# Truths and Half Truths:

China's socio-economic reforms (1978 – 2010)

Ferdinand A Gul and Haitian Lu



CP CHANDOS PUBLISHING

# Truths and Half Truths

China's socio-economic reforms (1978–2010)

FERDINAND A. GULTON HAIFTAN LET



Oxford Cambridge Philadelphia New Delhi

Chandos Publishing
TBAC Business Centre
Avenue 4
Station Lane
Witney
Oxford OX28 4BN
UK
Tel: +44 (0) 1993 848726
Email: info@chandospublishing.com
www.chandospublishing.com

Chandos Publishing is an imprint of Woodhead Publishing Limited

Woodhead Publishing Limited 80 High Street Sawston Cambridge CB22 3HJ UK Tel: +44 (0) 1223 499140 Fax: +44 (0) 1223 832819 www.woodheadpublishing.com

First published in 2011

#### ISBNs:

978 1 84334 628 9 (Chandos Publishing) 978 0 85709 170 3 (Woodhead Publishing)

© F.A. Gul and H.T. Lu, 2011

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data. A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form, or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the prior written permission of the Publishers. This publication may not be lent, resold, hired out or otherwise disposed of by way of trade in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published without the prior consent of the Publishers. Any person who does any unauthorised act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The Publishers make no representation, express or implied, with regard to the accuracy of the information contained in this publication and cannot accept any legal responsibility or liability for any errors or omissions.

The material contained in this publication constitutes general guidelines only and does not represent to be advice on any particular matter. No reader or purchaser should act on the basis of material contained in this publication without first taking professional advice appropriate to their particular circumstances. All screenshots in this publication are the copyright of the website owner(s), unless indicated otherwise.

Typeset by Domex e-Data Pvt. Ltd. Printed in the UK and USA.

#### **Preface**

China's emergence as a global power is undoubtedly one of the great dramas of modern times, and it continues to unfold. Rapid transition from planned to market economy in the past three decades has not only caused unprecedented changes in the structure and fabric of Chinese society but has necessitated the establishment of an almost entirely new set of institutions. The study and understanding of these changes pose a challenge to institutional theorists and other scholars of the social sciences.

This book examines the complexity and effects of economic, political, and societal reforms that have taken place in China since 1978. Our primary motivation to write this book arose because of events in that country in 2008. At that time, while most other parts of the world were struggling with economic recession owing to the financial tsunami that originated from the US sub-prime crisis, China against all odds maintained a 9 percent GDP growth rate, successfully hosted the Olympic Games, and was proudly celebrating its 30th anniversary of economic reform. At the same time, there were widespread reports of peasant uprisings and other socio-economic problems, especially in the rural areas. Given these conflicting signals and growing international interests in China, we found it timely to investigate these reports and provide some insights into what is going on beneath the so-called Chinese miracle of economic reforms and growth.

What is being passed off as great economic growth appears not to equate with socio-economic development. For example, it is not clear if the majority of the people, especially in the rural areas, are better off. Have educational, health, and social facilities improved? Has the country moved toward more democratic governance and rule of law? We feel it is important to assess these issues and bring to these pages what seems to be vast discontent over the socio-economic conditions that prevail in the less visible (or even hidden) segments of Chinese society. Hopefully, the Chinese authorities will pay closer attention to these and other matters.

This book thus seeks to offer some insights and critical thinking on major aspects and effects of China's reform, such as those in population mobility, social security systems, environmental pollution, poverty eradication and wealth redistribution, urbanization and rural development, educational opportunities, levels of corruption, shifts in political regime, and freedom of the media. In the last chapter we attempt to provide a brief overview and update of the political climate in China vis-à-vis other international powers.

The pervasive nature of Chinese studies from various disciplines has provided a formidable task for academics seeking to consolidate and reconcile the views and research findings of scholars from different parts of the world. Considering that our primary readership is likely to be drawn from a mixture of individuals from academia and students in social and political science as well as business, together with anyone interested in China's transformation, we have opted to present our views from an academic perspective but have written it in layman's language. The primary sources of this book were from academic materials and news reports published in English.

This book should help the reader to obtain an overview of the key issues underlying one of the greatest economic dramas of modern times: the rise of China and its impact both domestically and internationally.

Our readers should bear in mind that, in a work such as this, it is inevitable that we may have left out other details/issues or failed to mention other issues that may have a bearing on the conclusions that we draw. Hopefully, the extensive references and notes we provide at the end of each chapter should assist readers who wish to explore these issues in more detail.

To ensure this work is of reference value and not outdated, it should be noted that this book covers the relevant events as of 1 May 2010.

### **Acknowledgements**

Numerous people have been of great assistance to this book and without their efforts this work would not have become the version presented today. We wish to thank Dr Sangeetha G., Assistant Professor of KPR School of Business, Arasur, Coimbatore for the initial material collection work. We are especially grateful to Dr Eliza Xuezhang Minmin, lecturer from the Hong Kong Vocational Training Council, for her excellent literature survey and data support. We also thank Joshua Rennie for his proofreading and photo selection work on the first draft of this work, as well as Adam Majid for some editing work on the second draft. We acknowledge the funding support from the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. Responsibility for any errors is borne by the authors.

#### List of abbreviations

ABC Agricultural Bank of China

AIDS Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

AMC Asset Management Company

BOC Bank of China

CCB China Construction Bank

CBRC China Banking Regulatory Commission

CCP Chinese Communist Party

CCPIT China Council for the Promotion of International Trade

CCTV China Central Television

CDIC Central Discipline and Inspection Commission

CFPA China Family Planning Association

CMS Cooperative Medical Scheme

CNOOC China National Offshore Oil Company

CRS Contract Responsibility System

CSRC China Securities Regulatory Commission

DIC Discipline Inspection Commission

EPB Environmental Protection Bureau

FDI Foreign Direct Investment

FIE Foreign Invested Enterprise

GATS General Agreement on Trade in Services

GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GIS Government Insurance Scheme

HEI Higher Educational Institution

HIS Health Insurance Scheme

HRS Household Responsibility System

ICBC Industrial and Commercial Bank of China

IPO Initial Public Offering

LGPR Leading Group for Poverty Reduction

LIS Labor Insurance Scheme

MES Modern Enterprise System

MLG Minimum Living Guarantee

NAA National Audit Agency

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

NPC National People's Congress

NPL Non-Performing Loan

OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PBOC People's Bank of China

PRC People's Republic of China

QDII Qualified Domestic Institutional Investor

QFII Qualified Foreign Institutional Investor

SAFE State Administration of Foreign Exchange

SASAC State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission

SEPA State Environmental Protection Administration

SOE State-Owned Enterprise

SPP Supreme People's Procuratorate

SPPA State Press and Publications Administration

TCE Tons Carbon Equivalent

TFR Tax for Fee Reform

TI Transparency International

TVE Township and Village Enterprise

UNCED United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

UNFAO United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization

USTR United States Trade Representative

VAT Value Added Tax

WHO World Health Organization

WTO World Trade Organization

WWF World Wildlife Fund

## Note on transliteration and currency

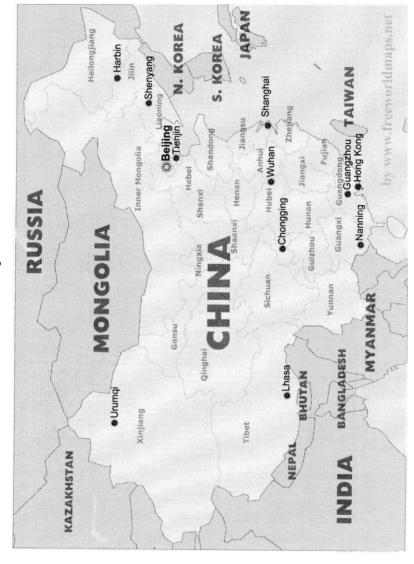
The Pinyin system of transliteration, adopted in the People's Republic of China in the 1950s and now generally used worldwide, has been employed in this book.

The Chinese currency is referred to in this book as the yuan. For easy comparison, the annual average exchange rate of the yuan against the US dollar from 1978 to 2009 is listed as follows:

#### Chinese yuan to US\$1

1978 =	1.5771	1994	=	8.6187
1979 =	1.4962	1995	=	8.3507
1980 =	1.5303	1996	=	8.3142
1981 =	1.7051	1997	=	8.2898
1982 =	1.8926	1998	=	8.2791
1983 =	1.9757	1999	=	8.2796
1984 =	2.3270	2000	=	8.2784
1985 =	2.9367	2001	=	8.2770
1986 =	3.4528	2002	=	8.2770
1987 =	3.7221	2003	=	8.2774
1988 =	3.7221	2004	=	8.2780
1989 =	3.7659	2005	=	8.1917
1990 =	4.7838	2006	=	7.9718
1991 =	5.3227	2007	=	7.6640
1992 =	5.5149	2008	=	6.9451
1993 =	5.7619	2009	=	6.8310

# Political map of China



#### About the authors

Ferdinand A. Gul is a Chair Professor at the School of Accounting and Finance, Hong Kong Polytechnic University. He is currently attached to the School of Business at Monash University, Sunway Campus, Kuala Lumpur as the Professor of Accounting and Corporate Governance. He has published more than 60 refereed papers in top international journals, such as The Journal of Financial Economics, The Journal of Corporate Finance, The Journal of Accounting and Economics, Contemporary Accounting Research, The Accounting Review, Accounting, Organizations and Society, The Journal of Accounting, Auditing and Finance, The Journal of Accounting and Public Policy and Auditing: A Journal of Practice and Theory. He has lectured extensively, on an international basis, on governance issues in China and East Asia, Professor Gul was previously the Head and Chair Professor in Accounting, Department of Accountancy and Director of the Accounting and Corporate Governance Center at the City University of Hong Kong. He also sits on the editorial board of several international journals.

Haitian Lu is an Assistant Professor in Law at the School of Accounting and Finance, Hong Kong Polytechnic University. He is also the Director of the Master of Science program in China Business Studies at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. Dr Lu obtained his law PhD from the National University of Singapore and specializes in Chinese law, economics and society. His recent publications include the books Secured Finance Law in China and Hong Kong (Cambridge University Press, 2010) and The Role of China in Global Dirty Industry Migration (Chandos Publishing, 2008). Before joining the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Dr Lu worked for the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights in Geneva and a leading law firm in Singapore.

The authors may be contacted via the publishers.

# **Contents**

Pre	face	ix
Ack	nowledgements	xi
List	of abbreviations	xiii
List	of figures and tables	xvii
Not	e on transliteration and currency	xix
Poli	tical map of China	xxi
Abo	out the authors	xxiii
1	Population and employment	1
	Demography shapes Chinese society – population dynamics and economic implications	1
	Employment reform – from labor system to labor market	14
	Notes	27
2	Social security	33
	Social security reform – process and challenges	33
	Pension reform	36
	Housing reform	42
	Healthcare reform	47
	Notes	58
3	Economic growth versus environmental degradation	63
	A legacy of ecological devastation	63
	Environmental challenges	64
	Positive government action	79
	Obstacles to sustainable development	80
	Notes	83

ix

4	Anti-poverty campaign – the struggle between equality and efficiency	87
	Extent of poverty – dimensions and alternative estimates	87
	Income-earning potential of urban and rural poor	91
	Evolution of income distribution disparity in China since the economic reforms	99
	Notes	108
5	Rural land, peasants, and agriculture	113
	Who owns the land?	114
	Eviction without compensation	118
	Playing 'cat-and-mouse' with Beijing	121
	Unprofitable agriculture	124
	A threat of food crisis	126
	Rulers of China, beware!	128
	Notes	128
6	Corruption in contemporary China – an old dilemma with new features	131
	Measuring corruption	132
	Characteristics of corruption	135
	Dilemma of anti-corruption agencies	139
	Corruption in China's anti-corruption agencies	142
	Beijing's entrenched dilemma	143
	The way ahead: 'selective toleration of corruption' or radical reform?	145
	Notes	147
7	Educational developments and challenges	151
	Basic education	153
	Higher education reform: from elite education to mass production	161
	Notes	170
8	Enterprises, foreign trade, and the financial sector	175
	State-owned enterprise reform	176

$\sim$	nte	n	to

	Foreign trade and investment	180
	Financial sector reform	186
	Notes	197
9	Political reform, civil society, media, and international relations	203
	Beyond socialism and capitalism	203
	Civil society: the lost intellectuals and a conservative middle class	212
	Freedom of speech and media reform	214
	China's rise: a threat to the world?	220
	Notes	223
Appe	endix: Chronology of key events in the history of reform (1978–2010)	227
Bibli	ography	233
Inde	x	255

# List of figures and tables

# **Figures**

1.1	A 76-year-old man and his grandson in Beijing on 21 August 2006	8
1.2	A young boy in Guangzhou sleeping on the street	12
2.1	An elderly couple exercise in Nanjing, Jiangsu Province, 28 February 2007	39
4.1	An elderly cyclist being overtaken by a stretch limousine in Beijing	100
5.1	A village committee at Hua Du Village on the outskirts of Guangzhou, Guangdong Province, holds its elections, 15 April 2002	115
5.2	Petitioners wait outside of the complaints bureau in Xian, Shaanxi Province	120
5.3	A farmer works as her grandson sits nearby at a cornfield on the outskirts of Changzhi, Shanxi Province, 23 February 2010	124
6.1	The office of the local district authority in the under-developed city of Fuyang, Anhui Province	133
7.1	Urban school students in their school uniforms in Guangzhou, Guangdong Province, 12 October 2007	156
7.2	Students studying outdoors at a rural school, 22 May 2007, in Huxian County, Shaanxi Province	157
7.3	Expansion of China's undergraduate entrants (1997-2006)	162
7.4	Growth of gross higher education enrollment rate in China (1990–2006)	163

7.5	Increase in the number of graduates from regular higher educational institutions (1999–2006)	164
8.1	Growth in number of listed companies on China's stock market (1990–2010)	192
9.1	A woman takes a picture of flowers delivered by Chinese Google users outside Google China	
	headquarters in Beijing in 2010	218
	oles	173
7.1	Growth of postgraduate entrants by degree (1998–2006)	163
7.2	Increase in teachers and undergraduate students in regular higher educational institutions (1997–2006)	166
7.3	Growth of net income of urban and rural households and tuition fees in higher education (1989–2000)	167
8.1	Comparison of top 10 largest stock markets in 2000	193