

CONTENTS

vii	List of Tables and Figures
1	Introduction China's Policy Process and the Resilience of the Communist Party-State
17	Chapter 1 China's Adaptive Governance as a "Red Swan" in Comparative Politics
45	Chapter 2 From Local Experiments to National Policy: The Origins of China's Distinctive Policy Process
73	Chapter 3 Policy Experimentation and Institutional Innovation in China's Economic Transformation
115	Chapter 4 How to Combine Policy Experiments with Long-Term Priorities: Unorthodox Lessons from China

131 Chapter 5

Making Plans for Markets:
Policy for the Long Term in China

147 Chapter 6

The Reinvention of Development Planning in China

197 Epilogue

Changes in China's Policy Process under
General Secretary Xi Jinping

221 Notes

255 Abbreviations

257 Glossary

261 Index

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Tables

1.1	Distinctive Contemporary Governance Techniques That Originated During the Revolutionary and Mao Eras (1927–76)	37
1.2	Transformative versus Protective Policy Styles and Adaptive Capacity	40
2.1	Establishing “Model Experiments”: A Comparison of the Approaches in the Mao and Deng Eras	67
3.1	Major Types of Experimental Zones Designated by China’s Central Government	85
3.2	Patterns of Experimentation in Crucial Areas of Economic Reform	93
3.3	“Experimental Point” Programs in China’s State Sector, 1978–97	95
5.1	Redirecting Plan Functions in China since the 1980s	135
6.1	Binding and Indicative Targets of the 11th and 12th Five-year Plans	156
6.2	Macro-regional Plans and Experimental Schemes	161

6.3	Plan Formulation in China: The Example of the 11th Five-year Plan	175
6.4	Recombined Governance in Chinese Development Planning	186
7.1	Events That May Trigger a Crisis Mode	202
7.2	Characteristics of the Normal and Crisis Modes in Chinese Politics	204
7.3	A Stable Exterior with Underlying Fragilities: How Resilient is China's Political Order to Unexpected Shocks?	207
7.4	Characteristics and Methods Attributed to a "Chinese Development Model"	212

Figures

3.1	Experimental Regulation in China, 1979–2016	82
3.2	China's Experimentation-based Policy Cycle	88
7.1	China's Path to Political and Economic Transformation	199