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China's Modernization II

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# ProtoSociology

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## China's Modernization II

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# MULTIPLE MODERNITIES AND THE THEORY OF INDETERMINACY – ON THE DEVELOPMENT AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY OF SHMUEL N. EISENSTADT

*Manussos Marangudakis*

## *Abstract*

*The essay presents the parallel development of Shmuel Eisenstadt's historical and theoretical sociology from a critical correction of structural functionalism found in *The Political Systems of Empires* to the full development of the theory of indeterminacy of his later works that culminated in the 'multiple modernities' thesis. The key factor that shapes the course of Eisenstadt's theoretical progress is the crucial role of various elites to fill the open space between actuality and potentiality creating and sustaining institutions that permit the development of structural differentiation according to some fundamental cosmological and cognitive principles that shape the course of historical development inside these social systems. Infusing structural-functionalism with a strong dose of conflict sociology, Eisenstadt came to the conclusion that social development is not a process of internal systemic growth, but the unintended consequence of the elites' efforts to institutionally control free resources. And while this process in the pre-modern past led to the development of relatively distinct civilizations, in the framework of modernity has created a global framework of fundamental contradictions of tensions intrinsically irresolvable.*

From the study of agrarian empires (1963), to his later works on axially (1986), modernity (2002), and revolution (2006) Shmuel Eisenstadt remained equally concerned about understanding historical change and developing a sound sociological theory; in fact, he considered them to be the two sides of the same coin: social theory is useless if it does not correspond to reality, and reality makes sense only through the lenses of social theory. A case of truism as it sounds, for Eisenstadt it became a vehicle first to correct and then to alter in a rather radical way structural functionalism, both in its historical context and in substance; I will call it the 'theory of indeterminacy'. And based upon this theory, he developed the most radical historic-sociological model to understand modernity since the development of convergence-modernization theory in the 1960s and World System Theory in the 1970s, the theory of 'multiple modernities'.

# DISSENT OF CHINA'S PUBLIC INTELLECTUALS IN THE POST-MAO ERA

*Merle Goldman*

## *Abstract*

*During the reign of China's Communist Party leader, Mao Zedong (1949–1976), any political or academic dissent was brutally suppressed. With Mao's death in 1976, China, under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping and his successors, opened China to the outside world and loosened political controls over the intellectual community. As China moved to a market economy and engagement with the Western world, the party loosened controls over intellectual endeavors. Nevertheless, a small number of intellectuals who criticized party policies and publicly called for democratic reforms were silenced and a number of them were imprisoned. Though, intellectuals enjoyed more personal and academic freedom in the post-Mao era, if they criticized the party's policies or practices directly, they were ostracized from the intellectual community and a small number were imprisoned.*

During the rule of the People's Republic of China by the leader of the Communist Party, Mao Zedong, who reigned from 1949 until his death in 1976, China was governed by a totalitarian system. Mao and the party not only dominated the country's political life, but also the economic, intellectual, artistic and personal lives of its subjects. With Mao's death in 1976, his successor and former Long March comrade, Deng Xiaoping, became China's paramount leader until his death in 1997. During this period, China moved from a totalitarian to an authoritarian regime. The party still dominated the political system and except for elections at the village level, determined the political hierarchy. At the same time, as China moved to a market economy and participated in the international community, controls over the economic, social, cultural, and personal lives of its populace were loosened. Along with China's opening to the outside world, these changes made possible a degree of freedom in people's personal, cultural and intellectual lives. Though an authoritarian one-party state, the party's loosening of controls over people's every-day lives unleashed a proliferation of ideas, activities and artistic endeavors outside the party's control.

These changes in the post-Mao era also made possible the appearance of public intellectuals in the People's Republic. Public intellectuals are not unique to Western civilization. They have played a major role throughout Chinese history. China's pre-modern intellectuals, the Confucian literati, not only ran

# MODERNIZATION OF LAW IN CHINA – ITS MEANING, ACHIEVEMENTS, OBSTACLES AND PROSPECT

*Qingbo Zhang*

## *Abstract*

*The core of modernization of law in China is the protection of basic rights of freedom and equality, which was lacking in the traditional Chinese society. Today, the modernization from the perspective of legal texts has been fast thoroughly finished, while the function of law and the mentality of people need developing. This process could be better understood against the whole background of modernization in China. With the deepening of modernization a modern legal system could be expected in China in the long run.*

Confronted with the external pressure from the West and motivated by the internal necessities of reform, Chinese law has had to change itself to a great extent since Late Qing Dynasty. The history of the legal reform more than 170 years is divided into 4 phases<sup>1</sup>: From 1840, in which Britain forced Qing Dynasty to trade, to the beginning of 20th Century, the empire tried its best to conserve the contents of traditional system while introducing some forms of new law; After that, Qing Dynasty and governments in Republic of China have wholly imitated the legal system of Japan and Germany; Since the establishment of People's Republic in 1949, more exactly, since the establishment of revolutionary base area by Communist Party of China (CPC) in the 1930's until 1978, the legislation and state form of CPC has been fast a copy of Soviet Union; From 1980's to today the modernization of law (MoL) in China has truly taken a way combining Chinese traditions and Western advantages without any prejudice. After such a long and complicated process of the MoL, it is meaningful to calculate its achievements and challenges. I believe that with this evaluation we could be optimistic about the chance of success of MoL in China.

1 Zhongxin Fan, Three Paths of Modernization of Chinese Law (范忠信, 中国法律现代化的三条道路), Legal Science 2002/2, p. 9–14.

# CHINA'S STATE IN THE TRENCHES: A GRAMSCIAN ANALYSIS OF CIVIL SOCIETY AND RIGHTS-BASED LITIGATION

*Scott Wilson*

## *Abstract*

*The article analyzes the rise of civil society organizations and litigation related to environmental pollution and HIV/AIDS in China. China's state has responded to pressure from civil society with regulations to limit civil society organizations' contentiousness and ties to international groups, restricted access to the courts, and creation of GONGOs to vie with grassroots organizations over leadership of civil society. Against liberal theories of civil society, the author argues for a Gramscian model of civil society in which the state takes an active role in constructing its hegemony in civil society.*

For the last two decades, activity in Chinese civil society has been on the rise. Although China's Communist Party has staved off challenges to its power that brought about political transitions in Eastern European and the Former Soviet states, it has greatly increased scope for social movements and use of courts to defend citizens' rights. China's central government has become more permissive of social movements and legal contestation – in some quarters, state officials actively encourage both – but the state's tolerance for agitation and litigation is limited. Under the rubric of “*weiwen*” (protecting stability), China's state reins in activities that might tarnish the Communist Party's legitimacy and imperil its rule. How can we understand the Janus-faced approach of China's state to social movements and rights-based litigation? And, how has the entry of international civil society organizations and funders affected the balance of forces arrayed in Chinese civil society? I use Gramscian theory to argue that the state has attempted to intervene in civil society and litigation to protect its hegemony. China's state has granted greater scope to non-state actors in civil society and the courts, but it has also: 1) created a set of rules and regulations on the activities of civil society organizations and attorneys to canalize societal opposition, 2) intervened to limit close ties between international funders and domestic grassroots activist organizations, and 3) used state-backed organizations to vie with grassroots organizations and activist attorneys to protect the interests of the public.

Building on the liberal theory that civil society growth can lead to democ-



# MANUFACTURING DISSENT: DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL RAMIFICATIONS OF CHINA'S SUMMER OF LABOR UNREST

*Francis Schortgen and Shalendra Sharma*

## *Abstract*

*With the onset of heretofore unprecedented instances of labor unrest in the summer of 2010, it has become readily apparent that China's economy has reached a critical juncture. Perceptions of rising social inequity and redistributive injustice are indicative of strains of economic growth that have proved as inevitable as they are consequential. Against the backdrop of an impending leadership transition and a global economy emerging from recessionary throes, changing labor market conditions will shape economic development and growth in substantive ways as first-tier cities and provinces are beginning a transition from take-off to early maturity stage of development. In its effort to mitigate regional disparities, China is locked into a precarious socio-economic balancing act with far-reaching consequences for domestic stability and international competitiveness. What are the short- to medium-term implications for China's domestic political economy space? What is the likely effect on China's global labor cost arbitrage and international competitiveness?*

As it enters the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, China is displaying all the signs of transitioning into a new stage of economic development. The economic opening up of China in the early 1980s had sowed the seeds for “the most successful joint venture in world history” – the combination of Western capital and purchasing power and Chinese low-cost labor (Steingart 2008, 105). Throughout the initial reform period, policymakers focused most of their time and energy on crafting policies aimed at sustaining economic growth and development at all costs. On the surface, China's economic transformation is nothing short of an economic miracle. However, on closer analysis, the sustainability of its newfound status as a powerful engine for economic growth in Asia and the world critically depends on the government's ability to mitigate potentially destabilizing side-effects of rapid economic growth. Moreover, the breadth and depth of the expanding fault lines in China's economic terrain serve as powerful reminders of the precarious nature of China's political economy and an economic development trajectory punctuated by social, institutional or political

# BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES AND PHILANTHROPIC INITIATIVES: PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURS, WELFARE PROVISION AND THE PROSPECTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE IN CHINA

*Beatriz Carrillo Garcia*

## *Abstract*

*This paper explores the different ways in which the Chinese Party-state has promoted for-profit service provision and the philanthropic initiatives of private entrepreneurs, in order to elucidate the changing nature of China's social contract. Throughout the 1980s and up to the mid-1990s the prevalent social contract, built around the idea that market mechanisms would bring economic prosperity to all citizens, had largely not been challenged. That changed in the late 1990s as a result of rising socio-economic inequalities, massive lay-offs from state owned enterprise reform, rising urban poverty, rising health care costs, the countryside consistently falling behind urban levels of development, and other social issues. Over the last decade there has been a reconfiguration and rearticulation of the social contract in China, with social welfare policy becoming a key element of the Party-state's efforts to maintain legitimacy. Initially adopting an ambivalent position towards the private provision of core public services such as health and education, the Party-state now recognises the important role played by private service providers, and has introduced legislation designed to protect the providers of such services, while also ensuring that their activities can be regulated more closely.*

Over the last three decades of economic reform much has been written about changing state-society relations in the People's Republic of China. That literature has on the one hand highlighted the fluid boundaries between state and society, while on the other hand it has also noted the growing autonomy of social and private actors *vis a vis* the Party-state (Perry 1994; White, Howell and Shang 1996; Saich 2000; Li 2009; Goodman 2009). These two seemingly contradictory findings are evidence of the changing nature of China's social contract; that is, the way in which the state gains its legitimacy to rule. Social welfare has been one of the most important mechanisms through which the state builds that legitimacy. There we have seen the continued importance of state provision, alongside a burgeoning participation by private capital and social organizations in the delivery of various welfare services (Carrillo 2008; Saich 2008; Schwartz and Shieh 2009; Carrillo and Duckett 2011). This article is concerned with how the changing nature of the social contract is played

# EDUCATIONAL MODERNISATION ACROSS THE TAIWAN STRAITS: PEDAGOGICAL TRANSFORMATION IN PRIMARY SCHOOL MORAL EDUCATION TEXTBOOKS IN THE PRC AND TAIWAN

*David C. Schak*

## *Abstract*

*Chinese education was for millennia been based on memorization of texts and teacher-centered instruction. However, new primary school moral education texts produced in the past decade in both the PRC and Taiwan are based on a radically different pedagogy with students as the focus and as personally involved in their education through research, analysis of findings, and active classroom participation. Moreover, their education extends beyond acquiring knowledge and includes confidence building, social skills and emotional problem solving. The major questions are the extent to which this new pedagogy will be followed and be extended to other subjects and into middle school.*

In their six decades as separate societies, Taiwan and the PRC have undergone profound changes, not least in education. This paper examines four sets of primary school moral education text books, a presently used set from each society as well as a 1970 set from Taiwan and a 1988 set from China.<sup>1</sup> It will show that the present-day sets utilize a radically different pedagogy and from the sets used in the past and manifest a profound change in the way children are perceived. Moreover, the new pedagogies and several additions in content are very similar, which is quite remarkable since it is unlikely that there was direct collaboration between the text writers from each society. At the same time the sets retain some differences, reflecting their individual development paths and national ideologies.

For millennia Chinese education has been based on rote memorization of texts and a teacher-centered approach, i.e. teacher teaches, students listen and absorb. However, an examination of primary school textbooks from Taiwan and the PRC reveals a profound change toward a student-centered approach which engages students in the learning process, calling on them to think, draw their own conclusions and form opinions. The presently used texts reflect a changed conception of children from passive vessels into which knowledge is to

1 The 1970 set was little changed until after Taiwan democratized in 1988, so it is comparable in time to the 1988 PRC set.

# IS CHINA SAVING GLOBAL CAPITALISM FROM THE GLOBAL CRISIS?

*Ho-fung Hung*

## *Abstract*

*Ever since the onset of the latest global financial crisis in 2008, China's continuous rapid growth has led many to see the Chinese model as a viable alternative to neoliberal development. Some even see Chinese capitalism as the last hope for the rejuvenation of global capitalism. This paper argues that rather than constituting a progressive alternative to neoliberalism, China's stellar export-led economic growth is in fact a core part of the global neoliberal order. The exceptional competitiveness of China's export sector originates in an urban-bias policy that is detrimental to rural-agricultural development, creating a large rural surplus labor, perpetuating the low manufacturing wage among rural migrant workers, and restraining domestic consumption. The falling consumption share of the economy led China to depend on western markets, the US in particular, for its exports. The global financial crisis ended the consumption spree in the US and elsewhere in the global North, precipitating a crisis of China's export-led growth. China's apparent success in weathering the global economic crisis so far is grounded on a stimulus program that escalated debt-financed fixed asset investment, which is unsustainable, though the beginning of the end of the urban bias is also evident over the last few years. The continuous rise of China as the new center of global capitalism in the long run, therefore, hinges not on the perpetuation of China's current model of development, but on whether China could shift to a new model of development based on urban-rural balanced growth and larger household consumption share of the economy.*

## Is China Saving Global Capitalism from the Global Crisis?

In the aftermath of the Great Crash of 2008 that battered most western economies, China seems to weather the storm smoothly and maintained its hyper economic growth in 2009–2011, despite a temporary slowdown in early 2009. China's rapid rebound drove up the demand for commodities and machines that helps many natural resources exporters, such as Brazil and Australia, and capital goods exporters, such as Germany, escape the worst of the global crisis. While many business elite look to China's strong recovery as representing a vast, new, and limitless frontier to profit from just when business profitability in wealthy countries sees little room for expansion, many leading intellectuals see China as a mighty challenger to western global capitalist domination.

# INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, PARADOX AND PHRONESIS

*Robert Kowalski*

## *Abstract*

*Three out of five paradoxes previously identified within international development are considered to be the core challenges to professional practice and congruence. The first, that of fostering autonomy, is considered from the perspective of the role that language plays in maintaining inappropriate donor ascendancy taking the concept of participation as an exemplar. The second, based in determinism and free will, is discussed in terms of the gap between practitioners' espoused theory and theory-in-use that creates a syndrome of dissonance that undermines practice by elevating the importance of techne above phronesis and exemplified in the practice of planning. The third, where help appears as a threat, is discussed in terms of the moral hazard and the failure to distinguish need from deficiency, linked to humanitarian assistance and development assistance.*

## Introduction

Jamieson (1987) and Uphoff (1996) have suggested that *Development* is really a process of *Managed Change* in response to an ever-changing environment. Thus development necessarily suffers from all the paradoxes that bedevil management highlighted by Kowalski (2006). In addition, many other paradoxical issues that are pertinent to the context of development throw up important implications for both professionals and managers in what Deci (1995, p.158) refers to as: “one-up positions” in other contexts that are related to development through having to pursue organisational missions that encompass the achievement of external social impact as well as having to achieve more proximal organisational change. In this regard Kowalski (2010) drew attention to five particular, though related, paradoxes that fall into this category, namely:

1. The core paradox of helping to self help, where intervening inevitably robs people of their necessary autonomy. As Ellerman (2005, p.2) recognised: “the notion of helping people to help themselves is in fact a deep conundrum far more subtle than is realized by the many develop-

# COMMUNICATION, COOPERATION AND CONFLICT

*Steffen Borge*

## *Abstract:*

*According to Steven Pinker and his associates the cooperative model of human communication fails, because evolutionary biology teaches us that most social relationships, including talk-exchange, involve combinations of cooperation and conflict. In particular, the phenomenon of the strategic speaker who uses indirect speech in order to be able to deny what he meant by a speech act (deniability of conversational implicatures) challenges the model. In reply I point out that interlocutors can aim at understanding each other (cooperation), while being in conflict. Furthermore, Pinker's strategic speaker relies on the Cooperative Principle when conveying a conversational implicature, and so non-cooperative behaviour (denial) only emerges as a response to a negative reaction from the audience. It is also doubtful in the cases Pinker presents whether a denial will successfully cancel the conversational implicature – change the audience's interpretation of speaker's meaning. I also argue that a strategic speaker might choose indirect speech due to the ignorability of conversational implicatures, in which case the strategic speaker can be highly cooperative.*

## 1. Introduction

Previously evolutionary psychologists understood the evolutionary idea of “natural selection” or “the survival of the fittest” as meaning that every human being ultimately stands alone in constant competition with others for resources in the battle of life.<sup>1</sup> Though Darwin had a much more nuanced view (Darwin 1871), orthodoxy in social darwinism was that our natural state is a state of dog eat dog. Today the academic tide has turned and many scholars argue that man is an essentially cooperative creature (Henrich and Henrich 2006, Tomasello 2009, Bowles and Gintis 2011). Our natural disposition is towards cooperation, not competition (Keltner and Anderson 2000, Thoits and Hewitt 2001, Fehr and Fischbacher 2003, Bowles 2006). This line sits well with the so-called cooperative model of human communication. The model was first

1 The notion of the survival of the fittest was not introduced by Charles Darwin in his *On the Origin of Species* (Darwin 1859), but by Herbert Spencer (see Paul for a discussion of when Spencer first used the expression, Paul 1988: 412–413). Darwin himself added the phrase to the text in the fifth edition of *On the Origin of Species* (Darwin 1869: 22).

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## ON PROTO SOCIOLOGY

*Protosociology plays an important role among philosophy journals with connected contributions on important and breaking topics – such the nature and special features of collective cognitive states – that do not receive such generous attention in other journals. It is worth serious consideration for inclusion in a library's philosophy collection.*

Margaret Gilbert, Storrs (USA)

*The relatively young journal Protosociology has become an important forum for discussion in the philosophy of social science and of sociality and, more broadly, for theoretical discussion in social science. It is especially interesting and important that such new fields as social metaphysics and social epistemology as well as research related to collective intentionality and its applications have acquired a prominent place in the agenda of Protosociology.*

Raimo Tuomela

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Roger Gibson, St. Louis (USA)

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**Volume 28, 2011**

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