

The Political Quarterly
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Title: The Coalition Programme

Author: PETER TAYLOR-GOOBY

Abstract: The Coalition programme includes restructuring public provision through reforms and cuts which will take public spending in the Britain below that in the US. This article explores whether the Coalition agenda is best understood as a new approach to Britain's deep-seated economic short-comings or simply as the normal politics of gaining and retaining power. It analyses the current government's programme, identifies the common features across the range of policies and discusses how they are likely to develop as they encounter set-backs.

Title: The Expenses Scandal and the Politics of Electoral Reform

Author: ALAN RENWICK

Abstract: The scandal over MPs' expenses that erupted in 2009 was followed by a surge in discussion of electoral reform. A range of reforms to Westminster's existing electoral system are now high on the political agenda. This article examines the extent and the nature of the scandal's impact on the electoral reform debate and draws out comparative implications for the sorts of conditions that can force politicians to accept electoral reforms that they do not want. It finds that the expenses scandal significantly changed debate about some electoral reform topics, but not about others. It proposes three factors likely to increase the impact of scandal in sparking reform: that the scandal is seen as harming ordinary people in their daily lives; that reforms can readily be understood as likely to mitigate the sources of scandal; and that those reforms do not seriously harm politicians' own perceived interests.

China: An International Journal
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Title: Market and Migrants: Redefining China's Urban Social Welfare System

Author: Geeta Kochhar

Abstract: China's reforms left many redundant workers with no social guarantees. At the same time, with the "push-and-pull" of market forces, rural populations are moving in bulk to urban areas where they are devoid of state benefits but use urban amenities. When the traditional social protection is breaking down and the market is taking command, new contradictions are arising over the distribution of state resources, making a workable social support structure desirable. This paper analyses how social welfare benefits are distributed among urban and rural populations in the urban centres, what changes have taken place with the introduction of a market economy and the nature of evolving welfare programmes in China.

Title: Environmental Issues and Policy Priorities in China: A Content Analysis of Government Documents

Abstract: Not all environmental issues get the same level of policy attention because of the limited capacity of the political and administrative system to consider all issues simultaneously. This article explores the priority attached to different environmental issues in China through a content analysis of 1,564 government documents during the 1999 to 2008 period. The analysis focuses on four issues, namely pollution types, high-polluting industrial sectors, environmental policy instruments and the implementation of international environmental treaties. The empirical results provide useful insights into changing policy priorities in the area of environmental protection so as to gain a better understanding of the roles of environmental regulation in China.

Title: The Effects of China's Tourism Diplomacy and a "United Front" by

Author: Fan Shih-Ping

Abstract: China's rapid economic development and improvement in living standards have led to a boom in its outbound tourism industry. In 2008, China's outbound tourism expenditure reached USD36.2 billion, ranking fifth in the world. Under the impact of the global economic crisis, outbound tourism is not only a source of revenue to other countries, but also a type of "gift" by China's leaders when they go abroad on official visits. While China is home to an enormous tourist market with high consumption potential, its authoritarian regime and state-owned travel agency have enabled it to exert control over the flow of outbound tourists. These two measures of control have become China's bargaining chip in diplomacy and the work of a "united front". Between 2008 and 2009, China put a damper on outbound travel to Macau and Kaohsiung, Taiwan, validating that its control over outbound tourism is both an economic boost and a threat to other countries.

Title: Administrative Monopoly, Market Economy and Social Justice: An Anatomy of the Taxi Monopoly in Beijing

Author: Jiefen Li

Abstract: This article attempts to address the problem of administrative monopoly through a case study of the taxi monopoly in Beijing. The case reflects the conflict between building a market economy and working within the constraints of the old institutions, revealing that the biggest obstacle in contemporary China for building a market economy comes from administrative power or government interference with market operation. Only when administrative monopoly is eliminated will anti-monopoly actions against other monopolistic behaviour be justified and meaningful. A management model for resolving the Beijing taxi monopoly is proposed.

Title: Facts About and Impacts of FDI on China and the World Economy

Author: Yuqing Xing

Abstract: This paper provides a comprehensive review of foreign direct investment in China over the last three decades. It reviews the growth, sources and distribution of FDI in China and analyses factors determining FDI inflows. It summarises the contributions of FDI to the Chinese economy in terms of economic growth, total factor productivity, exports and technology progress. Finally, the paper discusses potential impacts of FDI in China on the rest of the world in terms of FDI-competing countries and FDI source countries.

Title: A Chinese Way of Democratisation?

Author: Yang Yao

Abstract: Democracy is regarded as a worthy value by most Chinese people including the top leadership, yet in the last two decades, it seems that no progress has been made towards a democratic China. ¹ The majority of Chinese people seem content with the current regime. Defying the predictions of social and political theorists, the Communist Party of China (CPC) has not withered away, but instead has become more sophisticated in its management of the country. ² Indeed, there is a trend both within and outside China that attributes China's phenomenal economic growth to the authoritarian nature of its government. ³ Compared with a democratic government, it is believed that an authoritarian government is able to mobilise large amounts of resources to tackle the most urgent bottlenecks of growth. Why has open demand for democratisation not accompanied economic development in China? Is China indeed creating an enduring form of authoritarianism that beats the conventional logic of political transformation? This article will attempt to provide answers to both questions. The answer to the first question has a lot to do with the CPC's growth-centred strategy adopted at the end of the 1970s when economic reforms began. With sustained economic growth and auxiliary expansion of civil liberties, this strategy has largely worked to divert people's demand for democracy. Along the way, the Party

has transformed itself from a proletarian party to a party without a real political conviction, which substantially enlarges its political bases by attracting the newly emerged middle class and business elites. Recent literature also frequently cites these factors as causes for the delay of democratisation in China. ⁴ In particular, McNally and Wright emphasise the role played by the political "thick embeddedness" of private capital holders — that is, the strong and encompassing alliance between private capital holders and

Title: Alternative Property Systems for China

Author: Jonathan E. Leightner

Abstract: When Deng Xiaoping took over the leadership of the People's Republic of China in 1980, he changed the course of the nation. He replaced Mao Zedong's emphasis on equality with an emphasis on profits. Deng's favourite slogans included: "to get rich is glorious", "some will get rich before others" and "whatever makes profits is good for China". Deng, and the leaders who have followed Deng, have progressively moved China from a socialist system towards a capitalist system. During the post-Mao years, progressively longer leases have been offered to those who use land. However, as of June 2010, China had not completely embraced a capitalist property system. The current property system in China is complicated by the two categories used under Mao: a) the government "owned" the property of all state-owned enterprises (SOEs, most of urban China fits under this type of ownership); and b) the people in the Maoist communes (not the government) owned the property used by the communes. This is further complicated by the pockets of communal land in the midst of cities. When Deng changed the course of China, the government could legitimately sell the property of the SOEs. However, it could not legitimately sell the property of the communes. However, as the communes disintegrated, most local governments have redistributed the property of the communes in order to free up plots to sell or to handle demographic changes. By 1998, approximately 66 per cent of villages had experienced at least one redistribution of their farmland, and 25 per cent had experienced three or more redistributions. Under current law, farmers cannot directly sell their land for non-farming purposes. However, local governments can forcefully take the land of farmers, paying the farmers a price based on the value of the crops they raised on that land in recent years (with an adjustment for the buildings on the land), and then the local government can sell that

Title: "To Walk Out": Rural Parents' Views on Education by

Author: Peggy A. Kong

Abstract: Each time that I boarded the second of two public long-distance buses that I took to my research site, I noticed how few seats were left unoccupied. The bus filled quickly with individuals and families carrying and transporting supplies and food from the city back to their villages. Overflowing sacks of clothes, cases of alcohol and other household goods were stowed in the overhead baskets, seats and on people's laps. As the bus meandered along the road, passing small squat buildings and giving way to open land, fellow bus riders asked me where I was going. When I told them that I was going to Shao Xingwen Primary School (SXW), my fellow bus riders would ask if I was a teacher. I would explain that I was not a teacher, but a researcher interested in understanding rural family life and children's schooling. They could not understand my interest in rural life. My fellow bus riders were not the only ones

bewildered by my interest in interviewing and studying the life of rural residents; most of my participants, teachers, and county officials often raised the same questions. I usually responded by saying that we know a lot about urban residents, but do not know that much about the lives of rural residents. My answers, however, never seemed to be satisfactory. Rural residents told me that urban families would not only have more to say than rural families, but were more worthy of study. Rural parents found it odd that I choose to live in a rural area when they felt that most rural residents simply wanted to leave rural life for an urban lifestyle.

Title: Two Chinese Commentators on the Slow Progress towards a Law on Religions

Author: Roderick O'Brien

Abstract: In 1956, Liu Shaoqi, then President of China, said in his report to the National Congress of the Communist Party of China that the establishment of a complete legal system had become an absolute necessity. ¹ But priorities quickly changed for the Party, and establishing a legal system was soon openly criticised by Premier Zhou Enlai. The work of establishing a legal system was not begun until after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. But it was not until more recent times that Jiang Zemin promised that China would have a complete legal system by 2010. ² In March this year, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Wu Bangguo, promised that the work would be complete in 2010. ³ However, even the basic framework is unlikely to be in place by the end of 2010, much less a fully complete legal system. This is particularly evident in the area of law relating to religion. In any country, it would be difficult to prepare and pass appropriate comprehensive laws, but in China, there are special difficulties which will be examined in this short paper. Part of this effort to establish a legal system has been the movement towards a more constitutional form of government. A key step was the establishment of the Legislation Law in 2000. ⁴ According to the Legislation Law, future laws would be enacted according to a standardised process, and past laws would be brought into conformity with the Legislation Law.

Title: China-ASEAN Relations, October 2009 to March 2010: Chronology of Events

Author: Chee Kia Lim

Abstract: As a research institute based in Singapore, the EAI monitors developments in relations and interactions between China and the individual countries of Southeast Asia as well as the ASEAN grouping as a whole. This material is presented in the form of (1) a chronology of events and (2) important documents Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen and Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung attend the Tenth Western China International Economy and Trade Fair and the Second Western China Forum on International Cooperation in Chengdu. Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao addresses the opening ceremony stressing that China will comprehensively raise the development and opening-up of the western regions, build up major clusters of modern industries, carry out balanced urban and rural reform, and make them forerunners of ecological construction and economic growth poles of strategic importance to the whole country.

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Title: The Impact of China's Market Reforms on the Health of Chinese Citizens: Examining Two Puzzles
Author: Martin King Whyte

Abstract: China's post-1978 market reforms were accompanied by a drastic decline in the coverage of the Chinese population by medical insurance as well as by sharp increases in charges for medical treatments, tests, and prescriptions. Since the 1990s, these trends have produced widespread condemnation of the current Chinese medical care system for being too costly and unequal. This article attempts to answer two questions: 1) Why did changes in the healthcare system precipitated by market reforms not lead to the kind of deterioration in the health of Chinese citizens that market reforms produced in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union? 2) In view of the increased inequalities in access to, and insurance coverage for, medical care since 1978, and particularly the growing rural-urban gap, why do Chinese villagers and migrants rate their current health better than do urban citizens?

Title: Health Reform and *De Facto* Federalism in China
Author: Christina S. Ho

Abstract: Understanding China as a de facto federalism can generate explanations and recommendations concerning the path of China's health reform. The first section reviews how de facto federalism drove the historical development of the problems plaguing China's health system. The next section shows how certain features of the current reform plan, namely, the plan's ambivalence between government and market approaches and its lack of strong centralisation, can be explained by de facto federalism. The third section uses the hypothesis of de facto federalism to generate two courses of action — one cautionary; the other, aspirational — that could be considered for the future. The consequences for the health sector of under-articulated federalism are clarified and point to the need for discursive reasoned elaboration, as opposed to political bargaining alone, in federalism

Title: Turning Points in China's AIDS Response
Author: Joan Kaufman

Abstract: China's AIDS response has evolved from one of denial and inaction to an aggressive and humanitarian policy based on international best practices. This article analyzes the events both internal and external that led to the policy shifts, highlighting key turning points in attitudes and action. A combination of domestic advocacy, international pressure, changing epidemic dynamics and fall-out from the SARS epidemic coaxed the government to greater transparency and deliberate action on prevention and treatment. However, a number of important challenges remain which will influence the ultimate success of China's much improved AIDS response

Title: Population Policy and Eugenic Theory: Implications of China's Ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

Author: Carole J. Petersen

Abstract: The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) is the first new human rights treaty of the 21st century. China was an early supporter of the CRPD and became East Asia's first State Party in 2008. This article discusses how the CRPD protects the rights of persons with disabilities to life, marriage and procreation, and analyses China's population policy, which continues to reflect eugenic theories. As China did not file any reservations, it is now obligated to reform laws and policies that conflict with the CRPD

Title: From Decentralised Developmental State Towards Authoritarian Regulatory State: A Case Study on Drug Safety Regulation in China

Author: Peng Liu

Abstract: This paper attempts to answer three questions about the contemporary Chinese drug safety regulation system: why did the Chinese government reform its drug safety monitoring system and build a regulatory regime at the end of the 1990s? What obstacles will it face? What unique characteristics does it possess? Was it the collapse of the Interest Community of Government, Enterprise and Shiye Unit (ICGES) that fostered the rise of the regulatory regime in contemporary China's drug safety monitoring field? Three major structural obstacles threaten the building of a high-quality regulatory regime: problematic regulatory independence caused by decentralised developmentalism, an administration-reliant regulatory style and rent-seeking corruption brought about by the authoritarian political system. The author is inclined to characterise the current Chinese drug safety regulatory regime as an "authoritarian regulatory state" and argues that Chinese drug safety regulatory regime-building is still a work in progress

Title: Family Members' Informed Consent to Medical Treatment for Competent Patients in China

Author: Ding Chunyan

Abstract: The right of competent patients' family members to make medical decisions on their behalf does not result from cultural factors. Rather, it serves as a tool to secure payment of medical expenses and to mitigate the risk of radical malpractice liability which could be better resolved through less costly alternatives such as expanding medical insurance coverage and improving the records of informed consent made by patients

Title: China's Health Diplomacy in Africa

Author: Jeremy Youde

Abstract: In recent years, Africa has regained a level of prominence in China's overall foreign policy strategy. Health diplomacy helps pave the way for Chinese oil companies to win mining rights for oil, platinum and other natural resources. However, a successful soft power strategy will need to consider public opinion and provide a means for connecting the health diplomacy with the larger goals

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Title: Economic Reform and Performance A Comparative Study of China and Vietnam

Author: Khuong M. Vu

Abstract: Since the launch of economic reforms in China in 1978 and Vietnam in 1986, both countries have made impressive achievements. However, the two countries have experienced a notable divergence in growth, even though the context and characteristics of their reforms were broadly similar. This paper documents three principal findings: (1) China and Vietnam were similar in their initial conditions and approaches to reform and economic management; (2) the growth divergence between the two countries is substantial not only quantitatively but also qualitatively, and the growth gap widened during good times, when both the countries enjoyed accelerated growth; and (3) the growth divergence between China and Vietnam can be explained mainly by considerable disparity in government effectiveness rather than by a significant gap in the quality of institutions or human capital.

Title: China-EU Relations Strategic Partnership at a Crossroads

Author: Mingjiang Li

Abstract: China-EU relations, after more than a decade of steady growth since the mid-1990s, are becoming increasingly more fluid and unpredictable. Observers who had been optimistic are now starting to warn of an impending downward spiral in Sino-European ties. This paper attempts to address these two questions: How do we understand the emerging dynamics in Sino-European relations? Is the Sino-European relationship inevitably moving towards an era of friction and contention, or will it be able to overcome the current challenges to get back to a new honeymoon? This article examines the key factors that have shaped and are likely to continue to play a significant role in China-EU ties, notably common economic and strategic interests. It also outlines some of the negative trends that have emerged in bilateral relations in recent years. It is argued that a sense of cautious optimism perhaps best reflects the reality in China-EU relations.

Title: China's Policies towards Myanmar A Successful Model for Dealing with the Myanmar Issue?

Author: Li Chenyang and Lye Liang Fook

Abstract: China has been severely criticised in the West for being an obstacle to democracy and progress on human rights in Myanmar. This is due largely to the perception that China, despite being a big and influential neighbour, has been extremely reluctant to apply pressure on Myanmar. Such a perception ignores the complexities in the China-Myanmar relationship. The two countries have various types of exchanges and interactions not only at the central government level but also at the local level in the border areas. China engages in multi-level and multi-faceted cooperation with Myanmar and provides suggestions to Myanmar as a friendly neighbour. Rather than being an obstacle, China's active engagement with Myanmar offers a viable alternative to cajoling the Myanmar military government in a direction more acceptable to the international community. [End Page 255]

Title: Macao's Gaming-led Prosperity and Prospects for Economic Diversification

Author: Zhang Yang and Fung Kwan

Abstract: Macao's economic prosperity until recently had been dramatic thanks to astonishing expansion of the gaming and tourism sector. However, Macao's casino revenue growth came to a halt in the second half of 2008 due to the twin blow of a deteriorating global economy and Mainland China's imposition of tighter visa restrictions on Chinese visitors to Macao. Gross gaming revenue contracted 12.7 per cent in the first quarter of 2009 and GDP consequently dipped 12.9 per cent. Yet the current break in the gambling and tourism-led boom will give the territory a much needed breathing space in which to re-examine its economic growth pattern. A potential driver of growth could be the rise of more diversified tourism with leisure and business conventions likely to be the focal point.

Does Globalization Breed Ethnic Discontent

Author- Susan Olzak

Abstract

This article examines how different components of globalization affect the death toll from internal armed conflict. Conventional wisdom once held that the severity of internal conflict would gradually decline with the spread of globalization, but fatalities still remain high. Moreover, leading theories of civil war sharply disagree about how different aspects of globalization might affect the severity of ethnic and nonethnic armed conflicts.

Selection, Availability, and Opportunity

Author- Jennifer Kavanagh

Abstract

Poverty is often identified as a determinant of terrorist group participation, but existing research reveals mixed support for this relationship. Some studies find that macroeconomic decline is associated with increased production of terrorists, but micro-level research suggests terrorists have above average socioeconomic status and educational attainment. In this article, the author argues that poverty should increase terrorist group participation only for individuals with high education. The author suggests that as a result of terrorist group selection preferences and the lower opportunity costs for militant group membership in economically depressed environments, the likelihood of terrorist group participation should be highest for the highly educated, poor members of any population.

Belarus, Ukraine and Russia

Author- Stephen White

Abstract

Belarus and Ukraine are 'lands in between', pulled by their language, religion and history towards the west but also towards the former Soviet republics in the east with which they were for so long associated. The evidence of national representative surveys between 2000 and 2010 suggests that feelings of 'Europeanness' have been declining, as is also the case in Russia; so has the wish to join the European Union (although it remains a popular option) or NATO. 'Soviet nostalgia' has been declining in parallel, more so in Belarus and Ukraine than in Russia; but there is a strong wish in all three countries to associate more closely within the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Community-Based Restorative Justice in Northern Ireland

Author- Cillian McGrattan

Abstract

This article critically assesses the scholarly representation of community-based restorative justice (CBRJ) schemes in Northern Ireland. These schemes, which emerged in working-class areas following the republican and loyalist ceasefires of the 1990s, have been the subject of intense political debate and a growing body of academic literature. I argue that the academic depiction of the schemes in republican areas ignores the substantial progress made by revisionist political scientists and historians in understanding Provisional republicanism.

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Armed Resistance and Self-Esteem

Author- Lætitia Bucaille

Abstract

This paper is intended to compare the subjective experiences of two sets of veterans, one having taken part in the ANC's struggle against apartheid (1980–1990) and the other having joined the Fatah uprisings of 1987 against Israel. The apartheid system has been entirely dismantled and the ANC now governs South Africa. The Palestinians, by contrast, remain under Israeli control, and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation has failed to create an independent Palestinian state. And yet, surprisingly, ANC activists tend to see themselves as victims, while those of Fatah usually see themselves as heroes. I shall offer the hypothesis that the heroization or victimization of self is drawn from a collective political imagination and is related to the construction of self-esteem.

Peace Through Recognition

Author- Thomas Lindemann

Abstract

The outbreak of war is usually explained in terms of utility-maximizing behavior on the part of statesmen and states. In this article, I propose an alternative model for explaining war, which focuses on the struggle for recognition. As I will argue, wars are not only motivated by a pursuit of utility maximization but also by the quest to gain recognition for the identities and norms of respect to which domestic and international law claim. As I will demonstrate in two case studies, peaceful management of international crises depends heavily on the capacity of actors to engage in politics of recognition.