

Power and Politics in Contemporary China: Political Changes in the Reform Era

Fall 2025 / Young Nam Cho (趙英男)

yncho@snu.ac.kr / Tel: 880-5811

Course Description

This seminar examines central aspects and significant results of China's political reforms in the reform era. Special attention will be paid to such topics as the changing structure and operation of China's political system, changes of elite politics and leadership, shifting central-local relations, emerging entrepreneur class and its political implications, changes of state- society relations, and prospect for China's democratization. This course is designed for students who have already acquired some background knowledge of China. Each student is expected to complete weekly readings, participate in presentation and class discussion, write weekly reports, and submit mid-term and final papers. **Korean will be the main medium of communications for this course.**

Key words: Chinese politics, CCP, political elite, central-local relations, legislative reform, civil society, popular protest, nationalism

Evaluation: Class presentation and discussion (20%), and term paper (80%)

Background Readings

- 1. Governing System of China (Required reading for all students):** 『중국의 통치체제 1: 공산당 영도 체제』 (파주: 21세기북스, 2022); 『중국의 통치체제 2: 공산당 통제 기제』 (파주: 21세기북스, 2022); 『중국의 통치체제 3: 국가 헌정 체제』 (파주: 21세기북스, 2025); - 3Pro TV <조영남의 중국통> 시즌1·2; 『중국의 엘리트 정치: 마오쩌둥에서 시진핑까지』 (서울: 민음사, 2019)-EBS Class© <중국 엘리트 정치>(16강)
- 2. History of Reform Era:** 『개혁과 개방: 덩샤오핑 시대의 중국1(1976-1982년)』 (서울: 민음사, 2016); 『파벌과 투쟁: 덩샤오핑 시대의 중국2(1983-1987년)』 (서울: 민음사, 2016); 『텐안먼 사건: 덩샤오핑 시대의 중국3(1988-1992년)』 (서울: 민음사, 2016)

3. Basic Study of Chinese Politics: 『용과 춤을 추자: 한국의 눈으로 중국 읽기』 (서울: 민음사, 2012); 『중국의 꿈: 시진핑 리더십과 중국의 미래』 (서울: 민음사, 2013)

1. Introduction (Sept. 3)

2. The Structure and Operation of China's Political System (Sept. 10)

*** Required Readings**

*Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform* (Second Edition) (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004), pp. 171-242

Michel Oksenberg, "China's Political System: Challenges of the Twenty-first Century," *China Journal*, No. 45 (January 2001), pp. 21-35

David Shambaugh, *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation* (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2008), pp. 128-160

<Recommended Readings 1> Joseph Fewsmith, *China Since Tiananmen: The Politics of Transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Shiping Zheng, *Party vs. State in Post-1949 China: The Institutional Dilemma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Roderick MacFarquhar (ed.), *The Politics of China: The Era of Mao and Deng* (2nd Edition) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Richard Baum, *Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping* (4th printing) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Maurice Meisner, *The Deng Xiaoping Era: An Inquiry into the Fate of Chinese Socialism, 1978-1994* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996); Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (Revised and Expanded Edition) (New York: The Free Press, 1986)

<Recommended Readings 2> Kjeld Erik Brodsgaard and Zheng Yongnian (eds.), *The Chinese Communist Party in Reform* (London: Routledge, 2006); Lu Ning, *The Dynamics of Foreign-Policy Decision-Making in China* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997); Michael D. Swaine, *The Role of the Chinese Military in National Security Policymaking* (Washington D.C.: Rand, 1996); Carol Lee Hamrin and Suisheng Zhao (eds.), *Decision-Making in Deng's China: Perspectives from Insiders* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1995); Kenneth G. Lieberthal and David M. Lampton (eds.), *Bureaucracy, Politics, and Decision Making in Post-Mao China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Kenneth Lieberthal and Michel Oksenberg, *Policy Making in China: Leaders, Structures, and Processes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); David M. Lampton (ed.), *Policy Implementation in Post-Mao China* (Berkeley:

University of California Press, 1987).

3. Elite Politics in the Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao Era (Sept. 17)

*[Restoration of Collective Leadership] Alice L. Miller, “Institutionalization and the Changing Dynamics of Chinese Leadership Politics,” in Cheng Li (ed.), *China’s Changing Political Landscape: Prospects for Democracy* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2008), pp. 61-79

*[Power Succession] Jing Huang, “Institutionalization of Political Succession in China: Progress and Implications,” in Cheng Li (ed.), *China’s Changing Political Landscape: Prospects for Democracy* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2008), pp. 80-97

*Young Nam Cho, “Elite Politics and the 17th Party Congress in China: Changing Norms amid Continuing Questions,” *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (June 2008), pp. 155-168

*조영남, 「시진핑, ‘일인지배’의 첫발을 내딛다!: 중국공산당 20차 전국대표대회 분석」, 『중국사회과학논총』 5권 1호(2023년 봄), pp. 4-44.

Young Nam Cho, “Continuity and Change in China’s Elite Politics at the 19th Party Congress: Is Xi Jinping’s ‘One-man Rule’ Established?” in ,” *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (March 2018), pp. 61-77

Joseph Fewsmith, “Elite Politics: The Struggle for Normality,” in Joseph Fewsmith (ed.), *China Today, China Tomorrow: Domestic Politics, Economy, and Society* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), pp. 149-164

조영남, 「개혁기 중국 엘리트 정치의 연구 현황과 과제」, 『중소연구』 45권 3호(2021 가을), pp. 7-101

<Recommended Readings> 조영남, 『중국의 엘리트 정치: 마오쩌둥에서 시진핑까지』 (서울: 민음사, 2019); 조영남·안치영·구자선, 『중국의 민주주의: 공산당의 당내민주 연구』 (파주: 나남, 2011); Joseph Fewsmith, *Elite Politics in Contemporary China* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2001); Jing Huang, *Factionalism in Chinese Communist Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Joseph Fewsmith, “Elite Politics,” in Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar (eds.), *The Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 47-75; Frederick C. Teiwes, “Normal Politics with Chinese Characteristics,” *China Journal*, No. 45 (January 2001), pp. 69-82; Lowell Dittmer and Yu-Shan Wu, “Leadership Coalitions and Economic Transformation in Reform China: Revising the Political Business Cycle,” in Lowell Dittmer and Guoli Liu (eds.), *China’s Deep Reform: Domestic Politics in Transition* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006),

pp. 49-80; Xuezhong Guo, "Dimensions of Guanxi in Chinese Elite Politics," *China Journal*, No. 46 (July 2001), pp. 69-90; Papers of Lowell Dittmer, Frederick C. Teiwes, David Bachman, David Shambaugh in *China Journal*, No. 45 (January 2001), "Forum: The Nature of Chinese Politics Today"; Papers of Lucian W. Pye, Frederick C. Teiwes, Tsou Tang, Andrew J. Nathan and Kees Kerkhove published in *China Journal*, No. 34 (January 1995); Avery Goldstein, "Trend in the Study of Political Elites and Institutions in the PRC," *China Quarterly*, No. 139 (September 1994).

4. Changes of Elites: From Revolutionary Cadres to Technocrats and Others (Sept. 24)

*Cheng Li, *China's Leaders: The New Generation* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001), pp. 25-50

*Cheng Li and Lynn White, "The Sixteenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Emerging Patterns of Power Sharing," in Lowell Dittmer and Guoli Liu (eds.), *China's Deep Reform: Domestic Politics in Transition* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), pp. 81-118

Andrew G. Walder, "The Party Elite and China's Trajectory of Change," in Kjeld Erik Brodsgaard and Zheng Yongnian (eds.), *The Chinese Communist Party in Reform* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 15-32

Hong Yung Lee, *From Revolutionary Cadres to Party Technocrats in Socialist China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 387-428

<**Recommended Readings**> Yun-Han Chu, Chih-Cheng Lo and Ramon H. Myers (eds.), *The New Chinese Leadership: Challenges and Opportunities after the 16th Party Congress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Zhiyue Bo, *Chinese Provincial Leaders: Economic Performance and Political Mobility since 1949* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2002); Shi Chen, "Leadership Change in Shanghai: Toward the Dominance of Party Technocrats," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 38, No. 7 (July 1998), pp. 671-87; Li Cheng and Lynn White, "The Fifteenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Full-Fledged Technocratic Leadership with Partial Control by Jiang Zemin," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (March 1998), pp. 231-64 (in Cheng Li's book); Cheng Li, "Jiang Zemin's Successors: The Rise of the Fourth Generation of Leadership in the PRC," *China Quarterly*, No. 161 (March 2000), pp. 1-40 (in Cheng Li's book); Li Cheng and Lynn White, "The Army in the Succession to Deng Xiaoping: Familiar Fealties and Technocratic Trends," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 33, No. 8 (August 1993), pp. 757-86; Li Cheng and Lynn White, "Elite Transformation and Modern Change in Mainland China and Taiwan," *China Quarterly*, No. 121 (March 1990), pp. 1-35; Hong Yung Lee, "China's New Bureaucracy?," in Arthur Rosenbaum (ed.), *State*

and Society in China: The Consequences of Reform (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 55-75; Hong Yung Lee, "Political and Administrative Reforms of 1982-86: The Changing Party Leadership and State Bureaucracy," in Michael Ying-Mao Kau and Susan H. Marsh (eds.), *China in the Era of Deng Xiaoping: A Decade of Reform* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1993), pp. 36-59; Xiaowei Zang, "Provincial Elite in Post-Mao China," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 31, No. 6 (June 1991), pp. 512-25; Xiaowei Zang, "The Fourteenth Central Committee of the CCP: Technocracy or Political Technocracy?", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 33, No. 8 (August 1993), pp. 787-803; Xiaowei Zang, "Provincial Elite Recruitment: Education and Experience," *Provincial China*, No. 4 (October 1997), pp. 50-55; Xiaowei Zang, "Ethnic Representation in the Current Chinese Leadership," *China Quarterly*, No. 153 (March 1998), pp. 107-27.

5. Central-Local Relations: Implementation of Decentralization Policies (Oct. 1)

*Jae Ho Chung, "Reappraising Central-Local Relations in Deng's China: Decentralization, Dilemmas of Control, and Diluted Effects of Reform," in Chien-min Chao and Bruce J. Dickson (eds.), *Remaking the Chinese State: Strategies, Society, and Security* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 46-75

*Dali L. Yang, *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan: Market Transformation and the Politics of Governance in China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 65-109

Jae Ho Chung, "Central-Local Dynamics: Historical Continuities and Institutional Resilience," in Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth J. Perry (eds.), *Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), pp. 297-320

Yongnian Zheng, "Central-Local Relations: The Power to Dominate," Joseph Fewsmith (ed.), *China Today, China Tomorrow: Domestic Politics, Economy, and Society* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), pp. 193-222

<Recommended Readings> 정재호, 『중국의 중앙-지방 관계론: 분권화 개혁의 정치경제』 (서울: 나남, 1999); Jae Ho Chung and Tao-Chiu Lam (eds.), *China's Local Administration: Traditions and Changes in the Sub-national Hierarchy* (London: Routledge, 2010); Jae Ho Chung, *Central Control and Local Discretion in China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Jae Ho Chung (ed.), *Cities in China: Recipes for Economic Development in the Reform Era* (London: Routledge, 1999); Hans Hendrichske and Feng Chongyi (eds.), *The Political Economy of China's Provinces: Comparative and Comparative Advantage* (London: Routledge, 1999); Linda Chelan Li, *Centre and Provinces: China 1978-1993 Power as Non-Zero-Sum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Peter T. Y. Cheung, Jae Ho Chung,

and Zhimin Lin (eds.), *Provincial Strategies of Economic Reform in Post-Mao China* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1998); David S.G. Goodman (ed.), *China's Provinces in Reform: Class, Community and Political Culture* (London: Routledge, 1997); David S.G. Goodman and Gerald Segal (eds.), *China Deconstructs: Politics, Trade and Regionalism* (London: Routledge, 1994); Jia Hao and Lin Zhimin (eds.), *Changing Central-Local Relations in China: Reform and State Capacity* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994).

6. Legislative Reforms: The Strengthened Roles of Chinese People's Congresses (Oct. 15)

*Murray Scot Tanner, "The National Peoples Congress," in Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar (eds.), *The Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 100-28

*Young Nam Cho, "From Rubber Stamps to Iron Stamps: The Emergence of Chinese Local Peoples Congresses as Supervisory Powerhouse," *China Quarterly*, No. 171 (September 2002), pp. 724-740

*Young Nam Cho, "The Politics of Lawmaking in Chinese Local People's Congresses," *China Quarterly*, No. 187 (September 2006), pp. 592-609

*Young Nam Cho, "Symbiotic Neighbour or Extra-Court Judge? The Supervision over Courts by Chinese Local People's Congresses," *China Quarterly*, No. 176 (December 2003), pp. 1068-1083

<Recommended Readings> 조영남, 『중국 의회정치의 발전』 (서울: 폴리아테아, 2006); 조영남, 『중국 정치개혁과 전국인대: 개혁기 구조와 역할의 변화』 (서울: 나남, 2000); Young Nam Cho, *Local People's Congresses in China: Development and Transition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Ming Xia, *The People's Congresses and Governance in China: Toward a Network Mode of Governance* (London: Routledge, 2007); Murray Scot Tanner, *The Politics of Lawmaking in China: Institutions, Processes, and Democratic Prospects* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); An Chen, *Restructuring Political Power in China: Alliances and Opposition, 1978-1998* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999); Kevin J. O'Brien, *Reform Without Liberalization: China's National People's Congress and the Politics of Institutional Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Young Nam Cho, "Symbiotic Neighbor or Extra-Court Judge? The Supervision over Courts by Chinese Local People's Congresses," *China Quarterly* 176 (December 2003), pp. 1068-83; Young Nam Cho, "Public Supervisors and Reflectors: Role Fulfillment of the Chinese People's Congress Deputies in the Market Socialist Era," *Development and Society*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (December 2003), pp. 197-227; Ming Xia, "Political Contestation and the Emergence of the Provincial Peoples Congresses as Power in Chinese Politics: A Network Explanation," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 9, No. 24 (2000), pp. 185-214;

Kevin J. O'Brien, "Chinese Peoples Congresses and Legislative Embeddedness: Understanding Early Organizational Development," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (April 1994), pp. 80-109; Kevin J. O'Brien, "Agents and Remonstrators: Role Accumulation by Chinese People's Congress Deputies," *China Quarterly*, No. 138 (June 1994), pp. 359-79.

7. Term Paper Proposal: How to Write Academic Paper? (Oct. 22)

8. Political Participation and Electoral Reforms in the Reform Era (Oct. 29)

*Tianjian Shi, "Mass Political Behavior in Beijing," in Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar (eds.), *The Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 145-169

*Xinsong Wang, "Rights Consciousness, Economic Interests, and the 2003 District-level People's Congress Elections in China: Middle-Class Motivations and Democratic Implications," in Yang Zhong and Shiping Hua (eds.), *Political Civilization and Modernization in China: The Political Context of China's Transformation* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2006), pp. 251-288

*Lianjiang Li, "The Politics of Introducing Direct Township Elections in China," *China Quarterly*, No.171 (September 2002), pp. 704-723

Yawei Liu, "Local Elections: The Elusive Quest for Choice," in Joseph Fewsmith (ed.), *China Today, China Tomorrow: Domestic Politics, Economy, and Society* (Lanham: Rowman & LittleField Publishers, 2010), pp. 165-179

<**Recommended Readings**> Larry Diamond and Ramon H. Myers (eds.), *Elections and Democracy in Greater China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Tianjian Shi, *Political Participation in Beijing* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); Alan P.L. Liu, *Mass Politics in the People's Republic: State & Society in Contemporary China* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996); Wenfang Tang and William L. Parish, *Chinese Urban Life under Reform: The Changing Social Contract* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 184-206; Baogang He and Stig Thøgersen, "Giving the People a Voice? Experiments with Consultative Authoritarian Institutions in China," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 19, No. 66 (September 2010), pp. 675-692; He Junzhi, "Independent Candidates in China's Local People's Congresses: A Typology," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 19, No. 64 (March 2010), pp. 311-333; Yusheng Yao, "Village Elections and Redistribution of Political Power and Collective Property," *China Quarterly* Vol. 197 (March 2009), pp. 126-144; 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* Vol. 195 (September 2008), pp. 607-630; Stig Thøgersen, Jørgen Elklit and Dong Lisheng, "Consultative Elections of Chinese Township Leaders," *China Information* Vol. 22, No. 1 (March 2008), pp. 67-89; Lianjiang Shi, "Direct Township Elections," in Elizabeth J. Perry and Merle Goldman (eds.), *Grassroots Political Reform in Contemporary China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 97-116; Tianjian Shi, "Voting and Nonvoting in China: Voting Behavior in Plebiscitary and Limited-Choice Elections," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (November 1999), pp. 1115-39.

9. Basic-level Democracy: Villagers' Committees in Rural Areas (Nov. 5)

*Kevin O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, "Accommodating "Democracy" in a One-Party State: Introducing Village Election in China," *China Quarterly* 162 (June 2000), pp. 465-489

*Bjorn Alpermann, "The Post-Election Administration of Chinese Village," *China Journal* 46 (January 2001), pp. 45-68

*Lily L. Tsai, "The Struggles for Village Public Goods Provision: Informal Institutions of Accountability in Rural China," in Elizabeth J. Perry and Merle Goldman (eds.), *Grassroots Political Reform in Contemporary China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp.117-148

<Recommended Readings> Lily L. Tsai, *Accountability without Democracy: Solidarity Groups and Public Goods Provision in Rural China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Xu Wang, *Mutual Empowerment of State and Peasantry: Village Self-Government in Rural China* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2003); Qingshan Tan and Xin Qiushui, "Village Election and Governance: Do Villagers Care?" *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 16, No. 53 (November 2007), pp. 581-599; Robert A. Pastor and Qingshan Tan, "The Meaning of China's Village Elections," *China Quarterly* 162 (June 2000), pp. 490-512; Jean C. Oi and Scott Rozelle, "Elections and Power: The Locus of Decision-Making in Chinese Village," *China Quarterly* 162 (June 2000), pp. 513-539; Tianjin Shi, "Economic Development and Village Election in Rural China," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 8, No. 22 (1999), pp. 425-442; Tianjin Shi, "Village Committee Elections in China: Institutional Tactics for Democracy," *World Politics* 51 (1999), pp. 385-412; Lianjiang Li and Kevin O'Brien, "The Struggle over Village Elections," in Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar (eds.), *The Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 129-144; Sylvia Chan, "Research Notes on Villagers' Committee Election: Chinese-style Democracy," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 7, No.

19 (1998), pp. 507-521; Daniel Kelliher, "The Chinese Debate over Village Self-Government," *China Journal* 37 (January 1997), pp. 63-90; Jean C. Oi, "Economic Development, Stability and Democratic Village Self-governance," in Maurice Brosseau, Suzanne Pepper, and Tsang Shu-ki (eds.), *China Review 1996* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1996), pp. 125-144; Kevin O'Brien, "Implementing Political Reform in China's Villages," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 32 (1994), pp. 33-59; Susan V. Lawrence, "Democracy, Chinese Style," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 32 (1994), pp. 61-59.

10. Emergence of Private Entrepreneurs and its Political Implication (Nov. 12)

*Jie Chen and Bruce J. Dickson, *Allies of the State: China's Private Entrepreneurs and Democratic Change* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 18-37

*Jie Chen, "Attitude toward Democracy and the Political Behavior of China's Middle Class," in Cheng Li (ed.), *China's Emerging Middle Class: Beyond Economic Transformation* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010), pp. 334-358

*Bruce Dickson, *Wealth into Power: The Communist Party's Embrace of China's Private Sector* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), Chapters 3 and 4, pp. 66-135

<Recommended Readings> Kellee S. Tsai, *Capitalism without Democracy: The Private Sector in Contemporary China* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007); Bruce J. Dickson, *Red Capitalists in China: The Party, Private Entrepreneurs, and Prospects for Political Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); David L. Wank, *Commodifying Communism: Business, Trust, and Politics in a Chinese City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Margaret M. Pearson, *China's New Business Elite: The Political Consequences of Economic Reform* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1997);

*Bruce Dickson, "Do Good Businessmen Make Good Citizens? An Emerging Collective Identity among China's Private Entrepreneurs," in Merle Goldman and Elizabeth J. Perry (eds.), *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 255-287; Cheng Li, "Diversification of Chinese Entrepreneurs and Cultural Pluralism in the Reform Era," in Shiping Hua (ed.), *Chinese Political Culture: 1989-2000* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2001), pp. 219-245; Nan Lin and Chih-jou Jay Chen, "Local Elites as Officials and Owners: Shareholding and Property Rights in Daqiuzhuang," in Jean C. Oi and Andrew G. Walder (eds.), *Property Rights and Economic Reform in China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 145-170; David S.G. Goodman, "The New Middle Class," in Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar (eds.), *The Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 241-261; Kristen Parris, "The Rise of Private Business Interest," in

Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar (eds.), *The Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 262-282

11. State-Society Relations in the Reform Era ((Nov. 19)

*Tony Saich, "Negotiating the State: The Development of Social Organizations in China," *China Quarterly*, No. 161 (March 2000), pp. 124-141

*Mary E. Gallagher, "China: The Limits of Civil Society in a Late Leninist State," in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.), *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia: Expanding and Contracting Democratic Space* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 419-452

*Guobin Yang, "Environmental NGOs and Institutional Dynamics in China," *China Quarterly* 181 (March 2005), pp. 46-66

*Young Nam Cho, *Local People's Congresses in China: Development and Transition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), Chapter 6, pp. 113-142

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