

**RESEARCH ON STATE AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS:
TOPIC ON CHINESE CIVIL SOCIETY**

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I. Prologue

During the 3 decades of China conducting economic reform, although satisfactory results have been achieved such as international political situation greatly improved and overall state strength largely enhanced, in the back of the overall economic development of the country, social phenomena of unbalanced regional development and increasing urban-rural revenue directly sharpen social internal confliotions as well as the opposite relation between classes. The dissatisfactory emotion inside Chinese society has severely threatened stability of the state and development of the society. Based on statistics from Ministry of Public Security of China, collective mass meeting events increased averagely 17% yearly since early 1990s. In 2005, over 87,000 mass meetings participated by over 50 persons took place with a total participating people over 3.7 million. In China, mass meeting participating people extended from traditional vulnerable groups such as peasants and migrant workers in early 1990s to multiple classes and groups including common urban inhabitants, intellectual stratum and middle class. Therefore Chinese government is facing congregate revolts from various classes in the society. What form of managing system it need introduce to effectively eliminate such destabilizing factors threatening state stability while maintain current political system? This paper considers that the answer can be found among relationships and characteristics between state and civil society in China. Although Chinese government has kept actively releasing new measures continuously in resent years and civil society has achieve certain development in China, in view of the fact that people mass meeting events in China keeping a trend of high speed rising, this paper believes that certain restrain exists in Chinese civil society action space, or typical Western civil society functions have no possibility to fully play in China. To be objective, the operation guideline most Chinese civil society is to avoid conflict with the state as much as possible, pursuing the conception of coexistence and mutual assistance with the state, which is totally different from the feature that civil societies are on the whole on the opposite position of the state in western countries.

Looking China from the perspective of history, development of the relationship between state and society has mainly experienced 3 stages. The first is the state and society integration stage. That is to say that in the planned economy system, through executing Danwei System in urban and Commune System in rural, the state charge the social within fully control of the state. The second is the state and society opposite stage in the transition period. During the transition from planned economy system to market economy system and deepening, taking overall interests into account, to

ensure integral economy development, the state opportunely utilized strong state power to limit and interrupt growth and development of civil society, thereby causing the situation of state and society opposite. The third is innovating stage that the government explored a new state and society relationship to meet the multi-element demand of the people after 1990s. Because along with constantly improving of the market economy system, while bearing pressure from international community, to meet political demands of the people, Chinese government is actively seeking conditionally support and encourage the development of civil society during the process of eliminating some people's dissatisfaction with the government. Since 1980s many scholars including those in China have conducted diversity researches on Chinese civil society. But many foregoing papers have defects in lack of analysis of basic reasons causing state and society change and characteristics of Chinese civil society.

This paper believes that the come down of state totalitarianism and the strong revolt from inside the society are the basic reasons that cause Chinese state and society relationship changed. Before 1980s, to ensure integral national economy developing, Chinese government introduced the economy development strategy of sacrifice rural and agriculture. But the economy development strategy of concentrating on development of urban and industry injured vital interests of peasants with a population over 60% of total population. On the other hand, because of incomplete government management and legal mechanism, it did not duly provide urban inhabitants with a channel to express their diversified social demands and dissatisfactions. Thus it spread from early individual protest activities in rural region to mass meeting demonstration events national wide. In the multiethnic coexisting China, mass meeting demonstrations caused by strong dissatisfaction with the state occurred since 1990s had not only severely threatened stability and development of the state but also led the government paying high attention on civil society and actively promoting reform related to developing civil society with Chinese characteristics.

II. Theoretic summary of Governance

In specific environments in China, the key reason for the government conditionally supporting and developing civil society was it realized that effectively accepting and reasonably utilizing civil society can help to rapidly and effectively settle social conflicts and remove revolts inside the society. That is to say, despite of elements of complying with development of times and bearing pressure of international community, conditionally supporting development of civil society from the view of Chinese government, the more important reason is to help to maintain social stability and Chinese current political system. Therefore from perspective of the relation of coexistence and assistant management between Chinese government and society, this paper puts theoretical emphasis on paying attention to state and society cooperative governance theory. Based on various view angles of scholars, research

subjects and matters to be settled, what it gets is just like governance theory and democratic theory, with fuzziness, diversity and commonality. Following is the analysis of historical background, typical theories and characteristics of the governance theory.

1. Historical Background of Governance Theory

Emergence of governance theory is directly related to the great change of public affairs environments in 21st century. It can be analyzed mainly in 3 aspects. The first is the impact of globalization and informatization, the second is government failure, and the third is market malfunction (Zhang, 2009: 23-24). Although many scholars have different opinions on the historical background of the governance theory, they basically agree that during responding sudden changes in internal and external environments while greatly increases dependence and significance of market and civil society, the government emphasizes validity and importance of the two subjects of market and civil society providing assistance. So the governance theory is a new effective social management style to complement shortages of government administration and market regulation (Sun Baiying, 2004: 51).

2. Concept and Characteristics of Governance

It is well known that traditional government has been replaced by governance and widely used. After comparing with traditional public administration, US scholar J. Kooiman introduced the concept of "governance", which should create social structure and order created free of mandatory. It has to be interacted and cooperatively completed by multiple parties (Kooiman, 1993: 109) on premise of common goal. It defines governance in *Our Global Neighborhood* as: governance is the summation of various modes of public or private individual and organizational management and their common affairs, which means the process of making individuals or organizations with mutual conflicting or different interests in harmony and conducting continuous joint actions. It has four characteristics: governance is a process; the basis of govern process is coordination; governance contains not only public sections but also private sections; governance is not a formal system, but continuous interacting (Commission on Global Governance, 1995: 23).

This paper considers that governance is to make a network in the whole society, and between each member of the network there are relatively equal relationships such as "mutual reliance", "promoting coordination" and "cooperation". The function of this network is to break down the monopoly or core situation of the government, realize ideal goals of local autonomy, democracy, inhabitant participation, community co-building, etc..

3. Research on Governance in China

In China, the word "government" is translated into governance, or co-governance. However in China, researches aiming at governance against state cored governing mode and promoting social freedom started lately, meanwhile it limited by various elements, so the research on this theory in the academic community is still in a

Exploratory stage. However, with development of economy and growth of civil society, the society demanded the government to explore a new state and society relationship. However, in consideration of multiple factors, in China it cannot just copy relatively mature governance theory of the West, but the government has deeply recognized that teamwork from the society is of vital importance to maintain state stability. Sun Baiying and Yu Keping, both from China, introduced following opinions on development orientation of Chinese governance. First, although governance stems from the government, it cannot be limited within governmental agencies. Second, governance should promote cooperation and interdependence among agencies in the society. Third, governance promotes interdependence and complementary collective actions among governmental and nongovernmental organizations in the society (Sun Baiying, 2004: 22; Yu Keping, 2002: 192).

III. Formation of Chinese civil society

In China before the reform and opening, the primary reason of no civil society emergence or no living space for civil society is civil society is overwhelmed by national political policies, that is to say that state is almost confused with society (Yu Keping, 2003: 202). Utilizing dual-element management policy, the state divided the country into two domains of city and rural based on geography and industrial structure. Through Danwei System in urban and Commune System in rural, the state conducted centralized management while made unified allocation of resources. That is to say that in planned economy system, state firmly confined most economical and social activities in a controllable range. Danwei System is an effective tool of the government to control population movement, confining most resources and citizens in the administration network of the government. Along with the development of Chinese economy, while Danwei System was canceled, various social phenomena appeared such as class differentiation inside the society, citizens demanding multiple services, nongovernment department position increasing, inequity inner the society. Thus such a series of social phenomena are the fundamental element to generate civil society with Chinese characteristics.

1. Emergence of Civil Society

Since the reform and opening, emergence of market had caused essential change of the relationship between state and society. Emergence of market had brought following changes to the Chinese society. i) Change of values. In 1978 Mr. Deng Xiaoping brought the state development concept of taking economic construction as the center and improving social productivity through scientific management. So this state development concept also centralized values of citizens on economic benefit and efficiency improvement. ii). Population movement. Mass urban and rural work force movement brought great impact on originally closed society or enterprises (Gorden White, 1993: 203). iii). Emergence of new classes subdivided originally simplified social classes, i.e. the three categories of two classes (labor and peasant) and one stratum (intellectual stratum) before reform and opening is enlarged into ten

strata (Park, 2010: 49). iv). Guided by Restructuring Major Enterprises and Relaxing Control over Small Ones Policy, the central government properly transferred certain power to local governments while reinforced coordination and communication among different departments of the same level, which is to say that both vertical and horizontal cooperation systems was strengthened in the administration system. Alternately, along with deepening of the market system, the government inevitably carried out privatization reform of state owned enterprises, which provided good conditions for emergence of Chinese civil society. Market made necessary adjustment of relation between supply and demand, then economic associations of peasants emerged, and inter regional industrial and commercial enterprise cooperation and incorporation, even rural-urban production-marketing cooperation emerged. Fast development of nongovernmental sections assisted emergence of social groups with various characteristics, for example, nongovernmental organizations groups such as All-China Federation of Trade Unions, All-China Women's Federation, various expert associations and trade societies, consumers' associations, academic associations, etc. emergence and development of such social groups of different characters greatly facilitate the change of state and social relationship while accord facilities for development of civil society with Chinese characteristics.

Chinese academic community began to pay attention to Chinese civil society in early 1980s. Up to present, research on this topic can be approximately divided into 3 stages. Before 1990s it mainly paid attention to relation between planning and market as well as the New Administration. After 1990s it paid attention to exploring the civil society mode with Chinese characteristics on basis of Western civil society theories and Marxism civil society theory (Wang Xinseng, 2003: 3-10). Particularly after 2000, after a series of government reforms, the academic community conducted lots of research on Chinese civil society in views of state-led civil society, official civil society, unofficial civil society, etc. In the meantime, emerged diversified civil societies changed relation between state and society and understanding of society from government to a great extent. After 1990s Chinese government deeply realized the importance and necessity of existence of civil society, thereafter after 2000 in some sections or in some situations Chinese government cooperated with civil society in equal and coextensive level (이민자, 2009: 14). Most foregoing papers believed there are two reasons for Chinese government changing cognition of relation between state and society and reforming positively. The first is the process of globalization, complying with the trend of government transferring into governance, developing civil society conditionally. The second is to respond West countries' democratic demand as well as pressure and dissatisfaction inside the society. This paper prefers the latter, i.e. the government reform which is to effectively settle social confictions and dissatisfactory emotion while maximally meet increasingly diversified social demands of various classes.

Chinese scholar Wang Ming believed that after World Conference on Women 1995 held in Beijing, quality and quantity of Chinese nongovernmental organizations have

developed simultaneously. The reasons are as following: i. relatively sufficient nongovernment capital formed theoretical possibility of economical foundation of Chinese nongovernment independently operation. ii. Frequent domestic exchange and cooperation between nongovernment organizations enlarged their range of activities. iii. International nongovernment organization exchange provided experience for developing nongovernment organization with Chinese characteristics. iv. Participating of social elites brought nongovernment organizations with vigor as well as economic and social capital (Wang Ming, 2004: 85-92; Yu Keping, 2002: 203). However the specific Chinese environments caused the dual characters of civil society, and we have to temporarily divide civil societies into domains of civil society inside the system and those outside the system. A civil society inside the system has a position basically same or similar to the state, making coexistence with the state, forming a mutual dependent teamwork relation, with positive effect on state maintaining current political system and social stability. However, a civil society outside the system aims to release from state administration system, and in most cases has a position against the state, with characteristics of relative independence and freedom. In the following it details and analyzes the two civil societies which coexist inside Chinese society but with almost opposite characteristics.

2. Civil Society inside the System

1) Government Function Changing and Governance

After 1980s, development of economy and emergence of market directly caused the monopoly situation of central government shaken. The government also actively adjusted relation between state and society by function reforms. Particularly after China jointed WTO, to adapt the new environments in WTO system, the government actively introduced new Western administration concepts represented by government service concept, government affairs public declaring concept, government efficiency concept (Wang Puqu, Xie Qingkui, 2003: 88). Based on relatively low efficient traditional administrating system, combined with state conditions, Chinese government introduced part of government theories with high efficiency, so it not only effectively transferred governance functions under the bureaucrat system to the society, but also made speed of central government power shifting to lower levels. The government made reform through following aspects. i. Administration functions of the government transfer to nongovernmental organizations under government department such as trade society. ii. Administration functions of the government first transfer to semi-governmental semi-nongovernmental organizations (civil societies inside the system), and then transfer to profit organizations in the market. iii. Welfare affairs charged by the government transfer from government-sponsored public institutions to nongovernmental organizations or profit organizations in the market (정주영, 2004: 241).

View from trend of Chinese government functions adjustment, it basically comply with the small government administrating guideline of return authority to civil as much as possible. Such government function change makes fundamentally change of relation between state and society, i.e. transfer from relation of supervisor and

supervisee to a level of relatively equality, coexistence and teamwork. Such interdependent and complementary relation just is the essential condition for governance.

2) Characteristics of a Civil Society inside the System

To be objective, fast growth and development of Chinese social organizations do have relation to common people awareness improvement, nongovernmental sections capital increase and nongovernmental sections social positions remarkably raise, the crucial factor should be "Inclusion Policy" actively developed by the government. That is to say Chinese social organizations can fast develop because of corresponding support from the government in the category of government inclusion and administration. Just so future survival and development social organizations directly depend on whether the central government will continue carrying out encourage and support guideline. Chinese government has full realized that actively utilizing social organizations in some public and private fields can effectively settle social conflicts and eliminate people's dissatisfaction as well as increase citizens' enthusiasm and decrease administrating cost of social operation, so the government adopts the "inclusion" and "administration" policy to civil society. "Inclusion" here means the government transfers part of its administration functions to social organizations and provides support on materials. "Administration" here mentioned means the governmental authorities filter qualification of social organizations and then limit their acting range to effectively control quantity increasing speed and acting modes of social organizations. However, based on statistics, in 1998 about 50% of operation expense of Chinese social organizations was from the government, because Chinese nongovernmental capital had been fully accumulated objectively, but common inhabitants were lack of awareness and participation in social organizations, it was difficult for Chinese social organizations to get operation expense from nongovernmental sections. So to gain more rights and acting space, social organizations had to keep almost the same attitude to that of the government and actively seek cooperation channels and fields with the government (이민자, 2009: 24). Since Chinese social organizations financially were greatly dependent on the government, from operation mode to acting space, even in personnel matters they were greatly limited by the government. Someone joked that such phenomenon as government oriented civil society or top-down social organization. The most representative organizations of such kind are All-China Federation of Trade Unions, All-China Women's Federation, etc. It is entirely different from nature of mature of totally nongovernmental civil societies in the West. Since most Chinese social organizations are dependent on government in finance, in view of relation between state and society, the social organization has following two characteristics. i. the government was absolutely leading social organizations from establishment to operation process. ii. It was lack of independence and freedom. So it is impracticable to use democracy or market principles to explain growth and development of Chinese civil society. However this paper considers that, on basis of current situation, in case of lack of assistance from civil societies, it is difficult for Chinese government to

achieve the goal of maintaining current political system and state stability. So Chinese government conditionally allowed social organizations of various forms and natures coexist in a society. Recently in the virtual network community social appeals of domestic nature occurred. Although it has not been in large scale, the occurrence of it brings new vigor to Chinese civil society development.

3. Civil Society outside the System

1) Revolts inside the society

During the planned economy period and the first two decades of the reform and opening, to ensure integral economic and social development, Chinese government pursued the policy of concentrating on developing city and industry while sacrificing sectional interests. From early 1990s, the three dimensional rural issues (Problems about Agriculture, Rural Areas and Peasantry) in China had increasingly emerged. After 2000, the social phenomenon of income differential between urban-rural citizens and classes in the city enlarged occurred, and this serious social inequality phenomenon directly led to mass and organized people demonstration events statewide. Such revolt actions inside the society also directly affected state stability and society development, getting high attention from Chinese government. Such full nongovernmental mass anti-governmental actions meant people expressed their dissatisfaction in a relatively violent fashion, demanding to shake off strict governing of the state. It was typical civil society outside the system. In the past two decades, mass meeting participating people extended from sole peasants to multiple classes in the society. Because people of multiple classes in the society had demands on government diversification humanized service, they expressed their personal willingness by means of demonstration. With very limited individual power, during the process of revolt, to achieve the goal of effectively settle problems, they conducted collective revolts through means of unite or establish interest communities (Lee, Minza, 2009: 32).

2) Countermeasures to Eliminate Revolts inside the Society and Further Topics

On premise of Chinese leadership fully understood dramatically increase of domestic mass demonstration events would cause serious consequences of society development and state stability, while insisting on Communist Party leadership and strengthening social administration, it began to seek effective methods to settle legitimacy crisis by policy reform. Chinese government generally utilized following measures to respond to revolts inside the society. i. To better maintain current political system, Chinese government actively brought administrative and legal system reforms concentrated on "Ruling the State by Laws", trying to effectively eliminate revolts inside the society by current political system. The 1999 Constitution reform enabled common citizens had the right for administrative litigation or compensation demand on improper governmental actions. ii. To effectively decrease mass demonstration events and eliminate dissatisfaction of people, Chinese government actively established Letters and Visitors channel in departments such as local governments and courts. iii. Chinese government actively pursuing care-for-the-people policies. Since came into power Hu Jintao Administration introduced the

political guideline of paying attention to balanced development and maintaining society stable, it also pursued new rural construction aiming at the three dimensional rural issues under the slogan of "Create a Harmony Society". After entering the second term, while continued to pay attention to the three dimensional rural issues, Hu Jintao Administration introduced people's livelihood settling measures including housing, employment, education, social security. The multiple care-for-the-people measures introduced by Hu Jintao Administration effectively eliminated revolts and dissatisfaction inside the society, maintaining stability of the society. iv. Migrant workers rights and interests support system was perfected. Although with a negative attitude towards migrant workers till mid 1990s, the government began to give positive appraisal to migrant workers on their contribution to state development after 2004. The New Labor Law issued in 2007 further protected lawful rights and interests (Lee, Minza, 2009: 34-37). Besides, the central government increased investment on free vocational education of migrant workers, and provided opportunity for children of migrant workers to get compulsory education.

The sudden US economic crisis in 2008 brought negative effects on Chinese economic development, forcing many Chinese industries pursuing industrial structural adjustment. Therefore a new social problem caused by labor supply-demand relation emerged since enterprises increasingly demanded on employees of high technology and high quality while the education or training level of migrant workers as labor force was relatively poor. Existence of this problem caused a new destabilizing factor for smooth development of Chinese society.

In the former part of this paper it summarized Hu Jintao Administration's policy reforms since 2000 represented by pursuing "Ruling the State by Laws", establishing Letters and Visitors channel, pursuing care-for-the-people policies and protecting rights and interests of migrant workers which are actively implemented to effectively settle social conflicts and eliminate revolts inside the society. The central government met quite a few problems during actively carrying out above multiple measures. First, local governments were imperceptive to that eliminating revolts inside the society is related to destiny of the state, so even Ruling the State by Laws and Letters and Visitors channel were implemented, social conflicts were not settled effectively. This did not help to decrease revolts inside the society; on the contrary, it increased public distrust of the government. So the reason for mass demonstration events keeping continuously increasing since 2000 although the central government was actively taking measures is the imperceptiveness, low work efficiency and improper methods of local governments. On the other hand, care-for-the-people policies of the central government are mostly super large projects of long period, great investment and slow return. The central government faced great financial burden, together with the objective reason of peasant cannot benefit from it in short term, so it had negative effect the result of effectively eliminating revolts and dissatisfaction of strata of peasant, migrant worker and urban poor. Finally, while enhancing protection of migrant worker rights and interests it increased burden of enterprises. Because labor cost got rise, it

cause the phenomenon of some enterprises reducing staff and foreign enterprise disinvestment, further cause a new social problem of partial labor unemployment.

In the society fast developing and changing 21st century, Chinese government will face various new social problems at any time, together with the existence of possibility of dissatisfaction and revolt inside the society, so Chinese government should adopt flexible measures to rationally and effectively develop and utilize civil society to ensure national stability and integer development of the society.

IV. Conclusions

After 1980s, during political reform, while positively denied state totalitarianism, Chinese government greatly advocated the reform of political power delegating to lower levels and government administration functions transferring to the society. It broke prior monopolistic situation of government undertaking itself, forming a new mode of state and society sharing. However the key reason to cause the government completing the process is not to pursue the ideal relation of teamwork and "equality" between the government and the civil society but to rationally utilize or cooperate with the civil society to achieve effectively settling social conflictions as well as maintaining current political system and stability. So what the government provides to civil society is not fully independent and free space. First, the government carries out initial administration during the process of social organization qualification review. Then, by method of financial support the government effectively guides operation mode of social organizations. Thus Chinese government conditionally supporting and developing social organizations actually is not a process of weakening their tights but an effectively method to solidify and maintain current political system. From another view, social organizations not only participate in state policy decision process but also are limited by many factors. So in general situations, they play a role of government assistant, i.e. social organizations led by the government.

In Chinese society, although with different natures, civil societies inside and outside the system coexist, thus change of the relation between the two directly effects whether it can maintain current political system and effectively eliminate destabilizing factors of society development. When influence of civil society inside the system is clearly stronger than that of civil society outside the system, Chinese government can effectively eliminate instability of the society and maintain current political system. On the contrary, i.e. in case of influence of civil society outside the system is clearly stronger than that of civil society inside the system, governance on society of Chinese government would fade out greatly, the possibility of current political system being shaken appears.

In China, many concepts or names are customarily modified by prefix of Chinese characteristics. Blecher gave positive appraisal on this phenomenon. He considered that the reason of this phenomenon was China from perspective of pragmatism, instead of copying advanced modes or theories of other countries, absorbed success experience while seeking a guideline and policies fit for development of the state after

combining with specific situation of China (Blecher, 2001: 6). So it is less feasible to use typical Western democracy or civil society theories to analyze morphology, features and developing orientation of Chinese civil society. It is necessary to clearly understand specific situation of China before bring constructive proposals and academic opinions to relation between state and society as well as developing orientation and trend of civil society. Therefore this paper considers that in China the two parties of inside the system and outside will continue existing. But along with internal and external environments change, members and natures even acting modes of the two parties will change enormously.

Key words: Chinese civil society, revolt, teamwork, political system, inside system, outside system.

ABSTRACT

State totalitarianism has come down in the world now, and the Chinese government has fully realized that only with teamwork of civil societies it can effectively eliminate revolts inside the society and maintain stability of the state. So the dependency of the government on civil societies is the basic reason that leads to state and society relationships change. In the specific environments in China, how can the government achieve teamwork with civil societies while maintaining current political system? The answer is that the government substantially supports activities of civil societies in the political system. After a brief analysis on a series reform measures introduced by the government to eliminate revolts inside the society, this paper takes some advice on its shortage. Finally this paper considers that if Chinese government could not coordinate relationships among civil societies inside and outside the system, it would face the possibility of political system shaken.

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