

POL 16: Politics of Global China

Part IIB HSPS Tripos 2024/2025

Course Organiser:

Dr. Christian Sorace

Room 228, Alison Richard Building, cs2205@cam.ac.uk

Lecturers:

Dr. Christian Sorace

Dr. Linda Qian

Michaelmas Term:

Lectures on Tuesdays, Weeks 1-8, 11am in Room SG2, Alison Richard Building

Lent Term:

TBD

Supervisors:

Dr Christian Sorace cs2205@cam.ac.uk

Dr Linda Qian lq236@cam.ac.uk

TBD

Outline:

China's increasingly prominent role in the world has attracted all kinds of attention, ranging from adulation to anxiety and war-mongering. Despite the spotlight given to Global China, much of it uncovers only glimpses and shadows. The reason for this is that it focuses on only part of the picture. It is difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle China's global aspirations from its domestic politics. This paper will begin with an overview of twentieth-century history in China, with special attention given to pivotal moments in the history of the People's Republic of China. During the Michaelmas Term, the paper will delve into the core issues of domestic politics, including: legitimisation, ideology, and discourse; organisation and institutions; political economic models and their internal tensions; energy and environmental politics; as well as, China's borderlands and minority nationalities. In the Lent Term, the paper will expand its scope to track several of the multiple trajectories and disputed impacts of China's presence across the globe. Throughout the paper, it will be necessary to reflexively grapple with how concepts and narratives come with their own sedimented histories and normative inscriptions. Any engagement with Global China requires an attentiveness to multiple voices and perspectives, which are too often submerged in the framing of US-China rivalry.

Supervisions:

Each term will consist of three supervisions. All essays should be typed and no longer than **1,500 words**, including a full bibliography. Please put your name, college and email address at the top of each essay.

Lent Supervisions will be announced in early January.

Assessment:

There will be a one five-hour written examination. Candidates must answer three questions with a limit of 4,500 words. Revision will be organised in the Easter Term.

Online Resources

Sinocism: <https://sinocism.com/>

ChinaFile: <https://www.chinafile.com/>

The China Project: <https://thechinaproject.com/>

China Law Translate: <https://www.chinalawtranslate.com/en/>

Made in China Journal: <https://madeinchinajournal.com/>

Global China Pulse: <https://thepeoplesmap.net/globalchinapulse/>

People's Map of Global China: <https://thepeoplesmap.net/>

Reading the China Dream: <https://www.readingthechinadream.com/>

Lausan: <https://lausancollective.com/>

Chuang: <https://chuangcn.org/about/>

Podcasts:

Sinica: <https://www.chinafile.com/library/sinica-podcast>

Pekingology: <https://www.csis.org/podcasts/pekingology>

The China in Africa Podcast: <https://thechinaproject.com/series/the-china-in-africa-podcast/>

Lectures Michaelmas Term:

Lecture 1. *Historical Foundations*

Core Reading:

Rebecca E. Karl, *China's Revolutions in the Modern World*. London and New York: Verso (2020):

110-192.

Pang Laikwan, *One and All: The Logic of Chinese Sovereignty*, Stanford University Press (2024),

Chapter 3, "Revolution as Foundation," 82-108.

Fabio Lanza, "Always Already and Never Yet: Does China Even Have a Present," *Modern Intellectual* 20 (2023): 601-611.

Qian Juan. "Securitising History: Reimagining and Reshaping the 'Imagined Community' in China's New Era." *Made in China Journal* (2024).

Suggested Supervision Question: What is the status of revolution in contemporary China?

Further Reading:

Lin Chun, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in China: The Paradoxes of Chinese Struggle*, Verso (2021).

Marc Blecher, *China Against the Tides: Restructuring through Revolution, Radicalism and Reform*, 3^d Edition,

Continuum (2009).

Howard French, *Everything Under the Heavens: How the Past Helps Shape China's Push for Global Power*,

Vintage (2018).

William Callahan, "National Insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation, and Chinese Nationalism,"

Alternatives 29 (2004): 199-218.

Ian Johnson, *Sparks: China's Underground Historians and Their Battle for the Future*, Penguin (2023).

Evan Osnos, "Does Xi Jinping's Seizure of History Threaten his Future?" *The New Yorker*, November 10, 2021.

Lecture 2. *Legitimation, resilience or collapse? Three approaches*

Core Reading:

Legitimation

Pang Laikwan, *One and All: The Logic of Chinese Sovereignty*, Stanford University Press (2024), Chapter 2, "Fables of Unity," 53-81.

Dingxin Zhao, "The Mandate of Heaven and Performance Legitimation in Historical and Contemporary China," *American Behavior Scientist* (2009).

Christian Sorace, "The Chinese Communist Party's Nervous System: Affective Governance from Mao to Xi," *The China Quarterly*, Volume 248(S1) (2021): 29-51.

Elizabeth J. Perry, "Public Health, National Strength, and Regime Legitimacy: China's Patriotic Health Campaign," *The China Journal* 91 (2024).

Resilience

Andrew J. Nathan, "China's Changing of the Guard: Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 14/1 (2003): 6-17.

Yuen Yuen Ang, “How Resilient Is the CCP?” *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 33, Number 3 (July 2022).

Collapse

Pei Minxin, “China’s Coming Upheaval: Competition, the Coronavirus, and the Weakness of Xi Jinping,” *Foreign Affairs* 99 (2020).

David Shambaugh, “The Coming Chinese Crackup,” *The Wall Street Journal* (2015).

Suggested Supervision Question: How does China’s structure of legitimation shape state-society relations?

Further Reading:

Bruce Dickson, *The Dictator’s Dilemma: The Chinese Communist Party’s Strategy for Survival*, Oxford

University Press (2016).

Joseph Fewsmith and Andrew J. Nathan, “Authoritarian Resilience Revisited: Joseph Fewsmith with Response from Andrew J. Nathan,” *Journal of Contemporary China* Volume 28, Issue 116 (2019): 167-179.

Vivienne Shue, “Regimes of Resonance: Cosmos, Empire, and Changing Technologies of CCP Rule,” *Modern China* Volume 47, Issue 4 (2022): 679-720.

Jessica C. Teets, “Let Many Civil Societies Bloom: The Rise of Consultative Authoritarianism in China,” *The China Quarterly* (March 2013): 19-38.

Lecture 3. *Political Institutions*

Core Reading:

Cheng Li, “China’s Communist Party-State: The Structure and Dynamics of Power,” in *William A.*

Joseph, Politics in China: An Introduction, 4th Edition, Oxford University Press (2024).

Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth J. Perry, “Embracing Uncertainty: Guerilla Policy Style and

Adaptive Governance in China,” in *Mao’s Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of*

Adaptive Governance in China edited by Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth J. Perry,

Harvard University Press (2011): 1-29.

Joseph Fewsmith, *The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China*, Cambridge University Press

(2013): 1-41.

Dali Yang, Wuhan: *How the COVID-19 Outbreak in China Spiraled Out of Control*, Oxford

University

Press (2024): 1-47.

Suggested Supervision Question: To what degree is Chinese politics *institutionalised*?

Further Reading:

General

Susan V. Lawrence, Susan and Micheal F. Martin, “Understanding China’s Political System.”

CRS Report for Congress. Congressional Research Service (2013).

CRS, “China Primer: China’s Political System,” Updated January 29, 2024.

On Cadres:

Susan H. Whiting, “The Cadre Evaluation System at the Grass Roots: The Paradox of Party

Rule,” in *Critical Readings on the Communist Party of China*, Brill (2017): 461-478.

Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, "Selective Policy Implementation in Rural China,"

Comparative Politics Vol. 31, No. 2 (1999): 167-186.

Jie Yang, "Hidden Rules and the 'Heartache' of Chinese Government Officials," *Made in China*

Journal (2019): <https://madeinchinajournal.com/2019/04/18/hidden-rules-and-the-heartache-of-chinese-government-officials/>

Christian Sorace, "Party Spirit Made Flesh: The Production of Legitimacy in the Aftermath of the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake," *The China Journal*, Volume 76 (2016): 41-62.

Christian Sorace, "Extracting Affect: Televised Cadre Confessions in China," *Public Culture* 31 (2019): 145-171.

On Bureaucracy:

Andrew Mertha, "'Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0': Political Pluralization in the Chinese Policy Process," *The China Quarterly* 200 (2009): 995-1012.

Patricia Thornton, "Crisis and Governance: SARS and the Resilience of the Chinese Body Politic," *The China Journal*, No. 61 (2009): 23-48.

Iza Ding and Michael Thompson-Brusstar, "The Anti-Bureaucratic Ghost in China's Bureaucratic Machine," *The China Quarterly* 248 (2021): 116-140.

On Security:

Suzanne Scoggins, *Policing China: Street-Level Cops in the Shadow of Protest*, Cornell University Press
(2021).

Marie-Eve Reny, *Authoritarian Containment: Public Security Bureaus and Protestant Church Houses in Urban*

China, Oxford University Press (2018).

Lynette Ong. *Outsourcing Repression: Everyday State Power in Contemporary China* Oxford University

Press (2022).

Yuhua Wang and Carl Minzner, "The Rise of the Chinese Security State." *The China Quarterly* 222 (2015): 339-59.

Lecture 4. *Spatial Regimes*

Core Reading:

Aihwa Ong. "Zoning Technologies in East Asia," in *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*, Duke University Press (2006): 97-120

Jane Hayward. "1958: Reorganising Chinese Labour: The Establishment of Household Registration." *Proletarian China: A Century of Chinese Labour*, edited by Ivan Franceschini and Christian Sorace, Verso (2022): 291-300.

Li Zhang, *Strangers in the City: Reconfigurations of Space, Power, and Social Networks within China's Floating*

Population, Stanford University Press (2002): 23-46.

Pun Ngai and Chris Smith, "Putting transnational labor process in its place: the dormitory labour regime in post-socialist China," *Work, Employment and Society* Volume 21, Issue 1 (2007): 27-45.

Wei Zhu, "Grid Managers, the Moral Logic of Guan, and State-Society Dynamics in China,"

Made in China Journal (2023): <https://madeinchinajournal.com/2023/06/20/grid-managers-the-moral-logic-of-guan-and-state-society-dynamics-in-china/>

Suggested Supervision Question: Is China's political system better at responding to crises than Western democracies?

Further Reading:

Urban China

You-Tien Hsing, *The Great Urban Transformation: Politics of Land and Property in China*, Oxford University Press (2010).

Eli Friedman, *The Urbanization of People: The Politics of Development, Labor Markets, and Schooling in the Chinese City*, Columbia University Press (2022): 21-42.

Jeremy Wallace, *Cities and Stability: Urbanization, Redistribution, and Regime Survival in China*, Oxford University Press (2020): 71-121.

Luigi Tomba, *The Government Next Door: Neighborhood Politics in Urban China*, Cornell University Press (2014).

David Bray, *Social Space and Governance in Urban China: The Danwei System from Origins to Reform*, Stanford University Press (2005).

Rural China

Brian Demare, *Land Wars: The Story of China's Agrarian Revolution*, Stanford University Press (2019).

Julia Chuang, *Beneath the China Boom: Labor, Citizenship, and the Making of a Rural Land Market*.

Berkeley: University of California Press (2020).

Rachel Murphy, *How Migrant Labor is Changing Rural China*, Cambridge University Press (2002).

Miriam Drissien, "Rural Voids," *Public Culture* Volume 30, Number 1 (2018): 61-84.

Linda Qian, "The Political Economy and Cultural Politics of Rural Nostalgia in Xi-Era China: The Case of Heyang Village," *International Journal of Communication* 11(2017): 4423-4442.

Pandemic Response

Dali L. Yang, *How the Covid-19 Outbreak in China Spiraled Out of Control*, Oxford University Press (2024).

Guobin Yang, *The Wuhan Lockdown*, Columbia University Press (2022).

Li Zhang, *The Origins of Covid-19: China and Global Capitalism*, Stanford University Press (2021).

Chuang, *Social Contagion: And Other Material on Microbiological Class War in China*, Charles Kerr Press

(2021).

Patricia Thornton, "The A4 Movement: Mapping its Background and Impact." *China Leadership Monitor* 75.

Jun Zhang, "Afterward: Pandemic Governance in China," *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, Volume 13, No. 2 (2023): 321-326.

Yifeng Troy Cai and Katherine A. Mason, "'Our sacrifices were in vain': Zero-COVID and the betrayal of trust," *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, Volume 13, No. 2 (2023): 308-314.

Carwyn Morris, "The Surveillance Vaccine: Surveillance, Censorship, and the Body under Covid-19" *Made in China Journal* (2023):

<https://madeinchinajournal.com/2020/09/23/the-surveillance-vaccine/>

Mary Ann O'Donnell, "Covid among Us: Viral Mobilities in Shenzhen's Moral Geography," *Made in China Journal* (2023): <https://madeinchinajournal.com/2022/04/22/covid-among-us-viral-mobilities-in-shenzhens-moral-geography/>

Ralph Litzinger and Yanping Ni, "Inside the Wuhan cabin hospital: Contending narratives during the Covid-19 pandemic," *China Information*, 35(3): 346-365.

Lynette H. Ong, "The CCP After the Zero-Covid Fail," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 34, Issue 2 (April 2023): 32-46.

Xuefei Ren, "Urban China and COVID-19: How Chinese Cities Responded to the Pandemic," *Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 74, Number 1 (Fall/Winter 2021).

Eli Friedman, "Escape from the Closed Loop," *Boston Review* (2022): <https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/escape-from-the-closed-loop/>

Lecture 5. *Capitalism in China*

Core Reading:

Margaret M. Pearson, Meg Rithmire, and Kellee S. Tsai, *The State and Capitalism in China*, Cambridge University Press (2023).

Ya-Wen Lei, *The Gilded Cage: Technology, Development, and State Capitalism in China*, Princeton University Press (2023): 1-103; 168-192; 272-299.

Pang Laikwan, "China's Post-Socialist Governmentality and the Garlic Chives Meme: Economic Sovereignty and Biopolitical Subjects," *Theory, Culture & Society* Vol. 39, Issue 1 (2022): 81-100.

Mary Gallagher, "China's Struggle for Common Prosperity," *China Leadership Monitor*, Issue 75 (Spring 2023).

Suggested Supervision Question:

What are the power dynamics between state, capital, and labor in contemporary China?

Further Reading:

Macroeconomic Trajectories

Yuen Yuen Ang, *How China Escaped the Poverty Trap*, Cornell University Press (2022).

Mary Gallagher, *Contagious Capitalism: Globalization and the Politics of Labor in China*, Princeton University Press (2005).

Isabella M. Weber, *How China Escaped Shock Therapy: The Market Reform Debate*, Routledge (2021).

Debates

Barry Naughton, “Is China Socialist?” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (2017): 3-24.

Eli Friedman, “Why China is Capitalist: Toward an Anti-Nationalist Anti-Imperialism,” *Spectre Journal* (2020): <https://spectrejournal.com/why-china-is-capitalist/>

Richard Smith, “Why China Isn’t Capitalist (Despite the Pink Ferraris),” *Spectre Journal* (2020): <https://spectrejournal.com/why-china-isnt-capitalist-despite-the-pink-ferraris/>

Labor

Proletarian China: A Century of Chinese Labour, edited by Ivan Franceschini and Christian Sorace, Verso (2022).

Mun Young Cho, *The Specter of “The People,”* Cornell University Press (2013).

Pun Ngai, *Made in China: Women Factory Workers in a Global Workplace*, Duke University Press (2005).

William Hurst, *The Chinese Worker after Socialism*, Cambridge University Press (2009).

Zhang Yueran, “Leninists in a Chinese Factory: Reflections on the Basic Labour Organising Strategy,” *Made in China Journal* (2020):

<https://madeinchinajournal.com/2020/06/25/leninists-in-a-chinese-factory/>

Ivan Franceschini and Elisa Nesossi, “State Repression of Chinese labor NGOs: a chilling effect?” *The China Journal* (2018): 111-129.

Rural Development

Kristen E. Looney, *Mobilizing for Development: The Modernization of Rural East Asia*. Cornell University Press (2020): 1-48; 117-154.

Nicholas Loubere, “Indebted to development: microcredit as (de)marginalization in rural China,” *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 45 (2018): 585-609.

Hugh Whitaker, et. al., “Compressed Development,” *Studies in Comparative International Development* (2010): 439-467.

Lecture 6. *Ecological Politics*

Core Reading:

Anna-Lora Wainwright, “Removing Mountains and Draining Seas,” in *Afterlives of Chinese Communism: Political Concepts from Mao to Xi*, edited by Christian Sorace, Ivan Franceschini,

Nicholas Loubere, Verso/ANU Press (2019): 221-224.

Mette Halskov Hanson and Zhaohui Liu, “Air Pollution and Grassroots Echoes of ‘Ecological Civilization’ in Rural China,” *The China Quarterly*, 234 (2018), pp. 320-339.

Iza Ding, “Performative Governance,” *World Politics*, Volume 72, Issue 4 (2020): 525-556.

Denise S. van der Kamp, “Blunt force regulation and bureaucratic control: Understanding China’s war on pollution,” *Governance* (2020): 191-209.

Suggested Supervision Question: Is “ecological civilization” a coherent concept?

Further Reading:

Amy Zhang, *Circular Ecologies: Environmentalism and Waste Politics in Urban China*, Stanford

University Press (2024).

Jerry Zee, *Continent in Dust: Experiments in a Chinese Weather System*, University of California Press

(2022).

Jesse Rodenbiker, *Ecological States: Politics of Science and Nature in Urbanizing China*, Cornell University Press (2023).

Emily T. Yeh, "The Making of Natural Infrastructure in China's Era of Ecological Civilization," *The China Quarterly* (2023).

Sigrid Schmalzer, "Prometheus and the Fish Pond," *Made in China Journal*, 2022.

Ralph Litzinger and Fan Yang, "Eco-media Events in China: From Yellow Eco-Peril to Media Materialism," *Environmental Humanities* 12 (2020): 1-22.

Guldana Salimjin, "Naturalized Violence: Affective Politics of China's 'Ecological Civilization' in Xinjiang," *Human Ecology: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (2021).

Chris Buckley. "China's Role in Climate Change, and Possibly in Fighting It." *New York Times*, June 2, 2020: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/02/world/asia/chinas-role-in-climate-change-and-possibly-in-fighting-it.html>

Li Shuo, "Is China really leading the clean energy revolution? Not exactly." *The Guardian*, July 6, 2023: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/jul/06/china-clean-energy-revolution-coal-power>

Lecture 7: *Politics of Gender, Sexuality, and Family-Planning*

Lecturer: Linda Qian

Core Reading:

Gonçalo Santos and Stevan Harrell. "Introduction," *Transforming Patriarchy: Chinese Families in the Twenty-First Century*. University of Washington Press (2017): pp. 3-36.

Tania Angeloff and Marylène Lieber, "Equality, Did You Say?", *China Perspectives* [Online], (2012). <http://journals.openedition.org/chinaperspectives/6014>.

Lingzhen Wang, "Women's Liberation." *Afterlives of Chinese Communism: Political Concepts from Mao to Xi*, edited by Christian Sorace, Ivan Franceschini, Nicholas Loubere, Verso/ANU Press (2019): 315-324.

Yunyun Zhou. Theorizing illiberal state feminism: Institutional dilemmas and political parallelism in China's gender governance. (2023). *Women's Studies International Forum*. Vol. 98. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2023.102734>.

Susan Greenhalgh. 'The Biopolitics of the Three-Child Policy,' *Made in China Journal*. (2024). <https://madeinchinajournal.com/2024/06/06/the-biopolitics-of-the-three-child-policy/>.

Suggested Supervision Question: TBD

Further Reading:

Cadres, Revolution, and Statecraft

Yunyun Zhou. "Being a Good Daughter of the Party"? A Neo-Institutional Analysis of the All-China Women's Federation Organisational Reforms in China's Xi Era. (2019). *China Perspectives* DOI: 10.4000/chinaperspectives.9042. (2019). 17-28.

Wang Zheng. "State Feminism"? Gender and Socialist State Formation in Maoist China. *Feminist Studies*. Vol. 31. No. 3. (2005): pp. 519-551.

Wang Zheng. "Creating a Socialist Feminist Cultural Front: 'Women of China' (1949–1966)." *The China Quarterly*, no. 204 (2010): 827–49.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/27917835>.

Bio-politics and Family Planning

Danning Wang. "Chapter Five. Mobilizing The Masses: To Change Something Intimate The Process Of Desexualization In China's Family Planning Campaign. In: Zheng T

(ed.) *Cultural Politics of Gender and Sexuality in Contemporary Asia*. Honolulu:

University of Hawaii Press; 2016. p.92-107. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780824852986-007>

Yong Cai and Wang Feng. "The Social and Sociological Consequences of China's One-Child Policy,' *Annual Review of Sociology*. Vol. 47 (2021): 587-606.

<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-090220-032839>.

Xiaojun Yan and La Li. 'Greasing the wheels of policy reversal: Discursive engineering and public opinion management during the relaxation of China's family planning policy,' *Governance*

Vol 37. No. 1. (2023): 179-199. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12757>.

Alpermann, Björn, and Shaohua Zhan. "Population Planning after the One-Child Policy: Shifting Modes of Political Steering in China." *Journal of Contemporary China*. Vol. 28. No. 117 (2018): pp. 348–366. doi:10.1080/10670564.2018.1542218.

Gender in Urban and Rural China

Gonçalo Santos and Stevan Harrell, eds. *Transforming Patriarchy: Chinese Families in the Twenty-First Century*. University of Washington Press (2017).

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvcwnbv9>.

Leta Hong Fincher. *Leftover Women: The Resurgence of Gender Inequality in China, 10th Anniversary Edition*. Asian Arguments. London: Bloomsbury Academic (2023).

Introduction, pp. 1-15. Chapter 1, pp. 16-54. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350323674>.

Tamara Jacka and Sally Sargeson, eds. *Women, Gender and Rural Development in China*. Edward Elgem (2011).

Arianne M. Gaetano. *Out to Work: Migration, Gender, and the Changing Lives of Rural Women in Contemporary China*. University of Hawaii Press (2015).

Sexual Minorities, Sexuality, and 'Ambiguity'

Shuai Shuai Wang and Hongwei Bao. 'Sissy capital' and the governance of non-normative genders in China's platform economy. (2023) *China Information*, 37(3), 342-362. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0920203X221147481>

Qian Wang. "Flower in the mirror and moon in the water: The ambiguity of gender, genre, and politics of Li Yugang," in *Rethinking Difference in Gender, Sexuality, and Popular Music*. Routledge. Edited by Gavin Lee. (2018) pp. 71-88.

Hongwei Bao. "We Who Feel Differently": LGBTQ Identity and Politics in China (2010). https://wewhofeeldifferently.info/files/WWFD_Hongwei_Bao.pdf

Harriet Evans. "Defining Difference: The 'Scientific' Construction of Sexuality and Gender in the People's Republic of China." *Signs* Vol. 20, No. 2 (1995): pp. 357-394. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174953>.

Barclay Bram. Meet China's most exciting boyband - who are all girls. *Dazed*. (2017). <https://www.dazeddigital.com/music/article/37216/1/ffc-acrush-interview-chinese-boyband-made-of-girls>

Petrus Liu, *Queer Marxism in Two Chinas*, Duke University Press, 2015.

Activism and the Public Sphere

Leta Hong Fletcher. *Betraying Big Brother: The Feminist Awakening in China*. Verso. (2021).

Qiqi Huang. "Anti-Feminism: four strategies for the demonisation and depoliticisation of feminism on Chinese social media," *Feminist Media Studies*, Vol 23. No. 7. (2023): 3583–3598.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2022.2129412>.

Angela Xiao Wu, and Yige Dong. 2019. "What Is Made-in-China Feminism(s)? Gender Discontent and Class Friction in Post-Socialist China." *Critical Asian Studies*. Vol. 51. No. 4. (2019): pp. 471–492. doi:10.1080/14672715.2019.1656538.

Liyun Wendy Choo. 'Now You See It, Now You Don't: Contesting the LGBTQ Politics of (In)Visibility in (Post)Socialist China.' In *The Routledge Handbook of LGBTQ Identity in Organizations and Society*. Edited by Julie A. Gedro, Tonette S. Rocco. Routledge (2024).

Joy L. Chia. "What's Love Got to Do with It?": LGBTQ Rights and Patriotism in Xi's China," *Australian Journal of Asian Law*. Vol. 20, No. 1 (2019): pp. 27-38.

Lecture 8. (Im)mobilities and Everyday Politics

Core Reading:

Timothy Oakes. "Infrastructure power, circulation and suspension." *Advances in Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (2023): 297-303.

Carlo Inverardi-Ferri (2018) Urban nomadism: everyday mobilities of waste recyclers in Beijing, *Mobilities*, 13:6, 910-920, DOI:10.1080/17450101.2018.1504665

Andrew B. Kipnis. *From Village to City: Social Transformation in a Chinese County Seat*. First edition. Oakland, California: University of California Press (2016).

Jane Hayward. "Beyond the Ownership Question: Who Will till the Land? The New Debate on China's Agricultural Production." *Critical Asian Studies* Vol. 49, No. 4 (2019): pp. 523–545. doi:10.1080/14672715.2017.1362957.

Alexander F. Day and Mindi Schneider. 'The End of Alternatives? Capitalist Transformation, Rural Activism, and the Politics of Possibility in Contemporary China.' *Journal of Peasant Studies* Vol. 45, No. 7 (2017): 1221-1246

Mary Gallagher. 'China's Struggle for Common Prosperity,' *China Leadership Monitor*. (2023).
<https://www.prcleader.org/post/china-s-struggle-for-common-prosperity>

Suggested Supervision Question: To what extent has capitalism entered the Chinese countryside?

Further Reading

Yu Hua. *China in Ten Words*, London: Duckworth (2013).

Scott Rozelle, and Natalie Hell. *Invisible China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (2020).
<https://doi.org/doi:10.7208/9780226740515>.

Bregnbæk, Susanne. "The Chinese Race to the Bottom: The Precarious Lives of Unemployed University Graduates in Beijing's 'Ant Tribe'." *Critical Sociology* (2015) 42:
10.1177/0896920515604476.

Joel Andreas and Shaohua Zhan. "Hukou and Land: Market Reform and Rural Displacement in China." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* Vol. 43, No. 4 (2015): pp. 798-827.
doi:10.1080/03066150.2015.1078317.

David Goodman. 'Middle Class China: Dreams and Aspirations.' *Journal of Chinese Political Science*. Vol. 19 (2014): pp. 49-67. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-013-9275-x>

- Mun Young Cho. 'Forced Flexibility: A Migrant Woman's Struggle for Settlement'. *The China Journal*. Vol. 61 (2009): pp. 51-76. <https://doi.org/10.1086/tcj.61.20648045>.
- Zhong, Shuru, and Hongyang Di. 2017. 'Struggles with Changing Politics: Street Vendor Livelihoods in Contemporary China'. In *Research in Economic Anthropology*, edited by Donald C. Wood, 37:179-204. Emerald Publishing Limited.
<https://doi.org/10.1108/S0190-128120170000037009>.
- Chan, Nicoco, and Ellen Zhang. 2023. 'Hawkers Back on China's Streets as Economic Recovery Teeters'. *Reuters*, 30 May 2023. 5. <https://www.reuters.com/world/china/hawkers-back-chinas-streets-economic-recovery-teeters-2023-05-30/>
- Mindi Schneider. 'Dragon Head Enterprises and the State of Agribusiness in China.' *Journal of Agrarian Change*. Vol. 17, No. 1 (2017): 3-21.
- Brian Lander, Mindi Schneider, and Brunson, Katherine. 'A History of Pigs in China: From Curious Omnivores to Industrial Pork'. In *The Journal of Asian Studies*. Vol. 79, No. 4 (2020): pp. 865-889. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911820000054>.

Lectures Lent Term

Lecture 1: *Borderlands*

Core Reading:

- James A. Milward, "The Qing Conception of Strategic Space," *Strategic Space* (2023):
<https://strategicspace.nbr.org/the-qing-conception-of-strategic-space/>
- Uradyn E. Bulag, "Nationality" in *Afterlives of Chinese Communism: Political Concepts from Mao to Xi*,
edited by Christian Sorace, Ivan Franceschini, Nicholas Loubere, Verso/ANU Press

(2019): 149-154.

Guldana Salimjan, "The Dream of Han Innocence," *LARB*, July 27, 2024.

Darren Byler, *In the Camps: China's High Tech Penal Colony*. Duke University Press (2021).

Emily Yeh, *Taming Tibet: Landscape Transformation and the Gift of Chinese Development*, Cornell

University Press (2013), Introduction.

Suggested Supervision Question: Is China's nation-building a completed project?

Further Reading:

Nationality/Ethnic Policy

Thomas Mullaney, *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China*, University of California Press (2011).

Enze Han, *Contestation and Adaptation: The Politics of National Identity in China*, Oxford University Press: 2013.

Uradyn E. Bulag, "Minority Nationalities as Frankenstein's Monster? Reshaping 'the Chinese Nation' and China's Quest to Become a 'Normal Country,'" *The China Journal* Volume 86 (2021).

Ma Rong, "The Historical Evolution of China's System of Autonomous Ethnic Regions," translated by David Ownby, *Reading the China Dream*:

<https://www.readingthechinadream.com/ma-rong-ethnic-regional-autonomy.html>

Sinica Podcast: Tashi Rabgey and Jim Milward on China's ethnic policy in Xinjiang and

Tibet, February 15, 2019: <https://thechinaproject.com/2019/02/15/sinica-podcast-tashi-rabgey-and-jim-millward-on-chinas-ethnic-policy-in-xinjiang-and-tibet/>

Tibet:

Carole McGranahan, “Chinese Settler Colonialism: Empire and Life in the Tibetan Borderlands,” in *Frontier Tibet: Patterns of Change in the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands*, Amsterdam

University Press (2019): 517-540.

Tsering Shakya, “Tibet Questions,” *New Left Review* 51 (May-June 2008): 5-26.

Jonathan Mirsky, “Tibet: The CIA’s Cancelled War,” *The New Yorker* (2013).

Gyal Lo, “The One Million Tibetan Children in China’s Boarding Schools.” *The New York Times*, September 15, 2023.

Xinjiang:

Darren Byler, *Terror Capitalism: Uyghur Dispossession and Masculinity in a Chinese City*, Duke University

Press (2021).

Gardner Bovingdon, *The Uyghurs: Strangers in Their Own Land*. Columbia University Press (2010).

Xinjiang Year Zero, edited by Darren Byler, Ivan Franceschini and Nicholas Loubere, ANU Press (2021).

Nitisha Kaul, “China : Xinjiang :: India : Kashmir,” *Made in China Journal* (2020).

Online Resources:

Xinjiang Papers ‘Absolutely No Mercy’:

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/16/world/asia/china-xinjiang-documents.html>

go

Xinjiang Documentation Project (UBC): <https://xinjiang.sppga.ubc.ca>

Inner Mongolia

TJ Cheng, Uradyn E. Bulag, and Mark Selden, *A Chinese Rebel beyond the Great Wall: The Cultural*

Revolution and Ethnic Pogrom in Inner Mongolia, University of Chicago Press (2023).

Enze Han, “The dog that hasn’t barked: assimilation and resistance in Inner Mongolia, China.”

Asian Ethnicity, Vol. 12, No. 1(2011) 55-75.

Nimrod Baranovitch, “The 2011 Protests in Inner Mongolia: An Ethno-environmental

Perspective,” *The China Quarterly* (2016): 214-233.

Uradyn E. Bulag, “Dying for the Mother Tongue: Why have people in Inner Mongolia recently taken their lives?” *Index on Censorship*, Volume 49, Issue 4 (2020): 49-51.

Christopher Atwood, “Bilingual Education in Inner Mongolia: An Explainer,” *Made in China*

Journal, August 30, 2020: <https://madeinchinajournal.com/2020/08/30/bilingual-education-in-inner-mongolia-an-explainer/>

Thomas White, “Pastoralism and the State in China’s Inner Mongolia,” *Current History* (2021): 227-232.

Lecture 2: *Hong Kong*

Core Reading:

Rey Chow, "King Kong in Hong Kong: Watching the 'Handover' from the U.S.A." *Social Text* No. 55 (1998) 93-108.

Ho-fung Hung, *City on the Edge: Hong Kong under Chinese Rule*, Cambridge University Press (2022).

1-22; 45-71; 122-150; 172-217.

Suggested Supervision Question: What changed between the Handover in 1997 and 2020 when the Hong Kong National Security Law?

Further Reading:

Ching Kwan Lee, *Hong Kong: Global China's Restive Frontier*, Cambridge University Press (2022).

Jeffrey Wasserstrom, *Vigil: Hong Kong on the Brink*, Columbia University Press (2020).

"Protest Tech: Hong Kong," *The Wilson Quarterly* (website): <http://wq.proof.press/quarterly/the-power-of-protest/protest-tech-hong-kong/>

"Hong Kong in Revolt: A Conversation with Au Loong-Yu," *Made in China Journal*,

September 10, 2020: <https://madeinchinajournal.com/2020/09/10/hong-kong-in-revolt-a-conversation-with-au-loong-yu/>

Lecture 3: *Geopolitics of Taiwan*

Core Reading:

Steven M. Goldstein, *China and Taiwan*, Polity (2015): 1-23.

Anne-Marie Brady, “Unifying the Ancestral Land: The CCP’s ‘Taiwan’ Frames,” *The China Quarterly*, No. 223 (2015): 787-806.

Brian Hioe, “Taiwan in the Crosshairs,” *Dissent Magazine*, Volume 69, Number 2 (2022).

Wang Hui, “Okinawa and Two Dramatic Changes to the Regional Order,” in *The Politics of Imagining Asia*, translated by Zhang Yongle, Harvard University Press (2011): 228-263.

Ling S. Chen and Miles M. Evers, “‘Wars without Gun Smoke’: Global Supply Chains, Power Transitions, and Economic Statecraft,” *International Security* (2023): 47 (2): 164-204.

Alex W. Palmer, “‘An Act of War’: Inside America’s Silicon Blockade Against China,” *New York Times*, July 12, 2023:

Grey Anderson, “Strategies of Denial,” *Sidecar*, 2023:

<https://newleftreview.org/sidecar/posts/strategies-of-denial?pc=1519>

Historical Documents

Shanghai Communiqué: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/joint-communicue-between-united-states-and-china>

Suggested Supervision Question: Is “strategic ambiguity” a useful framework of explanation for the relationship between the US, China, and Taiwan?

Further Reading

Johnathan Sullivan and Lev Nachman, *Taiwan: A Contested Democracy Under Threat*. Agenda Publishing, 2023.

Lecture 4: *Global China*

Core Reading:

Ivan Franceschini and Nicholas Loubere, *Global China as Method*, Cambridge University Press 2022: 1-8; 29-36.

Mikkel Bunkenborg, Moreten Nielsen, Morten Axel Pedersen, *Collaborative Damage: An Experimental Ethnography of Chinese Globalization*. Cornell University Press (2022): 1-34.

Luke Hein, "Teaching China in Alabama Prisons in Six Objects," *Made in China Journal* 2024.

Yangyang Cheng, "Grieving Tiananmen as US Cops Crush Campus Protests," *The Nation*, June 3, 2024.

Chris Bing and Joel Schectman, "Pentagon ran secret anti-vax campaign to undermine China during pandemic," *Reuters*, June 14, 2024.

Suggested Supervision Question: Can comparison avoid the trap of whataboutism?

Further Reading:

M. Taylor Fravel, Melanie Manion, and Yuhua Wang, "A 'China in the World' Paradigm for Scholarship," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 56 (2021): 1-17.

Andy Liu, "'Chinese Virus,' World Market," *n + 1 magazine*, March 20, 2020

Lecture 5:

China in IR

Core Reading:

Alistair Iain Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* 27:4 (Spring 2003): 5-

56.

Jessica Chen Weiss and Jeremy L. Wallace, "Domestic Politics, China's Rise, and the Future of the Liberal International Order," *International Organization* 75 (2021): 635-664.

John G. Ikenberry. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?" *Foreign Affairs* 87/1 (2008): 23-37.

Suisheng Zhao, "China as a Rising Power Versus the US-led World Order," *Rising Powers Quarterly*, Volume 1/Issue 1 2016: 13-21.

Suggested Supervision Question: To what extent is China seeking to change the world order?

Recommended Reading:

Susan Shirk, China: *Fragile Superpower*, Oxford University Press, 2007.

Alexander Cooley and Daniel Nexon, *Exit from Hegemony: The Unraveling of the American Global Order*, Oxford University Press (2020): Chapters 3-4.

Lecture 6: *Chinese Capitals*

Core Reading:

Ching Kwan Lee, *The Specter of Global China: Politics, Labor and Foreign Investment in Africa*, University of Chicago Press (2017): 1-30.

Meg Rithmire, "Going Out or Opting Out? Capital, Political Vulnerability, and the State in

China's Outward Investment," *Comparative Politics* 54, no. 3 (April 2022): 477-499.

Juliet Lu, "For Profit or Patriotism? Balancing the interests of the Chinese state, host country and firm in the Lao rubber sector," *The China Quarterly* 250 (2022): 332-355.

Mingwei Huang, "The Chinese Century and the City of Gold: Rethinking Race and Capitalism," *Public Culture* 33:2 (2021): 193-217.

Suggested Supervision Question: Is there anything distinctive about Chinese capital?

Lecture 7: *China's Global Infrastructure*

Core Reading:

Austin Strange, *Chinese Global Infrastructure*, Cambridge University Press (2023).

Jonathan Bach, "China's Infrastructural Fix," *limn* (2016): <https://limn.it/articles/chinas-infrastructural-fix/>

Alessandro Rippa and Tim Oakes, "Infrastructural Thinking in China: A Research Agenda," *The China Quarterly*, 255 (2023): 547-559.

Selina Ho, "Infrastructure and Chinese power," *International Affairs*, Volume 96, Issue 6 (2020): 1461-1485.

Kosntantinos Tsimonis, Anthi Giannoulou, "Piraeus versus COSCO: A Conversation with Anthi Giannoulou and Anastasia Frantzeskaki," *Global China Pulse* Volume 1, Issue 2 (2022): <https://thepeoplesmap.net/globalchinapulse/piraeus-versus-cosco-a-conversation-with-anthi-giannoulou-and-anastasia-frantzeskaki/>

Deborah Brautigam and Meg Rithmire, "There is No Chinese 'Debt Trap'," *The Atlantic*, February 6, 2021: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2021/02/china-debt-trap-diplomacy/617953/>

Andrew Mertha, "The BRI Under Xi Jinping: Fragmented Authoritarianism Beyond the Water's Edge," in Stanley Rosen and Dan Lynch, editors, *Chinese Politics: the Xi Jinping Difference* (2024): 193-216.

Suggested Supervision Question: Do China's infrastructural projects abroad represent a new model of global development or reproduce existing patterns of debt, dependence, and inequality?

Further Reading:

Alessandro Rippa, *Borderland Infrastructures: Trade, Development, and Control in Western China*, Amsterdam University Press (2020).

Shaoling Mao, "Big Earths of China: Remotely Sensing Xinjiang along the Belt and Road," *Critical Inquiry* Vol. 49 (2022): 77-101.

Julie Chu, "When Infrastructures Attack: The Workings of Disrepair in China." *American Ethnologist* 41 (2014):351-376.

Tong Lam, "Futures and Ruins: The Politics, Aesthetics, and Temporality of Infrastructure," *Made in China Journal* (2019): <https://madeinchinajournal.com/2019/07/23/futures-and-ruins%E2%BB%BF-the-politics-aesthetics-and-temporality-of-infrastructure/>

James A. Milward, "Is China a Colonial Power?" *The New York Times*, May 4, 2018.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/04/opinion/sunday/china-colonial-power-jinping.html>

Stella Hong Zhang, "Builders from China: From Third-World Solidarity to Globalised State Capitalism," *Made in China Journal* (2021).

Lecture 8: China and the Seas

Core Reading:

M Taylor Fravel, "China's Strategy in the South China Sea," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* Vol. 33, No 3 (2011): 292-319.

Carla P. Freeman, "An Uncommon Approach to Global Commons: Interpreting China's Divergent Positions on Maritime and Outer Space Governance," *The China Quarterly*, vol. 241 (March 2020): 1-21.

Gao Zhiguo and Bing Bing Jia, "The Nine-Dash Line in the South China Sea: History, Status, and Implications." *American Journal of International Law* 107, no. 1 (2013): 98-124.

Aihwa Ong, "Buoyancy: Blue Territorialization of Asian Power," in *Voluminous States: Sovereignty, Materiality and the Territorial Imagination*, edited by Franck Billé, Duke University Press (2020): 191-203.

<https://amti.csis.org/island-tracker/>

Suggested Supervision Question: Why has the South China Sea become an area of fraught geopolitical concern?

Further Reading:

Bill Hayton, *The South China Sea: The Struggle for Power in Asia*, Yale University Press (2014).

Feng Zhang, "China's Long March at Sea: Explaining Beijing's South China Sea Strategy, 2009-2016," *The Pacific Review* (2019).

Andrew Chub. "PRC Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Measuring Continuity and Change, 1970-2015." *International Security* 45 (2021): 79-121.

Robert Kaplan, "The South China Sea is the Future of Conflict," *Foreign Policy*, Washington

(2011).

Erin Y. Huang, "Ocean Media: Digital South China Sea and Gilles Deleuze's Desert Island,"

Verge: Studies in Global Asias Volume 7, Issue 2 (2021), pp. 173-203.

Corey Byrnes, "The Infrastructure of Coral," *Verge: Studies in Global Asias* Volume 6, Issue 2

(2020): 29-34.