

World Governance Survey

CHINA

The literature on governance issues in China is fascinating for many reasons. It remains the most populous country in the world, with a distinct political set-up and policy approach. There are a number of interesting themes in the literature that the WGS survey can look at.

- *First*, China has been involved in economic reform and liberalization processes that have interesting implications for governance. Recent research on China has naturally concentrated on the shift towards a market economy and the rise of new socio-economic groups.¹
- A *second* theme is the increasing importance of non-state organizations as actors in the governance realm. The growth of non-state social organization in China and the implications for state-society relations is something that has been highlighted.²
- A *third* example concerns the legal and judicial arena. This is interesting in terms of the transition from socialism in China and is highlighted in a recent comparative study.³

A better understanding of the processes and institutions in governance in China should shed new light on the relationships between governance processes and other socio-economic outcomes. There remain many questions, however: for example regarding whether and how public participation and accountability of public officials improve development performance? Some issues may emerge as more important. There also may be “trade-offs” and/or useful sequencing in improving performance in different dimensions of governance.

China is interesting in this study just because there is so little survey data, especially on political issues, emanating from that country. What is interesting here, therefore, is not that China is seen to be doing relatively well or not, but the fact that the Chinese respondents recognized the shortcomings in the country’s system of governance. It is no surprise that the country scores highest on such measures as government effectiveness and state-market relations, but much lower on civil society and political society measures. Chinese respondents obviously pay attention to the impressive results that the country has been able to achieve, especially during the 1990s. While, there is not much indication that Chinese respondents see democracy around the corner, one interesting little piece of information is that they do acknowledge the increasing role that the People’s Assembly – the legislature – has been allowed to play in recent years.

¹ Howell, J., 1993, *China Opens its Doors: The Politics of Economic Transition*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner. See also: Saich, T., 2001, *Governance and Politics of China*, London: Palgrave.

² See: White, G., Howell, J. and Xiaoyuan S., 1996, *In Search of Civil Society: Market Reform and Social Change in Contemporary China*, Oxford: Clarendon Press; and, Brook, T. and Frolic, M., 1997, *Civil Society in China*, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

³ Dethier, J., ed., 2001, *Governance, Decentralization and Reform in China, India and Russia*, Boston: Kluwer.

PART I: PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

1. To what extent do citizens have the freedom of expression?

The total score of this question is 85 five years ago, and 100 this year, on average, it is 2.36 for five years ago and 2.77 now, that is, an increase of 17.6%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

***2. To what degree do citizens have the freedom of peaceful assembly and association?**

The total score of this question is 62 five years ago, and 67 this year, on average, it is 1.77 for five years ago and 1.86 now, that is, an increase of 5.1%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the extent of increase is very low. Moreover, the average score is low, less than 2 on the low level.

***3. To what extent is there discrimination in politics?**

The total score of this question is 93 five years ago, and 97 this year, on average, it is 2.66 for five years ago and 2.77 now, that is, an increase of 4.3%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the extent of increase is very low. Moreover, the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

***4. To what extent do governments facilitate public discussion on major shifts in policy?**

The total score of this question is 66 five years ago, and 90 this year, on average, it is 1.89 for five years ago and 2.50 now, that is, an increase of 32.6%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is low, around 2 on the low level.

5. To what extent do citizens respect the system of rule-making?

The total score of this question is 80 five years ago, and 90 this year, on average, it is 2.22 for five years ago and 2.50 now, that is, an increase of 12.5%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

*Summary: The total score of this dimension is 386 five years ago, and 444 this year, on average, it is 2.18 for five years ago and 2.48 now, that is, an increase of 13.7%. Thus we can see in terms of this dimension there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

PART II: INTEREST AGGREGATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

6. To what extent is the legislature representative of society?

The total score of this question is 80 five years ago, and 93 this year, on average, it is 2.35 for five years ago and 2.66 now, that is, an increase of 12.9%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

***7. To what degree is there real competition for political power?**

The total score of this question is 68 five years ago, and 80 this year, on average, it is 1.94 for five years ago and 2.22 now, that is, an increase of 14.4%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is low, around 2 on the low level.

8. To what extent does the policy-making process fairly reflect public preferences?

The total score of this question is 75 five years ago, and 90 this year, on average, it is 2.14 for five years ago and 2.57 now, that is, an increase of 20.0%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

9. To what extent does the legislative function affect policy content?

The total score of this question is 82 five years ago, and 102 this year, on average, it is 2.41 for five years ago and 2.91 now, that is, an increase of 20.8%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

10. To what extent are legislators accountable to the public?

The total score of this question is 77 five years ago, and 89 this year, on average, it is 2.20 for five years ago and 2.54 now, that is, an increase of 15.6%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

*Summary: The total score of this dimension is 382 five years ago, and 454 this year, on average, it is 2.21 for five years ago and 2.58 now, that is, an increase of 16.8%. Thus we can see in terms of this dimension there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

PART III: GOVERNMENT STEWARDSHIP

***11. To what extent is the government committed to ensuring the personal security of citizens?**

The total score of this question is 94 five years ago, and 100 this year, on average, it is 2.61 for five years ago and 2.78 now, that is, an increase of 6.4%. Thus we can see

in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the extent of increase is very low. Moreover, the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

***12. To what extent is the government committed to ensuring the personal security of citizens?**

The total score of this question is 95 five years ago, and 102 this year, on average, it is 2.64 for five years ago and 2.83 now, that is, an increase of 7.4%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the extent of increase is very low. Moreover, the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

***13. To what extent are leaders encouraged to make tough decisions that are in the national interest?**

The total score of this question is 81 five years ago, and 87 this year, on average, it is 2.70 for five years ago and 2.81 now, that is, an increase of 3.9%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the extent of increase is very low. Moreover, the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

***14. To what extent does the military accept its subordination to a civilian government?**

The total score of this question is 109 five years ago, and 111 this year, on average, it is 3.30 for five years ago and 3.36 now, that is, an increase of 1.8%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, and the average score more than 3 on average.

***15. To what extent is the government committed to peaceful resolution of internal conflicts?**

The total score of this question is 99 five years ago, and 105 this year, on average, it is 2.75 for five years ago and 2.92 now, that is, an increase of 6.1%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, and the average score approaches 3 on average.

*Summary: The total score of this dimension is 478 five years ago, and 505 this year, on average, it is 2.80 for five years ago and 2.94 now, that is, an increase of 5.0%. Thus we can see in terms of this dimension there has been an increase, though the extent of increase is very low. Moreover, the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

PART IV: POLICY IMPLEMENTATION, ESPECIALLY THE BUREAUCRACY

16. To what extent are higher civil servants part of the policy-making process?

The total score of this question is 75 five years ago, and 86 this year, on average, it is 2.21 for five years ago and 2.53 now, that is, an increase of 14.7%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

17. To what extent is there a merit-based system for recruitment into the civil service?

The total score of this question is 71 five years ago, and 86 this year, on average, it is

2.22 for five years ago and 2.69 now, that is, an increase of 21.1%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

***18. To what extent are civil servants accountable for their actions?**

The total score of this question is 83 five years ago, and 81 this year, on average, it is 2.37 for five years ago and 2.38 now, that is, an decrease of 0.5. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the extent of decrease is extremely low. Moreover, the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

***19. To what extent are there clear decision-making processes in the civil service?**

The total score of this question is 61 five years ago, and 72 this year, on average, it is 1.74 for five years ago and 2.06 now, that is, an increase of 18.0%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, around 2 on the low level.

***20. To what extent is there equal access to public services?**

The total score of this question is 72 five years ago, and 76 this year, on average, it is 2.25 for five years ago and 2.38 now, that is, an increase of 5.6%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the extent of increase is very low. Moreover, the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

*Summary: The total score of this dimension is 362 five years ago, and 401 this year, on average, it is 2.15 for five years ago and 2.40 now, that is, an increase of 11.4%. Thus we can see in terms of this dimension there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

PART V: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE MARKET.

21. To what extent do persons in public office promote respect for property rights?

The total score of this question is 79 five years ago, and 103 this year, on average, it is 2.26 for five years ago and 2.86 now, that is, an increase of 26.8%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

22. To what extent are economic regulations applied equally to firms in the economy?

The total score of this question is 77 five years ago, and 101 this year, on average, it is 2.26 for five years ago and 2.97 now, that is, an increase of 31.2%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

***23. To what extent is obtaining a business license associated with corrupt transactions?**

The total score of this question is 72 five years ago, and 73 this year, on average, it is 2.06 for five years ago and 2.09 now, that is, an increase of 1.4%. Thus we can see in

terms of this question there has been an increase, though the extent of increase is very low. Moreover, the average score is low, about 2 on the low level.

***24. To what extent is there consultation on policy between public and private sector actors?**

The total score of this question is 55 five years ago, and 75 this year, on average, it is 1.77 for five years ago and 2.34 now, that is, an increase of 32.1%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is low, around 2 on the low level.

25. To what extent does the government take the new rules of global trade, finance and technology flows into account when formulating policy?

The total score of this question is 81 five years ago, and 110 this year, on average, it is 2.45 for five years ago and 3.24 now, that is, an increase of 31.8%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase.

*Summary: The total score of this dimension is 364 five years ago, and 462 this year, on average, it is 2.17 for five years ago and 2.70 now, that is, an increase of 24.7%. Thus we can see in terms of this dimension there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

PART VI: DISPUTE RESOLUTION, PARTICULARLY THE JUDICIARY

***26. To what extent is there equal access to justice for citizens?**

The total score of this question is 81 five years ago, and 88 this year, on average, it is 2.38 for five years ago and 2.51 now, that is, an increase of 5.5%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the extent of increase is very low. Moreover, the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

***27. To what extent are there clear decision-making processes in the judicial system?**

The total score of this question is 68 five years ago, and 82 this year, on average, it is 1.89 for five years ago and 2.28 now, that is, an increase of 20.6%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is low, around 2 on the low level.

***28. To what extent are judicial officials accountable for their actions?**

The total score of this question is 80 five years ago, and 85 this year, on average, it is 2.29 for five years ago and 2.43 now, that is, an increase of 6.3%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been an increase, though the extent of increase is very low. Moreover, the average score is relatively low, about 2 on the low level.

29. To what extent are international legal norms in the human rights field being incorporated into the national rights regime?

The total score of this question is 73 five years ago, and 90 this year, on average, it is 2.15 for five years ago and 2.57 now, that is, an increase of 19.8%. Thus we can see in

terms of this question there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

***30. To what extent are non-judicial processes in place for fair resolution of conflicts?**

The total score of this question is 107 five years ago, and 100 this year, on average, it is 3.06 for five years ago and 2.86 now, that is, a decrease of 6.5%. Thus we can see in terms of this question there has been decrease, though the extent of decrease is very low. And, the average score is moderate, around 3 on average.

*Summary: The total score of this dimension is 409 five years ago, and 445 this year, on average, it is 2.35 for five years ago and 2.53 now, that is, an increase of 7.6%. Thus we can see in terms of this dimension there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

*Description: In china, the total score of all dimensions of governance is 2381 five years ago, and 2711 this year, on average, it is 2.30 for five years ago and 2.60 now, that is, an increase of 13.09%. Thus we can see in terms of these dimensions there has been an increase, though the average score is relatively low, less than 3 on average.

Relevant Comments

Part I

Questionnaire No.18

There are two basic criteria for the political involvement. One is the release of the ban on newspapers, permitting people freely publishing newspapers and magazines and expressing their ideas freely. The other is the freedom of establishing parties and mass organizations, depending on them to express personal political stands. However, these two activities are banned in China at present, which results in low level of coordination between people and government's policies and regulations, low prestige and representativeness of the government. This survey should add the aspect to what degree the government is trusted and supported. If lacking political involvement, there will be little chance for people to have confidence with the government.

Questionnaire No. 20

Of all the 5 aspects, I don't think there is any progress. The key issue of the freedom of speech is citizen's right to publicly criticize government and leaders. This isn't completely guaranteed. The growth of Internet has expanded the scope of freedom of speech except its obviously little impacts. The present official control over the Internet is efficient but foolish.

The critics and supervision of people's representatives from Guangdong province toward the

provincial government had a good beginning, but there is no tendency of enlargement of these activities around the whole country.

The government doesn't practise its powers in accordance with law, then how does it enable people to abide by law with their own free will? Many corrupted officers led to the collapse of the ethics bottom line of the whole society.

Citizen's freedom of gathering and organizing mass organizations has been banned for a long time. There is discrimination and clear oppression against dissidents.

Questionnaire No. 21

The focus and aim of China's reform is to abide by the rules of market economy, which involves government's attitude towards public affairs, the protection of taxpayers' legal rights and the quality of the work done by judicial institutions.

The most significant problem of China's rural areas is whether the land has been relatively privatized or not.

Questionnaire No. 27

Citizen's right of know-how and freedom of speech as well as the right of gathering and organizing mass organizations haven't been fundamentally improved for many years. The more important thing is that the so-called improvement of freedom seems to be all granted by "the top level" in its favor, but not being regarded as the right to every citizen formulated by the Constitution and should not be deprived of any citizen. Therefore, under the circumstance that citizen's responsibilities are emphasized while state protection of citizen's rights is ignored, citizen's involvement in state politics is rather limited. Although the Internet can greatly change this situation technologically, government's control over it has offset the great advancement made by the technology. If the reform doesn't emphasize on making fundamental progress of the relationship between state and citizens, citizens won't be able to be involved in the political process.

Questionnaire No. 29

There are many influencing factors for political involvement, mainly including system element, legal environment, concept and involvement procedures. From the system or macro perspective, and through the reform, a basic framework has been formed in terms of legal construction. However, some details are still imperfect and involvement of the main body of powers is still under restraints. From the legal environment perspective, a mechanism, which guarantees the main body of powers to fully enjoy their rights, hasn't been formulated yet. A lot of relevant legal systems perform practically no function. From the angle of concept, on one hand, there is a lack of perception of involvement of the main body of powers, on the other hand, officers have

little consciousness of being civil servants. Above all, the incomplete and irregular involvement procedures are the protruding factor influencing the current political involvement. Because of its severity, the full expression of the will by the main body of powers, the complete practice of powers and the final results of involvement activities will be influenced.

Questionnaire No. 30

The above-mentioned discrimination mainly refers to those people engaged in private economy. The focus of reform should be the reform of political system. If not, it will surely influence the economic reform, or even we will retreat from the current achievements.

Questionnaire No.32

Further expanding the scope of public involvement, and absorbing views from all corners of life.

Further releasing the scope and depth of supervisions and controls over news and public opinions.

Questionnaire No.36

The system environment causes more questions. Officers, both at the upper level and the lower level, tell lies, talk big and make empty talks. This has never been changed over the past 40 years. The campaign of anti –corruption and building a clean government has been carried out for more than 20 years. However, why the ranks of corrupted officers become higher and higher? Can the current system automatically supervise itself? Why ordinary people dare to make up phonographic stories about senior leaders? This isn't the reflection of the freedom of speech because those stories won't be heard at the inside meetings.

Questionnaire No.37

One of the important contents of political involvement is freedom of media, but this questionnaire didn't cover it. With this regard, the freedom of Chinese media has worsened over the past 5 years.

One vital element of the political involvement in China is the intensity of staff's involvement in unit's decision-making process, including the level of democratic discussion within the decision-making group. This forms contents of the political involvement with Chinese characteristics. However, over the past 5 years, even these involvement has declined.

Part II.

Questionnaire No.13

The most dangerous thing during the process of reform is that power holders seek for superficial justice, fairness and openness in order to fulfil their own interests.

Questionnaire No.18

If the qualification and representativeness of legislators are questioned, it is hard to accurately reflect or represent different opinions of the society. Minority groups and other groups (e.g. farmers) have difficulty in expressing their ambitions and needs. With this system, they are more likely to be discriminated against and given a cold shoulder.

Questionnaire No.20

China's legislators have weak and loose connections with the public. Except several political stars, the stands of the Standing Committee of People's Congress are almost unknown to the public. At present, there is no example showing that Congress member (senator) can publicly express their own independent political opinions to the society and the mass. Obviously, Congress member is not elected but "arranged".

Like the ruling Party, the disagreement within China's People's Congress (Senate) is highly confidential. The power is not gained based on any publicly recognized "rules of games".

In fact, I think China's legislation could hardly influence policies. Usually, a law is promulgated for the sake of the enforcement of a policy.

It is hard to evaluate whether policy-making reflects public opinions because polls have never been done publicly before policy-making. However, people in power usually conduct some internal surveys before policy-making, which can reflect public opinions to some extent.

Legislators, who aren't elected by people, will not be responsible for people in principle; moreover, there isn't any mechanism enabling them to be responsible for the people. Their sense of responsibility relies on their consciousness.

Questionnaire 27

Legislative mechanisms are more likely to be influenced by policies but not influencing policies. The key reason is that in many occasions the basis of legislation is policies. The absence of the independent main body of the legislation is the key factor for the problem. Under the system of party controlling everything, this problem is hard to be resolved. When the public or a citizen himself or herself has always been the subject of the rule of law, not the main subject of the legal protection, and when citizens, during some special periods, are always regarded as an unstable factor, which needs taking strict precautions, who will be able to be responsible for the people

speaking of public interests ?

Questionnaire No.28

The term “competition” in question No.7 is obscure. Competition includes fair competition and unfair competition. Nowadays, in most cases, power is obtained through unfair competition, namely through personal relations, money, or exchanging one’s own interest with another. Therefore, there is a popular saying in China: cadres below division chief level can work according to their real ability and efforts, while this won’t “work” in terms of cadres above division chief level.

Questionnaire No. 29

The most important things are the full and real expression of the will of the majority people and the efficient protection of the majority’s interest (especially the disadvantaged). This is not only the crucial problem of everyday life, but also an important issue needs addressing in the reform.

Questionnaire No. 30

Based on the creiteria of openness, justice and fairness, I believe that the competition for powers, listed in this Part, is still at a low level. On the contrary, the level of unfair competition for powers, in this list, is rather high. Of course, we can find nowadays on media that some positions (most at associate level) can be obtained through open examinations, and this should be regarded as a good beginning.

Questionnaire No. 32

Representatives of legislative organs should report to the electors.

Legislators should independently practise their power ignoring the external intervention, and stop the protection of partial interests of parts or a certain sector.

Questionnaire No.36

It is the main practice in China’s legislative process that a department promulgates a law. Firstly, this is the reason why a relevant law reflects a department’s interests, and why different laws, promulgated by different departments, contradict to each other. Secondly, it is quite common to change the contents of a law by means of using “documents” to form “implemetation procedures”.

Questionnaire No. 37

In fact, corruption is the main element influencing the interest network in the political process. Corruption results in the re-distribution of the interests. This tendency in China over the past several years is more and more serious.

There is a problem for the question set as “obtaining powers through competition”. At present, the intensity of China’s power competition is increasing. This isn’t a proper power competition, but a mal competition within official circles. This could not be regarded as progress.

Part III

Questionnaire No. 18

Citizens are given discriminatory treatment by the government. There is a kind of “one country two systems”, namely for city residents, the government is responsible for such social security as unemployment security, while for the rural residents, it is another story. This administration pattern will soon or later arouse domestic conflicts. The different living standards between cities and rural areas have something to do the different government administration pattern, which contains certain crisis. It is hard to find peaceful measures without democracy on a broad basis.

Questionnaire No. 20

The most important part of China’s reform is that the Constitution should be connected with the actual social life. At present, the Constitution itself is a mere scrap of paper. It is the fundamental reason why a lot of problems are never resolved. It becomes a joke when the Constitution, which aims at building a state based on the rule of law, isn’t related to the daily life at all.

Questionnaire No. 29

To improve the professionalism of government administration could be regarded as one of the protruding issues influencing the whole administration pattern, if not the most protruding issue. Instead of carefully adopting some correct and penetrating ideas of specialists, some local governments regard consultation as a fashion when they make decisions and administrations. Sometimes, they blindly accept the ideas of those so-called “senior” and foreign specialists, ignoring the ideas of specialists who are really familiar with a specific issue. Quite a few crucial decisions lack standard proof procedures or are made according to senior leaders’ own preference to specialists’ views, or even let preconception pretends to be specialists’ or public’s views. With this regard, there should be some necessary legislation, which can provide some legal protection.

Questionnaire 32

Social security should be under the umbrella of state legal protection, which can ensure the liability and credit of social security, will be conducive to the social stability.

Social order should be further strengthened, and ill social phenomena, such as pornography, gambling and drugs, should be strongly attacked.

Questionnaire 36

At present, the mainstream of administrative pattern of authorities at all levels is that administrative power is carried out unilaterally from the upper to bottom level. The cooperative way of using the public power has emerged at several grass-root authorities, but this has not yet been a usual practice. On the contrary, when the upper level allocates certain task, they often say, “this or that question won’t be explained or discussed”, etc. This fully reflects the compulsory of government administration. The concept of “governance” has not yet accepted by Chinese leaders or only accepted by small number of Chinese scholars.

Questionnaire 37

An important criteria for the advancement of government administration is “the degree of rule of law”. The rule of law is the direction of government administrative reform acknowledged by the Party and whole people. This point should be included.

Part IV

Questionnaire 18

China is a country that develops with imbalance. The implementation of policies varies in different areas, namely the upper level did better while the lower worse. Therefore, I answered the questions based on the situation of the whole country. Generally, a person’s decision, usually subjectively, weighs in government administration. If there is no fundamental reform of political system, it is hard to implement good policies and regulations, or even if there is good ones, they will get twisted or changed.

Questionnaire 20

The questions mentioned here is too general. The administrative performance of authorities at different levels varies greatly. There are a lot of “local policies” in different places in China. The policies of central government are often twisted greatly or explained according to their own will. The ordinary civil servants of authorities at different levels play little role in policy-making. The power of policy-making and explanation is obviously in the hand of senior leaders.

Questionnaire 31

The focus after the rural household contract policy should be the rural reconstruction. Small town and townships should grow through self-development, such as Shi Shi and Bai Gou (geographic names). Otherwise, burdens are loaded to farmers of town and townships in the vicinity. It is impossible achieving common prosperity by using planned pattern to enlarge the gap between the rich and poor.

Questionnaire 32

To recruit civil servants for more positions at upper levels, decrease organizational appointment, push forward the open recruitment of civil servants, and improve the transparency of promotion and appointment of civil servants.

To improve the transparency of administration above county level and have people better supervise the decision-making of government.

Questionnaire 36

The main problems influencing the implementation of policies include the followings: “Although there are policies from the top, the local government will have their own counterpart policies”, implementing policies according to their own needs or on a selective basis, or not implementing with an excuse of the specialty of local situations. The fundamental reason why these phenomena can’t be resolve for a long time is the rare involvement of citizens in the policy process (including policy-making and implementing process). To have it changed, we should start from this point.

Part V.

Questionnaire 18

The government monopoly is not mentioned. The power of government goes beyond that of market. The reform of property right is in a contradictory situation because this reform without the background of political reform can’t be fair. Only the political reform goes first, can the reform of property right be carried out.

Questionnaire 29

On one hand, there are inappropriate administrative intervention, on the other hand, the sense of responsibility and the ability of shouldering the responsibility of government on market growth and economic life are weak. These two different aspects are the main factors influencing the relationship between the state and market. The direction of reform is to actively push forward the

marketization process, and at the same time pay attention to that not everything can be marketized. For example, the protection of the disadvantaged and the development of community service and culture can not be included in the market system. It is government's responsibility to contain ill competition. This will not only influence the relationship between the state and market, but will be closely related to the overall cause of China.

Questionnaire 31

The ideas of "legal person" of Chinese mainland are contradictory to international (European and American) ideas. Therefore, it is hard to clarify the relationship between the state and market. The experiences of "the four-dragon countries" should be taken into consideration.

Questionnaire 32

Fully opening the operational main body of such sectors as banking, electricity, post and telecommunication and railway, and improving the freedom of economy.

Allowing the negotiation with private sector in public policy-making, but the negotiation only as a kind of involvement, not a influencing factor.

Questionnaire 36

The government is eager to enter the WTO. Some people maybe hope to push forward the reform of some restricted issues (political system) through the entry to WTO. But other people are too optimistic. They thought the agreement to enter WTO means they are open-minded and will have a better international appearance. However, these people have not been well prepared. Although market economy were criticized by some people, government's excess intervention in the market is still severe, especially reflected in some monopoly sectors and stock markets.

Part VI

Questionnaire 18

With the current political system, the Party guides judicial procedures. If the judicial institutions are not independent, how legal standards are realized! The only phenomenon is: lacking laws or laws are not abided by. If the political system is not changed, the ability of resolving problems through the judicial ways is rather limited.

Questionnaire 20

Non-judicial procedures usually can be relatively more efficient to resolve some conflicts, but it

could hardly be considered as “appropriate”.

China’s judicial corruption is serious. The current judicial structure, which must be reformed, could easily become the accessory of local protectionism.

The ruling Party and its organizations enjoy the biggest power in Chinese political life. However, organizations of the ruling Party at various levels are obviously out of the power of judicial trial. If there is an organization or individual is out of the control of law in any society, the judicature will never be just.

Questionnaire 28

The judicial corruption is becoming more and more severe. It is almost a common sense that “without money, don't go to the court”. Therefore, quite a few individuals or groups choose non-judicial trial process to solve judicial conflicts in order to decrease the cost.

Questionnaire 29

Social network, based on administrative powers, social status and different social roles, will normally influence the resolution of conflicts. These elements often make each conflict subject be in unequal positions. In addition, innormal public opinions and social psychology often make the truth obscure, which prevents conflicts from resolving.

Questionnaire 32

The judicial corruption should be further eliminated and contained through other channels of supervision.

Gradually diminishing the use of non-judicial procedures to adjust relations, pushing forward judicial adjustment and embarking on building society based on law.

Questionnaire 36

The judicial corruption has always been an important part of the corruption in China as a whole. Equality and Fairness has always been a goal of Chinese people. In the field of human rights, although we signed relevant international Conventions, they haven’t been implemented in a real sense. The domestic laws are still the criteria for problem resolution. This is one of the difficulties of China’s reform. The political reform should be actually carried out in order to completely solve this problem.

Part VII

Questionnaire 6

There are not any changes of China's political system within the past five years. Corruption is more severe.

As there are basically no citizen involvement, freedom of speech, gathering and organizing mass organizations, right of election as well as legislative organs and administration representing people's ideas, it is hard to measure the degree.

In the field of economic life or the rights of civil affairs, things are different. There are more channels in terms of their policy-making or legislative process, such as telecommunication fee-collecting and the discussion of Marriage Law.

In general, various systems and regulations, the main bodies of "state", mainly reflect "state's interests", but not other interest groups or public interests(or state thinks itself represents their interests), such as global trade, diplomacy and so on.

Questionnaire 18

With the situation that organizational structure of Chinese Communist Party are weak and loose, the Party member is only an empty title. The absence of the role of social groups and organizations leads to rare expression of different opinions. Experiencing the Cultural Revolution, China is developing from one extreme to the other, namely from mass-based great democracy to control of speech and behaviors. The society becomes rigid and there is a dictatorship emerged. This is not in conformity with the new century, technology, economy and culture. The economic construction and development can't take the place of scientific political governance. If so, it will result in more social problems. If not releasing and eliminating the monopoly, a small number of monopoly sectors will become the privilege of a small number of people. With such an unfair governance, it only leads to the overall burst of social conflicts.

Questionnaire 20

The shortcoming of this questionnaire is too general. China is very large, so are the differences between central and local governments as well as among various provinces. Quite a few questions in this questionnaire will have different answers considering situations in different localities.

The concept of some terms is not clear. For example, what is the exact meaning of "civil servants"? State's Chairman and Premier of the State Council are civil servants, but their opinions take weights in policy-making.

Questionnaire 26

Quite a few concepts in this questionnaire are too abstract and obscure. It is hard to grasp

meanings (especially against the current social background) accurately and appropriately and to make appropriate answers. For example, question 3 in Part I, “what do you think the degree of freedom of speech in China” is such a kind of question. The current situation in China is that in unformal or private occasions, people enjoyed high degree of freedom of speech, while in formal occasions, especially on media, the freedom is relatively small. Therefore, if being generally asked the degree of freedom, it is hard to answer (although I still generally answered it). Another similar example is question No.5. The meaning of “political discrimination” is not clear.

Questionnaire 36

The key point of improving China’s governance is to improve the way of using the public powers, which is related to channels forming public power structure. In other words, if the main body, which controls the public powers at different levels, is still so-called “selected”, but is not “elected” authorized by people, it is impossible to fundamentally change the way of using the public powers. The governance will be twisted and changed.