

Literaturtipps Zivilgesellschaft in China

Björn Alpermann, State and Society in China's Environmental Politics, In: China's Environmental Crisis. Domestic and Global Political Impacts and Responses, ed. Joel Jay Kassiola and Guo Sujian, 123–152 (New York: Palgrave, 2010).

Michael Buesgen, NGOs and the Search for Chinese Civil Society, Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations in the Nujiang Campaign, Working Paper series No. 422 (Den Haag: Institute for Social Studies, 2006). Download: http://www.eu-china.net/upload/pdf/materialien/michael%20buesgen-diplom_08-08-19.pdf

Goldman, Merle, Sowing the Seeds of Democracy in China, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994.

The West's leading authority on the role of intellectuals in contemporary China presents a perceptive account of the efforts at political reform in the Deng Xiaoping era. Merle Goldman describes a group of highly placed intellectuals who, with the patronage of Deng Xiaoping's designated successors Hu Yaobang and then Zhao Ziyang, attempted to reshape both China's Marxist–Leninist ideology and its political system.

Baogang He, The Democratization of China, London: Routledge, 1996.

_____. **The Democratic Implications of a Civil Society in China**, London: MacMillan Press, 1997.

This book discusses the roles of civil society in the initiation stage of democratization in China. It argues that there is a semi-civil society in China and that this quasi-civil society that plays dual roles in the initial stage of democratisation in China. It makes a contribution to existing theories on democratic functions of civil society by applying, testing, revising and developing these theories in the context of Chinese democratization.

Peter Ho, Richard Louis Edmonds, Perspectives of Time and Change: Rethinking Embedded Environmental Activism in China, In: China Information 21.2 (2008): 331–344, London/New York: Sage.

China's burgeoning civil society has often been characterized as state-led or corporatist. However, these concepts fail to capture the current dynamics of Chinese social activism, as they cannot account for two of its critical features. First, the fact that the nature of Chinese state—society relations is not a matter of the former dictating the latter, but rather a kind of “negotiated symbiosis.” Second, the semiauthoritarian context necessitates that China's social activists develop a diffuse, and informal rather than formal, network of relations. This informal web of relations has yielded undeniable political as well as societal legitimacy. It is against this background that we put forward the concept of “embedded social activism.” Since its initial emergence, environmental activism has resourcefully adapted to, rather than opposed, the political conditions of its era. The hallmark, and in fact, the success of China's reforms lie in their strategy of incremental change. Therefore, we might view embedded environmentalism as a transient phase which is itself changing through time, a transitional feature of a burgeoning civil society in a semiauthoritarian context.

Suzanne Ogden, *Inklings of Democracy in China*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Since 1979 China's leaders have introduced economic and political reforms that have lessened the state's hold over the lives of ordinary citizens. By examining the growth in individual rights, the public sphere, democratic processes, and pluralization, the author seeks to answer questions concerning the relevance of liberal democratic ideas for China and the relationship between a democratic political culture and a democratic political system. The author also looks at the contradictory impulses and negative consequences for democracy generated by economic liberalism.

Unresolved issues concerning the relationships among culture, democracy, and socioeconomic development are at the heart of the analysis. Nonideological criteria are used to assess the success of the Chinese approach to building a fair, just, and decent society.

Eva Pils, *Discussing 'Civil Society' and 'Liberal Communities' in China*, In: *China Perspectives* 3 (2012): 2–7 (Hong Kong: CEFC).

There are certain communities – or groups, or fields – in Chinese civil society that can be most readily expected to promote the strengthening of universal values underpinning human rights. These values include freedom of conscience and speech, freedom of association and the right to political participation, and liberty of the person – basic liberties. In different ways, communities of journalists, of human rights defenders including in particular lawyers, religious communities, and non-governmental organizations (NGO) involved in the provision of social services or advocacy can be especially important to the promotion of these values. Journalist communities, religious groups and NGOs are also dependent on freedom of speech, conscience and association, whereas rights lawyers are engaged in the defence of the rights to due process, a fair trial, and access to justice. In non-liberal, nondemocratic political systems, support from international or transnational civil society is an especially important further aspect. Accordingly, the contributions to this volume discuss these fields and aspects.

Ma, Qiusha, *Non-Governmental Organizations in Contemporary China. Paving the Way to Civil Society?*, London/New York: Palgrave, 2006.

Salmenkari, Taru, *Searching for a Chinese Civil Society Model*, In: *China information*, Vol. 22, No. 397, p. 413. (2008), London/New York: Sage.

This study hypothesizes that the Chinese state uses NGOs as objects of consultation for improving its policymaking in the same way it consults mass organizations, democratic parties, and official professional associations to obtain specialist information. This model of consultation is based on the mass-line model and on its application within democratic centralist administrative hierarchies. The investigation shows that, apart from their main social or environmental tasks, Chinese NGOs indeed inform the state, many of them with policy formulation in mind. It also shows that the Chinese state uses democratic centralist vocabulary to describe the tasks that it assumes NGOs should undertake. However, apart from the mass-line type of consultation, both NGOs and the state have other conceptions about the proper roles for NGOs. The state now promotes the idea of civil society as an independent

service provider, while NGOs seek an even larger sphere of social autonomy and self-organization.

Nora Sausmikat, Chinese environmental movements: civil society discourses on climate change and environmental protection, in: Carmen Meinert (Hg.), *Nature, Environment, and Culture in East Asia: The Challenge of Climate Change*, Leiden: Brill 2013, S. 197-229. Link: <http://www.brill.com/nature-environment-and-culture-east-asia>).

_____. Challenges of European Cultural Diplomacy - Civil Society engagement in China-Cooperation is based on trust, in: Helmut K. Anheier and Bernhard Lorentz (eds.), *Bridging the Trust Divide: Cultural Diplomacy and Fostering Understanding Between China and the West*, Stiftung Mercator: Essen und IP/ DGAP 2012, S. 80-88

_____. Social Activism as a Response to Experienced Forced Migration in China, in: *Deportees, Exiles, Refugees*, Online Journal of studies on women's memory, (2011), Universita Ca' Foscari Venezia, S. 1-27, http://www.unive.it/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=98257

_____. Beschirmte Unabhangigkeit - Chinesische NGOs sind trotz staatlicher Ganglung partiell erfolgreich, in *IZ3W* Juli/Aug. 2011, S. 10.

_____. China viewed from the European Civil society Perspective, In: Fritsche/Sausmikat (Hrsg.), *Civil society in European-Chinese Relations*, Essen 2010, S. 49-100, download unter:

_____. Interessenvertretung der Bauern und Verbraucher in China, in: Uwe Hoering, *Landwirtschaft in China: Zwischen Selbstversorgung und Weltmarktintegration*, Dez. 2010, S. 29-37, (PDF download unter: http://www.eu-china.net/web/cms/upload/pdf/materialien/eu-china_2010_landwirtschaft_in_china.pdf)

_____. Zwischen Wohlfahrt und politischer Interessenvertretung: Das NGO-Wesen in China geht auch auf die Frauenbewegung zuruck, In: *Frauenrat* (Informationsdienst des deutschen Frauenrates) Nr. 3, 2008, S. 10-13.

_____. (mit Thomas Heberer), China und Zivilgesellschaft, In: J. Betz, W. Hein (Hrsg.), *Neues Jahrbuch Dritte Welt 2005 - Zivilgesellschaft*, Wiesbaden: Verlag fur Sozialwissenschaften, 2005, S. 208-239.

_____. (mit Thomas Heberer), Xifang gongmin shehui guan shihe zhongguo ma? 西方公民社会观适合中国吗? □Is the Western Concept of Civil Society Fitting China?, In: *Nankai Xuebao* 南开学报 □Nankai Study Times□ 2 (2005): 64-71 (Nankai, Nankai University Press).

_____. (mit Thomas Heberer), Bilden sich in China Strukturen einer Zivilgesellschaft heraus? *DUISBURGER ARBEITSPAPIERE OSTASIENWISSENSCHAFTEN*, No. 61/2004, 50 S. download: <http://duepublico.uni-duisburg-essen.de/servlets/DerivateServlet/Derivate-5613/paper61.pdf>

_____.Die Bedeutung von Civil Society und NGOs in der V.R. China (The meaning of NGOs and Civil Society in the P.R of China), Introduction to Yu Keping, Asienhaus Essen (Asia Foundation), Focus Asien No. 11, Februar 2003.

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_____.Nichtstaatliche Frauenforschung in der VR China : Eine Diskussion der Frauenwissenschaft Li Xiaojiangs, Münster : Lit, 1995.

Tong, Yanqi Transitions from State Socialism. Economic and Political Change in Hungary and China, New York/ Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997.

Exploring the transformation of state socialism through a comparative study of the reform experiences of China and Hungary, this book focuses on the relationship between economic and political change. Despite following parallel paths through much of the reform period, China and Hungary diverged drastically in 1989, when Hungary installed a democratic political system while China used brutal military force to suppress political dissent. After tracing common political, economic, and ideological dimensions, Yanqi Tong explains the dramatically different outcomes in the two countries. She identifies key differences in the social costs of economic reform, the international setting, strategies pursued by the establishment and its opponents, and the coalitions formed by political elites. Tong also argues that developments since 1989 demonstrate that the end of conventional state socialism has guaranteed neither stability, democracy, nor prosperity as powerful legacies from both the communist and reform eras thwart the development of healthy political and economic systems.

Guobin Yang, Environmental NGOs and Institutional Dynamics in China, In: *The China Quarterly* 181 (2005), S. 46–66Cf ed.

Environmental non-governmental organizations are becoming increasingly visible players in China's environmental politics. Adopting a field perspective, this article shows how the rise of environmental NGOs has taken place in interactions with institutional fields.

Guobin Yang, Civic Environmentalism, In: Reclaiming Chinese Society. The New Social Activism, ed. Hsing You-Tian and Ching Kwan-Lee, 119–139 (London: Routledge, 2010)

Bin Xu, For whom the bell tolls: state-society relations and the Sichuan earthquake mourning in China, Published online: 17 August 2013, Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2013.

In the wake of the devastating Sichuan earthquake in 2008, the Chinese state, for the first time in the history of the People's Republic, held a nationwide mourning rite for ordinary disaster victims. Why did this "mourning for the ordinary" emerge in the wake of the Sichuan earthquake but not previous massive disasters? Moreover, the Chinese state tried to demonstrate through the mourning that the state respected ordinary people's lives and dignity. But this moral-political message contradicted the state's normal repressive practice. What can account for this contradiction? Drawing on the state-society relations perspective, Bin Xu

argues that the emergence of “mourning for the ordinary” can be explained by some important changes in structural state-society relations in China in the 2000s, such as the rapidly developing civil society with moral consciousness and the more adaptive authoritarian Chinese state with concern about its moral legitimacy.

Link: <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11186-013-9200-5>

Xu Bin, Consensus Crisis and Civil Society: The Sichuan Earthquake Response and State–Society Relations. The China Journal, no. 71, pp. 91-108, 2014, by The Australian National University

Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Staat und Gesellschaft in China konzentrieren sich meist auf eine Vertrauenskrise der beiden Protagonisten. Eine Vertrauenskrise wird gekennzeichnet von Herausforderungen an Managementkapazitäten des Staates, einem kritischen Bedarf an Leistungen der Zivilgesellschaft, und die Bemühungen des Staates um ein moralisch respektables Image. Dieser Umstand begünstigt eine relativ gütliche Wechselwirkung zwischen Staat und Gesellschaft. Bestehende Studien ignorieren die Relevanz von Situationen. Xu Bin behauptet, dass das Erdbeben 2008 ein Beispiel für eine Vertrauenskrise ist, die den Bürgerinitiativen Raum für Agitation zur Verfügung stellte.

Link:

<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.1086/674555?uid=3739256&uid=2134&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&sid=21105971303113>

Zhao, Suisheng (Hrsg.), China and Democracy. Reconsidering the Prospects for A Democratic China, London/ New York: Routledge, 2000.

This timely collection brings together many well-known scholars to systematically explore China's current government and assess that transition toward democracy. The contributors seek to bridge the gap between normative theories of democracy and empirical studies of China's political development by providing a comprehensive overview of China's domestic history, economy, and public political ideologies.