

# Fall 2022

## PS7042/8042 Political Economy of China

### Class Information:

- Time: Wednesdays, 13:20-15:10
- Place: Online/Room 605, Social Sciences Building
- Course Website: <https://cool.ntu.edu.tw/courses/18399>

### Instructor:

- Name: **Hans H. Tung** ([hanstung@ntu.edu.tw](mailto:hanstung@ntu.edu.tw))
- Office Hours: Wednesdays, 15:30-17:30  
Sign up at:  
<https://www.signupgenius.com/go/70A0B4EAEAC2CAA8-fall>
- Office: Room 745, Social Sciences Building

## **1 Attention !! The Novel Coronavirus (COVID-19) Outbreak**

The NTU COVID-19 policy for the Spring 2022 stipulates that:

*Face masks must be worn in classrooms or laboratories by instructors and students when maintaining a social distance of 1.5 meters is not possible.*

We will also watch the outbreak closely during the semester and see if it is necessary for us to move the class online.

## 2 Course Design and Objectives

This seminar is designed to help graduate students understand various contemporary issues and topics on the political economy of China by reading major works in the fields. The philosophy of this class is that good research starts from improving upon the established scholarship. However, this course is by no means a comprehensive survey of all major fields. It looks for **depth** instead of breadth. I selectively choose five areas of great importance in the literature on China:

1. State-Society Relations
2. Political Communication
3. Political Economy
4. Comparative Politics
5. History

Keep such questions in mind as you read articles and books listed in the syllabus:

- What are the central issues at stake in this literature?
- What are the major arguments of the works under study?
- How do they relate to the debates in the field?
- How valuable and viable is the theory or argument that each puts forth?
- How effectively is evidence marshaled in support of the argument?
- Which scholarly disputes have been resolved?
- What good further work lies ahead?

## Requirements

- **Active Participation:** Each student is expected to complete all the required reading each week and to contribute to the collective discussion.
- **Class Presentation:** We will have one presenter per article in each week. In this 8-minute presentation, you should include:
  1. Your understanding of what issues the selected articles and books are dealing with and how they solve these issues
  2. Your critiques of the solutions proposed in the articles and books
- **Writing:**

1. One Review Article: Each student is required to write one review article on one of the five areas listed in the course syllabus. Your review article should analyze one or more central issues that the assigned readings for the topic address, locate the authors' chief positions regarding those issues, and comment critically on the state of the debate and the value of the individual contributions to it. It should be no more than 3,000 words, double-spaced, and use times font no smaller than 12 point. Try to be focused, terse, and selective. Your articles should be emailed to me in Week 16 (12/21/22).
2. One Seminar Paper: Each student is also required to submit a research proposal on a topic of his/her own choice (not limited to those covered in this course). In your proposal, you need to **justify** your choice of topic (i.e., why is it puzzling?), **define** your research question (e.g. what is the dependent variable of interest?), **develop** a theoretical argument and testable hypotheses (e.g. what is your explanation?), **identify** your data sources, and **specify** your methodology (e.g. quantitative or qualitative). Your research proposal should be roughly 15 pages, double-spaced, and use times font no smaller than 12 point. The due date of your research proposals will be announced later.

### 3 Grading

- Class participation (10%)
- Review article (40%)
- Research Proposal (50%)

### 4 Class Schedule and Reading List

#### Week 1 September 07, 2022 Introduction

#### Part I State-Society Relations

#### Week 2 September 14, 2022 Authoritarian Responsiveness

Readings:

- Chen, Jidong, Jennifer Pan, Yiqing Xu. 2016. "Sources of Authoritarian Responsiveness: A Field Experiment in China." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(2) 383-400.
- Ding, Iza. 2020. "Performative Governance." *World Politics* 72(4): 525-556.

- Distelhorst, Greg and Yue Hou. 2017. "Constituency Service under Nondemocratic Rule: Evidence from China." *Journal of Politics* 79(3): 1024-1040.
- Heurlin, Christopher. 2017. *Responsive Authoritarianism in China: Land, Protests, and Policy Making*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-2.

## Week 3 September 21, 2022 Transparency

Readings:

- Balla, Steven J. and Zhou dan Xie. 2021. "Online Consultation and the Institutionalization of Transparency and Participation in Chinese Policymaking." *China Quarterly* 246: 473-496.
- Kim, Jieun and Kevin J. O'Brien. 2021. "Understanding Experimentation and Implementation: A Case Study of China's Government Transparency Policy." *Asian Survey* 61(4): 591-614.
- Stromseth, Jonathan R. , Edmund J. Malesky, and Dimitar D. Gueorguiev. 2017. *China's Governance Puzzle Enabling Transparency and Participation in a Single-Party State*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2-3.
- Tan, Yeling. 2014. "Transparency without Democracy: The Unexpected Effects of China's Environmental Disclosure Policy." *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 27(1): 37-62.

## Week 4 September 28, 2022 Hong Kong's Protest-Repression Nexus

Readings:

- Cantoni, Davide Heizlsperger, Louis-Jonas Yang, David Y. Yuchtman, Noam and Zhang, Y. Jane 2022. "The fundamental determinants of protest participation: Evidence from Hong Kong's antiauthoritarian movement." *Journal of Public Economics* 211: 104667.
- Cheng, Edmund W. Lee, Francis L. F. Yuen, Samson and Tang, Gary 2022. "Total Mobilization from Below: Hong Kong's Freedom Summer." *China Quarterly* forthcoming.
- Fong, Brian C. H. 2021. "Exporting autocracy: how China's extra-jurisdictional autocratic influence caused democratic backsliding in Hong Kong." *Democratization* 28: 198-218.

- Tung, Hans H., Ming-jen Lin, and Yi-fan Lin. 2021. "Anti-ELAB Movement, National Security Law, and Heterogeneous Institutional Trust in Hong Kong." *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 22(4): 287-311.

## **Week 5 October 05, 2022 Guest Lecture: Victor Shih, UCSD (October 4, 2022)**

Topic: Coalitions of the Weak.

## **Part II Political Communication**

### **Week 6 October 12, 2022 Censorship**

Readings:

- Han, Rongbin and Li Shao. 2022. "Scaling Authoritarian Information Control: How China Adjusts the Level of Online Censorship." *Political Research Quarterly* forthcoming.
- Lu, Yingdan, Jack Schaefer, Kunwoo Park, Jungseock Joo, Jennifer Pan. 2022. "How Information Flows from the World to China." *International Journal of Press/Politics* forthcoming.
- Lorentzen, Peter. 2014. "China's Strategic Censorship." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(2): 402-414.
- Luo, Zhifan and Muyang Li. 2022. "Participatory censorship: How online fandom community facilitates authoritarian rule." *New Media & Society* forthcoming.

### **Week 7 October 19, 2022 Propaganda**

Readings:

- Carter, Erin Baggott and Brett L. Carter. 2022. "When Autocrats Threaten Citizens with Violence: Evidence from China." *British Journal of Political Science*, Volume 52(2): 671-696.
- Huang, Haifeng. 2018. "The Pathology of Hard Propaganda." *Journal of Politics* 80(3): 1034-1038.
- Mattingly, Daniel C. and Elaine Yao. 2022. "How Soft Propaganda Persuades." *Comparative Political Studies* forthcoming.

- Xu, Xu, Genia Kostka, and Xun Cao. 2022. "Information Control and Public Support for Social Credit Systems in China." *Journal of Politics* forthcoming.

## **Week 8 October 26, 2022 Media Bias**

- Chen, T., Hong, J. Y. 2020. "Rivals Within: Political Factions, Loyalty, and Elite Competition Under Authoritarianism." *Political Science Research and Methods* 1-16.
- Kim, Sung-Eun. 2018. "Media Bias against Foreign Firms as a Veiled Trade Barrier: Evidence from Chinese Newspapers." *American Political Science Review* 112(4): 954-970.
- Qin, Bei, David Stromberg, and Yanhui Wu. 2018. "Media Bias in China." *American Economic Review* 108(9): 2442-2476.
- Schweizer, Denis and Wang, Xinjie and Wu, Ge and Zhang, Aoran, Political Connections and Media Bias: Evidence from China (October 10, 2020). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3709127> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3709127>

## **Part III Political Economy**

### **Week 9 November 02, 2022 Redistribution**

Readings:

- Eaton, Sarah and Reza Hasmath. 2021. "Economic Legitimation in a New Era: Public Attitudes to State Ownership and Market Regulation in China." *China Quarterly* 246: 447-472.
- Huang, Xian. 2019. "Social Cleavages and Preferences for Government Redistribution in Contemporary China." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 54:415-450.
- Hwang, In Hye. 2022. "Compensating for Instability? Economic Openness, Threat of Social Unrest, and Welfare Provision in China." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 57: 171-197.
- Zhan, Jing Vivian. 2021. "Repress or Redistribute? The Chinese State's Response to Resource Conflicts." *China Quarterly* 248: 987-1010.

### **Week 10 November 09, 2022 State-Business Relationship**

Readings:

- Chen, Ting and James Kai-sing Kung. 2019. "Busting the Princelings: The Campaign Against Corruption in China's Primary Land Market." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 134(1): 185-226.
- Fang, Hanming, Jing Wu, Rongjie Zhang, and Li-An Zhou. 2022. "Understanding the Resurgence of the SOEs in China: Evidence from the Real Estate Sector." NBER Working Paper No. 29688.
- Han, Chaohua, Xiaojun Li and Jean C. Oi. 2022. "Firms as Revenue Safety Nets: Political Connections and Returns to the Chinese State." *China Quarterly* forthcoming.
- Rithmire, Meg and Hao Chen. 2021. "The Emergence of Mafia-like Business Systems in China." *China Quarterly* 248: 1037-1058.

## Part IV Comparative Politics

### Week 11 November 16, 2022 Power-Sharing and Personalization

#### Readings:

- Huhe, Narisong, Max Gallop and Shahryar Minhas. 2021. "Who are in charge, who do i work with, and who are my friends: A latent space approach to understanding elite coappearances in China." *Social Networks* 66: 26-37.
- Leber, Andrew, Christopher Carothers, Matthew Reichert. 2022. "When Can Dictators Go It Alone? Personalization and Oversight in Authoritarian Regimes." *Politics & Society* forthcoming.
- Sheng, Yumin. 2019. "The regional consequences of authoritarian power-sharing: Politburo representation and fiscal redistribution in China." *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 20: 162-189.
- Sun, Xin. 2018. "Power Sharing, Patronage, and Land Institutions in China." *Problems of Post-Communism* 66 (5): 315-328.

### Week 12 November 23, 2022 Authoritarian Legislatures

#### Readings:

- Gilli, M (Gilli, Mario), Li, Y (Li, Yuan), Qian, JW (Qian, Jiwei). 2018. "Logrolling under fragmented authoritarianism: theory and evidence from China" *PUBLIC CHOICE* 175(1-2): 197-214.

- Liu, Dongshu. 2022. "Policy Influence of Delegates in Authoritarian Legislatures: Evidence from China." *Political Research Quarterly* forthcoming.
- Lu Xiaobo, Mingxing Liu, and Feiyue Li. 2020. "Policy Coalition Building in an Authoritarian Legislature: Evidence From China's National Assemblies (1983-2007)." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(9): 1380-1416.
- Truex, Rory. 2018. "Authoritarian Gridlock? Understanding Delay in the Chinese Legislative System." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(9): 1455-1492

## Week 13 November 30, 2022 Factionalism

- Liu, Jingnan. 2021. "Factional politics and foreign direct investment in China." *Review of International Political Economy* forthcoming.
- Mattingly, Daniel C. 2022. "How the Party Commands the Gun: The Foreign-Domestic Threat Dilemma in China." *American Journal of Political Science* forthcoming.
- Meyer, David, Victor C. Shih and Jonghyuk Lee. 2016. "FACTIONS OF DIFFERENT STRIPES: GAUGING THE RECRUITMENT LOGICS OF FACTIONS IN THE REFORM PERIOD." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 16: 43-60.
- Tung, Hans H., Victor C. Shih, and Keng-chi Chang. 2022. "Asymmetric Signaling and the Consolidation of Dictatorial Control: Theory and Evidence from China's Military Reform." Presented at the 118th Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada.

## Part V History

### Week 14 December 07, 2022 Historical Legacies

Readings:

- Chen, Calvin and Rudra Sil. 2006. "Communist Legacies, Postcommunist Transformations, and the Fate of Organized Labor in Russia and China." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 41: 62-87.
- Desposato, Scott W. , Gang Wang, and Jason Y. Wu. 2021. "The Long-Term Impact of Mobilization and Repression on Political Trust." *Comparative Political Studies* 54(14): 2447-2474.
- Wang, Yuhua. 2021. "The Political Legacy of Violence During China's Cultural Revolution." *British Journal of Political Science* 51(2): 463-487.



- Zhang, Qi, Dong Zhang, Mingxing Liu, and Victor Shih. 2021. "Elite Cleavage and the Rise of Capitalism under Authoritarianism: A Tale of Two Provinces in China." *Journal of Politics* 83(3): 1010-23.

## **Week 15 December 14, 2022 Historical Political Economy**

Readings:

- Bai, Ying and Ruixue Jia. 2016. "Elite Recruitment and Political Stability: The Impact of the Abolition of China's Civil Service Exam." *Econometrica* 84(2): 677-733.
- Cao, Yiming, and Shuo Chen. 2022. "Rebel on the Canal: Disrupted Trade Access and Social Conflict in China, 1650-1911." *American Economic Review* 112 (5): 1555-90.
- Huang, Yasheng and Clair Yang. 2022. "A Longevity Mechanism of Chinese Absolutism." *Journal of Politics* 84(2): 1165-1175.
- Wang, Yuhua. 2022. "Blood is Thicker Than Water: Elite Kinship Networks and State Building in Imperial China." *American Political Science Review* 116(3): 896-910.

## **Week 16 December 21, 2022 Writing Period**