Understanding China and the World book series ⊖

Society Building

A China Model of Social Development

Edited by

Xiangqun Chang



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GENERAL PREFACE TO THE "UNDERSTANDING CHINA AND THE WORLD" BOOK SERIES

ZHENG HANGSHENG AND XIANGQUN CHANG1

The idea of compiling a series of books in English and Chinese versions originated in 2010. The "Understanding China and the World" book series was directly inspired by an important international academic event titled "Understanding China, Engaging with Chinese people", held at the London School of Economics on 5-8 December of that year, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Fei Xiaotong, an eminent Chinese sociologist and anthropologist. The event was jointly sponsored by the Asia Research Center, Department of Anthropology, the China in Comparative Perspective Network (CCPN), the Confucian Institute for Business in London (CIBL), at the London School of Economics, and the School of Sociology and Anthropol-

Xiangqun Chang is Director of CCPN Global, Editor of Journal of China in Comparative Perspective (JCCP), Chief editor of Global China Press, Honorary Professor at University College London (UCL), UK, and holder of professorships and senior fellowships at Peking, Renmin, Fudan and Sun Yat-sen universities, China. Her publications now amount to two million Chinese characters/English words, and include Guanxi or Li Shang Wanglai: Social Support Networks, Reciprocity and Social Creativity in a Chinese Village (English and Chinese editions, Scholarly Publishing Business, Airiti Press, Inc.)

ZHENG Hangsheng (1936–2014), was the founder of Chinese sociology in the new modern period. He was an Honorary President of the Chinese Association of Sociological Association (CSA), Vice President of Renmin University of China, and Director of the Center for Studies of Sociological Theory and Methods, which became the National Key Research Base for Humanities and Social Sciences of the Ministry of Education. He held longstanding leadership roles at the top of the CSA and other state-run sociological planning and governing organizations. He summarized his theoretical contribution to sociology as consisting of 'five theories': social operation, social transformation, social mutual-construction, practice-structure theory, and localization of the sociological discipline; his output numbered some 400 articles and nearly 100 books, including monographs, co-authored editions, and textbooks.

ogy at Sun Yat-sen University in China, the Zhejiang and UK Association (ZJUKA), and the Sino-UK Education Service Center.

As conference organizers and participants, we were well known for promoting and disseminating Chinese social science and sociology around the world. With the help of Professor Stephan Feuchtwang, the distinguished China studies expert, sociologist and anthropologist, the conference papers will be compiled as a book, entitled *The Globalization of Chinese Social Science: Commemorating the 105th Anniversary of Fei Xiaotong's Birth*, in both English and Chinese editions. The book contains the works of nearly 40 authors, all of whom have heavy commitments, so it is very difficult to publish all the content in both languages. In 2013, the establishment of the China in Comparative Perspective Network Global (CCPN Global) and, in particular, the birth of Global China Press, a subsidiary company to CCPN Global, enabled us to put our desire to publish the series into practice.

The English translation of "理解中国" is "understanding China". In 2001, Dr. John Brian Starr of Yale University published *Understanding China*, with the Chinese characters "了解中国" on the cover, representing the subtitle, "A *Guide to China's Economy, History and Political Culture*". This opened the door to further studies aimed at understanding China. We are now making a case of renowned Chinese sociologist and anthropologist Fei Xiaotong for a starting point to a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of China.

The 21st Century Council held a forum titled "Understanding China" in Beijing on 2 November 2013. This time, the phrase "understanding China" was translated into "读懂中国" by the media, and it has since become a hot topic in current international academia, politics, business and among the public. President Xi Jinping delivered an important speech while meeting the foreign representatives who attended the forum. He pointed out that, "China persists in peaceful development and will not walk the path of seeking hegemony. With China's development, China will assume more international responsibility and more actively participate in international affairs and reformation of the international system. China is a constructive strength in promoting world peace and development. We will, with all due modesty, continue to learn advanced concepts and development experience from other countries, and will inclusively walk along a harmonious and symbiotic road to development with other countries". These sentiments happen to be precisely in line with CCPN Global's ideals. Therefore, we add "and the world"

² Xi Jinping: to solve the developing problems and improve the livelihood of the people is still China's first priority, *Beijing Morning Post*, 3 November 2013. See: http://www.chinanews.com/gn/2013/11-3/5456607.shtml.

to the phrase "understanding China": "understanding China and the world" puts China in the context of globalization. Taking China and other countries and regions as a mirror, we undertake comparative studies to help ourselves and others to understand China and the world.

Global China Press will, in due course, publish the following works arising from our previous research projects:

- Society Building: A China Model for Social Development³
- The Globalization of Chinese Social Science: Commemorating the 105th Anniversary of Fei Xiaotong's Birth
- How the New Immigrants from BRICS Participate in Shaping the Global Society
- Max Weber and China: Culture, Law and Capitalism
- Renging and the Mechanism of Social Support in China
- Comparative Studies on Global Civil Society and Global Symbiotic Society

We sincerely invite experts and scholars at home and abroad to participate in the compilation of this series, so that we can justly claim to speak in the discourse on 'understanding China and the world' and promote the symbiotic dream of mankind while also realizing China's dream.

8 April 2014

The English version of the book was published by Cambridge Scholars Press in 2014, but the commissioning of entries, organizing, editing, translating and proofing were all undertaken by CCPN Global.

PREFACE

ZHENG HANGSHENG

Since modern times, from the late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China to the establishment of People's Republic of China, Chinese society has gone through much evolution and revolution, and Chinese scholars have imported various Western social sciences to help them understand China and contribute to the construction of Chinese society. In recent years, an immense amount of research on society building has been published by Chinese scholars who, benefiting from their rich academic heritage, have been simultaneously developing the domestic social sciences and humanities.

The social sciences in China, especially sociology and anthropology, possess a distinctive duality. On one hand, social scientists are committed to observing and interpreting Chinese culture by drawing on foreign ideas, that is, the theory and methodology of sociology; on the other hand, they not only respect the modern application of "jing shi zhi yong" ("what we have learned should be applied to deal with national affairs"), but also attach great importance to research into society itself and human beings from an anthropological and sociological approach (this is one of the reasons why Yan Fu translated "sociology" by "群学"). This duality can be detected in the research work of scholars of the older generation, such as Fei Xiaotong and Lin Yaohua.

In Fei Xiaotong's research work from his later years, we also notice his efforts to expand the traditional boundaries of the social sciences, advocating the combination of the scientific and humanities properties of sociology. It in fact shaped "a sociology with Chinese characteristics" or simply "Chinese sociology". Within this subject, "society building" is a well-known concept, reflecting the in-depth study of Chinese society by several generations of Chinese social scientists, and bringing together enlightenment and knowledge from all fields, past and present, all over the world, including the application of theory, social humanism and governmental and non-governmental organi-

zations. For example, Sun Yat-sen proposed the idea of "society building" in 1917, and Sun Benwen incorporated it into the sociology textbooks in 1932, after which, in 1944, he produced a monthly journal named *Society Building* jointly with the Chinese Sociology Society and Social Division (Renmin University of China is about to revive this journal to gather together and summarize the "Chinese experience" of society building). In recent years, society building has been the subject of a great deal of research by sociologists and other social scientists.

Among our peers, it is well known that Lu Xueyi's study on agriculture, the rural society and farmers contributed substantially to the government's policy consultation and helped promote the development of Chinese society. He also devoted close attention to the academic theory of sociology, and his research work on social structure, social mobility and social reform has drawn wide attention both in academia and in society. In his later years, Lu Xueyi was at pains to introduce "society building" in its local Chinese context into the circle of international sociology. By expounding his views on visits to and from other academics, he guided the next generation of social scholars, inviting the study of Chinese society from the perspective of society building and comparison with other countries and regions. Edited by Xiangqun Chang, *Society Building: A China Model of Social Development* comprehensively records this process and sets forth the achievements of research in this area.

Doctor Xiangqun Chang kindly asked me to write a preface for the Chinese version of *Society Building*, to which request I readily agreed. The book is distinguished by three important characteristics. First, it is the first time that foreign scholars have studied Chinese society and conducted comparative research by applying the concepts of Chinese sociology. Second, by publishing an English version and a Chinese version simultaneously, both Chinese and foreign scholars can read the same content in their own language, which provides an opportunity for them to communicate in the same discourse at the same time; Third, the English and Chinese versions of this book published in the United Kingdom help to promote the idea that society building should be integrated into the shared resources of human knowledge, and to signal that academic exchanges have entered a new historical stage in the relationship between China and other countries of the world.

彩松生

Zheng Hangsheng, Professor, Renmin University of China, and honorary president, Sociology Society of China, 8 April 2014

PREFACE TO THE CHINESE EDITION

LI PEILIN¹

Respected leaders, experts and scholars:

The purpose of this conference is to discuss important theory and practical issues of society building from the perspective of the discipline of sociology. After 35 years of reform and opening up, China's economy and social development have entered a new critical period: on the one hand, the national economy is stepping into a new growing phase; on the other hand, mounting social problems urgently require us to speed up society building. It is in this context that the central government proposes to prioritize society building to promote the modernization of society. In the context of the new phase and situation of China's economic and social development, the Chinese sociology community assiduously carries out research on the theory and the present issues of society building, which has important theoretical and practical significance. This is a new opportunity not only for the discipline of Chinese sociology to develop with Chinese characteristics but also for the majority of social scholars around the world to contribute their knowledge and wisdom in driving forward China's social modernization.

Today is also a special day: it is the 80th birthday of Professor Lu Xueyi, former director of the institute and our honorary academician. In the second half of last year, after discussions with him, we decided to hold an academic conference today with the theme of "Sociology and China's Society Building" and to present the essence of his academic thought. Sadly, just as the

Li Peilin is the Vice President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), former Director of the Institute of Sociology, and former President of the Chinese Sociological Association. This piece was the opening speech at the conference on Sociology and Society Building and the Academic Thoughts of Lu Xueyi, 31 August 2013. It was first published as a preface for the Chinese edition of this book. Thanks to Professor Xu Haiyan, Nanchang University, who translated it into English and made it available to English readers in our new edition.

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preparations for this conference were all but complete, and only three months away from Professor Lu's birthday, on 13 May this year, he died suddenly of a heart attack brought on by overwork. Academia mourns this great philosopher!

Professor Lu Xueyi was an expert in issues regarding agriculture, rural areas and farmers [these three terms start with Chinese character \mathcal{R} (nong) so they were called as "three nong issues"] in China. He spent his whole life tirelessly exploring how to solve China's "three nong issues" and promoting the development of rural areas. Professor Lu believed that, in the long run, to solve "the three nong issues" meant solving the problem of farmers, by reforming the economic and social system in rural areas, liberating rural productive forces, developing the rural economy and transforming rural society, so that the majority of farmers could realize the millennium dream of living an abundant and prosperous life.

Professor Lu was a sociologist with international influence, who relent-lessly focused on major theoretical and practical issues in social development in China, on solving inherent problems and promoting the development of Chinese society. He strongly advocated developing Chinese sociology with Chinese characteristics and in a Chinese manner, while at the same time learning from the sciences of the West, and believed we should base ourselves on the native land to study Chinese problems, speak Chinese and grasp the relationship between academic research and social services. He was convinced that Chinese society was experiencing its most rapid and significant change in a thousand years, providing a great opportunity for academic research and the development of the discipline of a sociology in China capable of serving our people and our country.

Professor Lu Xueyi's important research achievements consist, to a great extent, of his insights into the changes in the Chinese social structure. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Professor Lu observed these great changes and their impact on China's economic and social development. His research on rural social differentiation, social stratification and social class structure changes, in which he divided Chinese farmers at that period into eight classes, has been recognized by other academics and attracted the attention of scholars in related departments of the state.

Towards the end of the 1990s, after stepping down from his role as director he immediately organized a research team whose focus was to be national social differentiation and social structure changes, including social mobility and social inequality. He published a series of important research papers on subjects such as *Report on Contemporary China's Social Stratification*,

Contemporary China's Social Mobility and Contemporary China's Social Structure, which have had a significant impact both at home and abroad.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, discordance in China's economic and social development has become increasingly prominent, and social conflicts occur frequently. Promoting social development and social harmony has become a major theme for our times, and the central government has proposed certain strategies for building a harmonious society and speeding up society building. Professor Lu moved with the times, putting almost all his energy into research on society building. In his view, China's challenge, now and for the foreseeable future, was to build a modern society, in which the core task was to speed up the transformation of the social structure while continuing to improve people's economic and living conditions, both urban and rural. This involved tackling all structures including urban and rural structure, regional structure, occupational structure, class and esterification structure, social interest structure, social organization structure, and social management structure – so as to lay the foundations for social modernization.

Following in Fei Xiaotong's footsteps, Professor Lu Xueyi was a rare leader, promoter and champion of the development of Chinese sociology and the strengthening of team building in that discipline. He was committed to the unity and integration of sociology academia nationally, organizing and carrying out large-scale investigations on one hundred cities and in one hundred villages, and promoting the formation of a system for holding a Chinese Sociological Association annual conference. In 2008, he established and personally funded Lu Xueyi's Sociology Development Foundation to reward outstanding scientific achievement and talent in sociology. This evening, we will hold the Third Award Conference for excellent achievement in scientific research in sociology. In 2010, Professor Lu brought together several well-known domestic scholars and put forward suggestions to central government on developing the discipline of sociology in order to serve society building better. Hu Jintao (the then President of China), and other central leaders attached great importance to this initiative and wrote official comments on it.

Leaders, experts and scholars, Professor Lu Xueyi's departure is a great loss, not just to the Sociology Institute but also to Chinese sociological circle. Today, we are gathering here to honor his academic legacy, to commit ourselves to further research on the important theoretical and practical problems of China's society building and to promote the development of Chinese sociology. Let us all work together to take this mission forward.

Thank you all!

FOREWORD ONE

MARTIN ALBROW

This book is not just about building society or society building, it is a contribution to it. Indeed, the main contribution social sciences make to society is to bring to it the consciousness of self that enables self-direction. But which self, which society, do we, social scientists, help to build? If it is China we observe, are there not many societies, many selves? – ethnicities, provinces, cities, churches, families, businesses, the Party and parties, inside the territory of the Peoples' Republic, Hong Kong (China) and Taiwan (China), Malaysia and Singapore, London and New York.

It was ever so, not a matter of the territorial boundaries, or even of what a nation—state government controls. Wise public policy finds what is creative and productive in society and registers and secures the aspirations of the people while ensuring collective security in the international arena. A society that governments serve builds itself in its own way and there is no universal model. Shigeto Sonoda in this volume illustrates effectively the diversity of attachment populations have towards the regimes of so-called Confucian societies of the Far East.

States supply the frame for very different kinds of society. The constitutional differences between states are minor compared with the profound differences that underpin daily life in, say, the United States, India, China, Brazil and Iran. These are differences within differences, where the country/city divide takes on a quite different value in each country, where class and ethnic affiliation cross cut occupation and religion differently in each, and all have their characteristic way of handling established and outsiders.

The reader will find in these pages ample recognition of the diversity and complexity of Chinese society in central/local relations, country and city, market and *guanxi*, characteristic diversity, different from diversities elsewhere in the world, as, for instance, in the *hukou* registration system, and now

overlaid by forces of globalization with differential impacts arising precisely out of these differences.

The same production technology will destroy a traditional household structure in one part of the world and create a new one elsewhere. The new communications technology can lay waste the shopping streets of Western countries and create businesses in Indian villages. Xiangqun Chang's study of a Chinese migrant community in London shows how it can change from being marginal or central to its own self and to the outside under constantly changing social and environmental conditions¹. In theoretical terms, this is what Laurence Roulleau-Berger calls here the "recodification of grammars of recognition".

The many different kinds of globalization, economic, scientific, technological, informational and recreational "sectors" have challenged national governments to rethink what is inside and outside their own societies and to redefine the points at which intervention can be effective. In the 1990s, when globalization was equated by both Wall Street and its opponents with neo-liberal economic policies, it was fashionable to foresee the end of the nation-state. But it has since become clear, and in this respect China has led the way, that an openness to new products and ideas means national states must become more responsive to changing needs and outlooks in society even as they register and react to the way the wider world is changing. They have to be clearer about their own role. They have to become smarter and more strategic, to match the increasing empowerment of their own people. They will digest outside opinion but this may mean precisely not accepting some universal prescription from outside experts, be it International Monetary Fund or any others.

The strategic state, as the description implies, is engaged in finding guiding ideas and, in reflecting on globalization, is bound to examine its own identity in a global society. The very openness of national societies and the interrelations of their own people with others worldwide compel the recognition of a transnational reality to society, which goes far beyond old modern conceptions of international relations. I think this is what Flemming Christiansen expresses when he examines how "China is equipped to create growth within a non-imperialist and ecologically cost-neutral scenario".

Editor's note: the contributor withdrew her paper in order to keep Lu Xueyi's advice that this volume be "non-Chinese's work studying Chinese and non-Chinese societies with society building". This paper will be published in a forthcoming volume entitled How the BRICS' migrants are shaping global society?

National governments are local in a global society, but with an autonomous capacity beyond what they allow their own local governments. Globalization may force changes in that respect too, but more importantly at the level of global society the imperative for a government is to express a collective identity in a meaningful way that can persuade its own people that it has a contribution to make, and in turn they have one too, to the global community of which they are all a part. Were it not for past history of the term, we might call this national ideology, which is neither the expression of a class interest nor an imperialist nationalism.

I think this is implicit in much of what the Chinese government has been seeking to do over recent years and which the scholarly analyzes in this book reflect. Parama Sinha Palit's account of the concerted effort to make China both a global education hub and to provide opportunities for education abroad is consistent with ideas of "soft power" but also meets the aspirations of its own families that look beyond national borders. Bettina Gransow proposes that China's infrastructure projects at home and abroad have to meet not just development goals but also need to validate normative ideas of good governance and a harmonious world.

This book then is a snapshot of Chinese steps along a way that national societies everywhere have to tread and which has no inherent endpoint. The society building which is happening is the establishment of China in a developing global society which has already moved beyond old questions of who rules the world or which is the best economic system to ones of how national societies can address global issues that transcend boundaries and on which it is in their common interest to cooperate. If states can find their own way of contributing to these ends, if their peoples are persuaded that there is a commitment by their states to the future welfare of humankind, we may soon recognize building global society as the next stage in China's development.

FOREWORD TWO

LU XUEYI1

The Practice of China's Society Building (shehui jianshe 社会建设)

Many countries have undergone a process of modernization. Those that have successfully solved the social problems of the critical transition period have, without exception, carried out social reforms and strengthened society building.

Looking back over the last century, the development of Chinese society experienced four stages. Modern China's democratic revolutionary pioneer Sun Yat-sen made the initial effort. He coined the conception "society building" (Sun 2011[1917])². Sun regarded society building as a fundamental part of his overall political design. Nearly half a century later, China's Prime Minister Zhou Enlai interpreted "society building" as "four modernizations" (modern agriculture, modern industry, modern defense and modern science and technology) at the third session of the National People's Congress Government Work Report (December 1964). It was anticipated, by the end of the 20th century, to build China as a powerful socialist country by realizing the four modernizations. After the reform and opening up in 1978 under Deng Xiaoping's regime, China's modernization has been realized along with its remarkable economic achievements. Chinese society has transformed from an agricultural society to an industrial society, from a rural society to an urban society, from a traditional society to a modern society. From the 21st century, China entered an era of globalization. In the 16th and 17th Plenary Sessions of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 2004 and 2007,

This preface was written in Chinese and translated by Feilian Cao in February 2013.

² Sun, Yet-sen. 2011 [1917], Preface: the Initial Civil Rights and Society Building, of the Strategy III, Nation-Building, Zhonghua Book Company.