Council in China." *The China Journal* 76(1). pp. 1-23.
- Zheng, Yongnian. 2017. "The Party Domination of the State," in Kjeld Erik Brødsgaard (eds.), *Critical Readings of the Communist Party of China*. Brill. pp. 249-278.
- (Optional) Halpern, Nina P. 1992. "Information Flows and Policy Coordination in the Chinese Bureaucracy," in Kenneth G. Lieberthal and David M. Lampton (eds.), *Bureaucracy, Politics, and Decision Making in Post-Mao China*. University of California Press. pp. 125-150.

February 16: **Government II: Local and Street-level Bureaucracy**

- Saich. Chapter 6. pp. 154-190.
- Edin, Maria. 2017. "Remaking the Communist Party-State: The Cadre Responsibility System at the Local Level in China," in Kjeld Erik Brødsgaard (eds.), *Critical Readings of the Communist Party of China*. Brill. pp. 421-436.
- Jiang, Junyan. 2018. "Making Bureaucracy Work: Patronage Networks, Performance Incentives, and Economic Development in China." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(4). pp. 982-999.
- (Optional) Zhao, Suisheng. 1994. "China's Central-Local Relationship: A Historical Perspective," in Jia Hao, Lin Zhimin (eds.) *Changing Central-Local Relations in China*. Routledge. pp. 19-34.
- (Optional) Birney, Mayling. 2012. "Decentralization and Veiled Corruption under China's 'Rule of Mandates.'" *World Development* vol. 53. pp. 55-67.

February 21: **People's Congresses I: Representation and Policy Coordination**

- Truex, Rory. 2016. *Making Autocracy Work: Representation and Responsiveness in Modern China*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 & 3. pp. 1-14 & 46-74.
- Manion, Melanie. 2014. "Authoritarian Parochialism: Local Congressional Representation in China." *The China Quarterly*, 218. pp. 311-338.
- Lü, Xiaobo, Mingxing Liu, and Feiyue Li. 2018. "Policy Coalition Building in an Authoritarian Legislature: Evidence From China's National Assemblies (1983-2007)." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(9). pp. 1380-1416.
- (Optional) Truex, Rory. 2020. "Authoritarian Gridlock? Understanding Delay in the Chinese Legislative System." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(9). pp. 1455-1492
- (Optional) Truex, Rory. 2016. *Making Autocracy Work: Representation and Responsiveness in Modern China*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2. pp. 15-45. (Note: this chapter is mathematically intensive. Please feel free to skip the math while reading.)

February 23: **People's Congresses II: Information and Bureaucratic Control**

- Manion, Melanie. 2015. *Information for Autocrats: Representation in Chinese Local Congresses*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 & 2. pp. 25-77.
- Manion, Melanie. 2017. " 'Good Types' in Authoritarian Elections: The Selectoral Connection in Chinese Local Congresses." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(3). pp. 362–394.
- (Optional) Hou, Yue. 2019. *The Private Sector in Public Office: Selective Property Rights in China*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, 3, & 4. pp. 1-16 & 43-101.
- (Optional) Lei, Zhenhuan, and Jeffrey B. Nugent. 2018. "Coordinating China's Economic Growth Strategy via Its Government-Controlled Association for Private Firms." *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 46. pp. 1273-1293.

February 28: **The Legal System and Judiciary, I: Political Control of the Judiciary**

- Dreyer. Chapter 8. pp. 177-201.
- Wang, Jiangyu. "The Party in the Legislature and the Judiciary," in Zheng and Gore (eds.) Chapter 9. pp. 181-198.
- Wang, Yuhua. 2015. *Tying the Autocrat's Hands: The Rise of the Rule of Law in China*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1. pp. 1-15.
- (Optional) Li, Ling. 2017. "The Chinese Communist Party and People's Courts: Judicial Dependence in China" in Kjeld Erik Brødsgaard (eds.), *Critical Readings of the Communist Party of China*. Brill. pp. 1320–1368.

March 2: **The Legal System and Judiciary, II: External Influence on Chinese Courts**

- Wang, Yuhua. 2015. *Tying the Autocrat's Hands: The Rise of the Rule of Law in China*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2 & 3. pp. 16-80.
- Ang, Yuen Yuen, and Nan Jia. 2014. "Perverse Complementarity: Political Connections and the Use of Courts Among Private Firms in China." *The Journal of Politics* 76(2). pp. 318-332.
- Xu, Jian. 2020. "The Role of Corporate Political Connections in Commercial Lawsuits: Evidence From Chinese Courts." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(14). pp. 2321–2358.
- (Optional) Wang, Yuhua. 2018. "Relative Capture: Quasi-Experimental Evidence From the Chinese Judiciary." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(8). pp. 1021-1041.

March 7: **Midterm Exam**

Module III. Reforms and Paradigm Shifts in the PRC

March 9: **Mao's Socialist Revolution and its Legacies, I**

- Dreyer. Chapter 4. pp. 76-103.

- Saich. Chapter 2 (subsections 1-4). pp. 29-43.
- Kung, James Kai-Sing, and Shuo Chen. 2011. "The Tragedy of the Nomenklatura: Career Incentives and Political Radicalism during China's Great Leap Famine." *American Political Science Review* 105(1): 27-45.
- (Optional) Lin, Justin Yifu. 1990. "Collectivization and China's Agricultural Crisis in 1959-1961." *Journal of Political Economy* 98(6). pp. 1228-1252.
- (Optional) Meng, Xin, Nancy Qian, and Pierre Yared. 2015. "The Institutional Causes of Famine in China, 1959-61." *The Review of Economic Studies*, 82(4). pp. 1568-1611.

March 11-19: **Spring Break, no class**

March 21: **Mao's Socialist Revolution and its Legacies, II**

- Saich. Chapter 7 (subsection 1). pp. 191-197.
- Koss, Daniel. 2018. *Where the Party Rules: The Rank and File of China's Communist State*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 7 & 8. pp. 243-308.
- Wang, Yuhua. 2021. "The Political Legacy of Violence During China's Cultural Revolution" *British Journal of Political Science* 51(2). pp. 463-87.
- (Optional) Chen, Yi, Ziying Fan, Xiaomin Gu, and Li-An Zhou. 2020. "Arrival of Young Talent: The Send-Down Movement and Rural Education in China." *American Economic Review* 110 (11). pp. 3393-3430.

March 23: **The Reform Era I: Political Reforms**

- Saich. Chapter 2 (subsections 5-9). pp. 44-64.
- Dreyer. Chapter 5. pp. 104-134.
- Nathan, Andrew. 2003. "China's Changing of the Guard: Authoritarian Resilience". *Journal of Democracy* 14(1). pp. 6-17.
- Fewsmith, Joseph. 2021. *Rethinking Chinese Politics*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1-3. pp. 24-108.
- (Optional) Pen, Hsiao. 1995. "Separating the Party from the Government," in Carol Lee Hamrin, Suisheng Zhao, and A. Doak Barnett (eds.), *Decision-Making in Deng's China*. Routledge.

March 28: **The Reform Era II: Socioeconomic Reforms**

- Lin, Justin Yifu. 1992. "Rural Reforms and Agricultural Growth in China." *American Economic Review*, 82(1): 34-51.
- Xu, Chenggang. 2011. "The Fundamental Institutions of China's Reforms and Development." *Journal of Economic Literature*, 49(4): 1076-1151.
- Lau, Lawrence J., Yingyi Qian, and Gerard Roland. 2000. "Reform without Losers: An

Interpretation of China's Dual-Track Approach to Transition." *Journal of Political Economy*, 108(1): 120-143.

- (Optional) Ang, Yuen Yuen. 2016. *How China Escaped the Poverty Trap*. Cornell University Press. Intro & Chapter 1. pp. 1-72.
- (Optional) Huang, Yasheng. 1996. "Central-Local Relations in China during the Reform Era: the Economic and Institutional Dimensions." *World Development* 24(4). pp. 655-672.

March 30: **The "New Era" under Xi Jinping, 2012–Present**

- Dreyer. Chapter 6. pp. 135-147.
- Fewsmith, Joseph. 2021. *Rethinking Chinese Politics*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4-6. pp. 109-184.
- Shirk, Susan. 2018. "China in Xi's 'New Era': The Return to Personalistic Rule". *Journal of Democracy* 29(2). pp. 22-36.
- (Optional) Li, Cheng. 2016. *Chinese Politics in the Xi Jinping Era: Reassessing Collective Leadership*. Brookings Institution Press.
- (Optional) Zhao, Suisheng. 2016. "Xi Jinping's Maoist Revival." *Journal of Democracy* 27(3). pp. 83-97.

Module IV. Contemporary Challenges in Chinese Politics

April 4: **Corruption**

- Saich. Chapter 12 (subsection 2). pp. 354-363.
- Wedeman, Andrew. 2004. "The Intensification of Corruption in China." *The China Quarterly*, 180. pp. 895-921.
- Carothers, Chris. 2020. "Taking Authoritarian Anti-Corruption Reform Seriously." *Perspectives on Politics* 20(1). pp. 69-85.
- Chen, Gang. "Politics of the Anti-Corruption Campaign," in Zheng and Gore (eds.) Chapter 7. pp. 137-158.
- (Optional) Manion, Melanie. 2004. *Corruption by Design: Building Clean Government in Mainland China and Hong Kong*. Harvard University Press. Chapter 3-5. pp. 84-199.
- (Optional) Chen, Ting, and James Kai-sing Kung. 2019. "Busting the 'Princelings': The Campaign Against Corruption in China's Primary Land Market." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 134(1). pp. 185-226.
- (Optional) Lorentzen, Peter L., and Xi Lu. 2018. "Personal Ties, Meritocracy, and China's Anti-Corruption Campaign." *SSRN Working Paper*.

April 6: **Propaganda**

- Brady, Anne-Marie. 2009. *Marketing Dictatorship: Propaganda and Thought Work in Contemporary China*. Rowman & Littlefield. Chapter 1. pp. 1-34.
- Huang, Haifeng. 2015. "Propaganda as Signaling." *Comparative Politics*, 47(4). pp. 419-444.
- Repnikova, Maria, and Kecheng Fang. "Authoritarian Participatory Persuasion 2.0: Netizens as Thought Work Collaborators in China." *Journal of Contemporary China* 27(113). pp. 763-779.
- (Optional) Zhao, Suisheng. 2016. "The ideological campaign in Xi's China: Rebuilding regime legitimacy." *Asian Survey* 56(6) pp. 1168-1193.
- (Optional) Fang, Kecheng, and Maria Repnikova. 2018. "Demystifying 'Little Pink': the Creation and Evolution of a Gendered Label for Nationalistic Activists in China." *New Media & Society* 20(6). pp. 2162-2185.
- (Options) Wang, Zheng. 2013. *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations*. Columbia University Press. Intro-Chapter 2 & Chapter 5. pp. 1-70 & 95-118.

April 11: **Censorship**

Guest Lecturer: Tony Zirui Yang, Washington University in St. Louis

- Roberts, Margaret E. 2018. *Censored: Distraction and Diversion Inside China's Great Firewall*. Princeton Press. Chapter 2 & 3. pp. 21-112.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expressions." *American Political Science Review* 107(2). pp. 326-343.
- Chen, Yuyu, and David Y. Yang. 2019. "The Impact of Media Censorship: 1984 or Brave New World?" *American Economic Review*, 109(6). pp. 2294-2332.
- (Optional) Gallagher, Mary, and Blake Miller. 2021. "Who Not What: The Logic of China's Information Control Strategy." *The China Quarterly* 248(1). pp. 1011-36.
- (Optional) King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2017. "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument." *American Political Science Review* 111(3). pp. 484-501.
- (Optional) Huang, Haifeng, and Yao-Yuan Yeh. 2019. "Information from Abroad: Foreign Media, Selective Exposure and Political Support in China." *British Journal of Political Science* 49(2). pp. 611-636.

April 13: **Economic Challenges**

- Saich. Chapter 9. pp. 244-275.
- Economy, Elizabeth. 2018. *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 4 & 5. pp. 91-151.
- Naughton, Barry. 2016. "The Challenges of Economic Growth and Reform," in Robert S. Ross and Jo Inge Bekkevold (eds.) *China in the Era of Xi Jinping: Domestic and Foreign*

Policy Challenges. Georgetown University Press. pp. 66-91.

- (Optional) Naughton, Barry. 2016. "Supply-Side Structural Reform: Policymakers Look for a Way Out." *China Leadership Monitor* 49(1). pp. 1-13.
- (Optional) Leutert, Wendy. 2018. "Firm Control: Governing the State-owned Economy under Xi Jinping." *China Perspectives* no. 1-2 (2018). pp. 27-36.

April 18: **Political Participation I: Peaceful Means**

- Martinez-Bravo, Monica, Gerard Padró i Miquel, Nancy Qian, and Yang Yao. 2022. "The Rise and Fall of Local Elections in China." *American Economic Review* 112(9). pp. 2921-58.
- Chen, Jidong, Jennifer Pan, and Yiqing Xu. 2015. "Sources of Authoritarian Responsiveness: A Field Experiment in China." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(2). pp. 383-400.
- Distelhorst, Greg, and Yue Hou. 2017. "Constituency Service under Nondemocratic Rule: Evidence from China." *Journal of Politics* 79(3). pp. 1024-1040.
- (Optional) Brown, Junius. 2021. "Development and Citizenship in the Chinese 'Mayor's Mailbox' System" *Asian Survey* 61(3). pp. 443-472.
- (Optional) Jiang, Junyan, Tianguang Meng, and Qing Zhang. 2019. "From Internet to Social Safety Net: The Policy Consequences of Online Participation in China." *Governance* 32(3). pp. 531-546.

April 20: **Political Participation II: Protests, Repression, and Contentious Politics**

- Fewsmith, Joseph. 2016. "The Challenges of Stability and Legitimacy," in Robert S. Ross and Jo Inge Bekkevold (eds.) *China in the Era of Xi Jinping: Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges*. Georgetown University Press. pp. 92-116.
- Lorentzen, Peter L. 2013. "Regularizing Rioting: Permitting Public Protest in an Authoritarian Regime," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 8(2). pp 127-158.
- Fu, Diana. 2017. "Disguised Collective Action in China." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(4). pp. 499-527.
- Xu, Xu. 2021. "To Repress or To Co-opt? Authoritarian Control in the Age of Digital Surveillance." *American Journal of Political Science* 65(2). pp. 309-325.
- (Optional) Fu, Diana. 2017. *Mobilizing without the Masses: Control and Contention in China*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1-4. pp. 1-88.
- (Optional) Wang, Yuhua and Carl Minzner. 2015. "The Rise of the Chinese Security State." *The China Quarterly* 222. pp. 339-59.

April 25: **Ethnic Minorities**

- Dreyer. Chapter 13. pp. 294-326.
- Zenz, Adrian, and James Leibold. 2019. "Securitizing Xinjiang: Police Recruitment, Informal Policing and Ethnic Minority Co-Optation." *The China Quarterly* no. 242. pp. 324-48.

- Liu, Chuyu. 2021. "Money Talks: Cross-Ethnic Patronage and Ethnic Conflict in China." *International Studies Quarterly* 65(4). pp. 985–998.
- Luqiu, Luwei Rose, and Fan Yang. 2018. "Islamophobia in China: News Coverage, Stereotypes, and Chinese Muslims' Perceptions of Themselves and Islam." *Asian Journal of Communication* 28(6). pp. 598-619.
- (Optional) Distelhorst, Greg, and Yue Hou. 2014. "Ingroup bias in official behavior: A national field experiment in China." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 9(2) pp. 203-230.
- (Optional) Liu, Chuyu. 2019. "Local Public Goods Expenditure and Ethnic Conflict: Evidence from China." *Security Studies* 28(4). pp. 739-772.

April 27: **Ultimate Challenge: Is Political Reform Still Possible in China?**

- Saich. Chapter 12 (subsection 4). pp. 368-374.
- Fewsmith, Joseph, and Andrew J. Nathan. 2019. "Authoritarian Resilience Revisited: Joseph Fewsmith with Response from Andrew J. Nathan." *Journal of Contemporary China* 28(116). pp. 167-179.
- Pei, Minxin. 2020. "China's Coming Upheaval: Competition, the Coronavirus, and the Weakness of Xi Jinping." *Foreign Affairs* 99. pp. 82-95.

May 2: **Review Session**

Final Exam Date: TBD