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プロジェクト報告  
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習近平時代の中国政治の変化を可視化する Empirical Study of Chinese Politics under Xi Jinping

林 載 桓

1. プロジェクトの趣旨と実施計画

本研究プロジェクトは、習近平政権期中国の政治的変革の実態を解明することを目的とする。具体的に、共産党統治の様々な領域における政策の形成と実施のプロセス、および政策の効果に焦点を当て、習近平時代の中国政治の変化を再検討することを目指す。習近平が共産党総書記に就任した2012年10月以来、中国政治は以前とかなり異なる様相を示してきた。その核心にあるのが、習近平個人への権力集中、そして「頂層設計」（共産党中央による計画と調整）を強調する政策過程の中央集権化である。しかし、こうした中央の体制の変化が、政策の具体的内容、さらに各レベルにおける政策実施の状況にいかなる影響を与え、また実際にどれほどの成果をあげているかは、必ずしも明らかでない。

従来、中国の政策過程と政策効果の分析は、因果関係の検証に必要な情報やデータの入手が難しいゆえに、実証的、理論的知見の蓄積が乏しい状況であった。こうした状況は、昨今の諸般事情により、現地における聞き取り調査の実施が事実上困難になってきたことで、さらに悪化したと言える。しかし他方で、近年、中国の対外活動の飛躍的増大や、デジタル情報の生成と拡散等により、政策の内容や実施状況に関するデータが著しく増えてきている。そこで、本研究は、中国内外において収集・利用可能なデータソースの系統的な探索と活用を通じて、中国の政策過程の研究を一步前進させようとする。

もちろん、全ての政策分野で質の高いデータが取得可能であるとは限らない。しかし、本研究会の各メンバーがそれぞれの専門分野で培ってきた深い「現場知」を活かせれば、データへのアクセスと収集に関する困難を乗り越えることができると考えている。また、収集したデータの活用に当たっては、メンバー全体で協力し合う体制を構築する一方で、

計量的手法に限らず、データを用いた中国政治の分析に実績を持つ国内外の講師を招いて学習する機会を設けることで、研究成果の総合的なレベルアップを目指したい。継続年度においては、初年度を通じて収集・作成してきたデータ（ベース）をフルに活用し、政策の形成と実施のプロセスを分析していく。具体的には、(1) 各領域において政策の形成を主導したアクターを特定し、各アクターの政策選好、及びアクター間の関係の変化に注目しながら政策の内容を説明し、さらに(2) 当該政策の実施状況について政策効果の有無を中心に評価する。こうした作業を通じて、今なおブラックボックスになっている中国の政策過程を解き明かす手がかりを得るとともに、今後の内政・対外政策の展開をよりよく展望することが可能になると期待している。

2. 研究プロジェクトの実施状況

本年度は、(1) 外部研究者の講演会を3回、(2) メンバーによる中間成果の報告会を1回開催した。外部講演では、山尾大氏（九州大学大学院比較社会文化研究院・准教授）、于海春氏（早稲田大学現代政治経済研究所・次席研究員）、Kwan Nok Chan 氏（香港大学政治行政学部・准教授）を招き、それぞれ「地域研究とデータ分析」、「中国地方紙の腐敗報道フレーム」、「Agenda Setting under Xi Jinping」をテーマとして講演会を行った。中間報告会では、研究会メンバーの林載恒が、胡錦濤政権期から習近平政権期の「軍民融合」戦略に関連した政策文書をもとにしたデータベースをもとに、習近平時代の政策過程の変容とその効果を分析した研究を発表した。

〈第1回合同セミナー（外部講演）〉

- ・日時：2021年11月11日(木)午後2時
- ・報告者：山尾大氏（九州大学）
- ・報告テーマ：「地域研究とデータ分析」

〈第2回合同セミナー（外部講演）〉

- ・日時：2022年1月21日(金)午後2時
- ・報告者：于海春（早稲田大学政治経済研究所）
- ・報告テーマ：「腐敗問題報告における中国地方紙のメディアフレームの比較分析：量的テキスト分析を中心に」

〈第3回合同セミナー（外部講演）〉

- ・ 日時：2022年1月25日(月)午後2時
- ・ 報告者：Kwan Nok Chan (The University of Hong Kong)
- ・ 報告テーマ：“Public Policy under Xi Jinping：Agenda Setting in the Shadow of Strongman Politics”

〈第4回合同セミナー（研究報告）〉

- ・ 日時：2022年2月8日(火)午後7時
- ・ 報告者：林載桓
- ・ 報告テーマ：“The End of Fragmented Authoritarianism?：Evidence from Military-Civil Fusion Policy under Xi Jinping”

3. 研究プロジェクトの成果と得られた知見

これまでの取り組みにより得られた知見は次の二つである。

- ・ データは（豊富に）存在する：一部アクセスが制限されているとはいえ、情報のデジタル化は中国でも急速に進んでおり、さまざまなデータベースから大量かつ多様な形態のデータの入手が可能であることを確認した。
- ・ データから「エヴィデンス」を抽出するのは容易でない：データは豊富に存在するが、それを「エヴィデンス」に転換するには、検証可能な仮説の設定とともに、データ活用 of 具体的な手法に関するさらなる学習と工夫が必要である。

The End of Fragmented Authoritarianism? Evidence from Military-Civil Fusion Policy under Xi Jinping

2022. 2. 8 第4回合同セミナー



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KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What institutional changes and innovations have occurred to policy process since Xi assumed power?
- To what extent do Xi's reforms challenge the conventional approach to China's policy process?
- What does the development of the MCF (军民融合) policy tell us about the effect of Xi's innovations on policy process and their outcomes?
- How can we *measure* the causal effect?

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WHY SHOULD WE CARE?

- Much attention has been paid to the “transformation” of Chinese politics broadly and the decision-making process in particular since 2012;
- Yet (surprisingly) little has been discussed about the extent to which Xi has transformed the process of policy formulation and implementation and whether his efforts have delivered desired effects.
- The MCF strategy is one of Xi’s signature policies and deserves closer scrutiny for investigating change in policy process under Xi.

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TENTATIVE FINDINGS

- MCF policy process under Xi shows the enduring validity and explanatory power of FA;
 - Protractedness, disjointedness, and incrementalism are all to be observed in the MCF policy process.
 - Strengthening the Party Center’s coordinating capacity was clearly intended but it hasn’t gone beyond the role of re-purposing and giving broad directions;
 - The central focus of MCF under Xi is still vague, but policy implementation clearly centers around restructuring the defense industrial system.

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AVENUES FOR FURTHER STUDY

- Further analysis is needed to examine Xi's footprints on the MCF policy process by
 - Comparing policy process under Hu;
 - Applying automated text analysis across the full set of documents to identify key initiatives and projects;
 - Tracking policy implementation at provincial level to examine how regional development and feedback shape the content and process of MCF.

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ANY PROGRESS?

- Further progress in data collection:
- The MCF dataset now covers:
 - The entire Hu Jintao period (up to 2003);
 - More than 3800 policy documents issued by local governments at different levels (provincial, prefectural, and county)
- Further survey of local policy implementation:
- Identify a significant regional variation in terms of:
 - Sector priorities and policy tools in fostering local MCF industry

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BACKGROUND: CENTRALIZED POLICY PROCESS UNDER XI

- Centralization of policy process under the *revived* slogan of “顶层设计” (top-level design);
 - Centralizing decision-making by a small circle of top leaders and trusted advisory staff;
 - Relying much less on consultation, exploration, and reflection in making decisions than did his predecessors;
 - Such a top-down “decisionism” contrasts strikingly with the bottom-up “implementationism” promoted by Deng and continued by Jiang and Hu.

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THE END OF FRAGMENTED AUTHORITARIANISM?

- The transformation of policy process under Xi *appears* to pose fundamental challenges to many conventional beliefs and frameworks regarding policy formulation and implementation in China;
 - One of which is the powerful thesis of *fragmented authoritarianism* (FA)

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WHAT IS FA AND WHY IT MATTERS?

- FA is an analytic perspective to understand and explain *policy process* in China;
- FA is based on observations of reforms in the 1980s and a critique of the then dominant models (“rationality” and “power” model);
- FA matters because
 - (1) it *still* is broadly considered as a major analytic framework for Chinese policy process across multiple issue areas;
 - (2) it *particularly* epitomizes the dynamics of Chinese politics in the reform era.

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CORE ASSUMPTIONS OF FA

- **The structure of authority is fragmented.**
 - *The Center* consists of four tiers (leaders, staff and leadership groups, coordinating commissions, and ministries and provinces);
 - *Different* pressures and influences shape the behavior of officials at each level;
 - Generally, personal considerations are at play at the elite level and the different organizational missions and ethos at the coordinating and ministerial level.

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CORE (UNTESTABLE) IMPLICATIONS OF FA

- **Consensus building is critical.**
 - “A consensus must be sought ***both vertically and horizontally*** in the system. Lower levels units have important resources they can bring to bear, and wide-ranging efforts are, therefore, made to strike balances that permit each major actor to support an effort or project with some enthusiasm.***policy results from an ongoing process of bargaining among units at all levels of the bureaucratic hierarchy.***” (Lieberthal and Oksenberg 1988: 23-4, emphasis added)

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OBSERVABLE IMPLICATIONS OF FA

- Policy process is ***diffuse***.
 - The process is ***protracted***
 - Most policies are shaped over a long period and acquire a considerable history in the process;
 - The process is ***disjointed***
 - Key decisions are made in a number of different and only loosely coordinated agencies and inter-agency decisional bodies;
 - The process is ***incremental***
 - There is no single, coherent national policy; continual changes in the priorities take place and in the process the substance of initial decisions is changing.

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CASE and DATA: MILITARY-CIVIL FUSION POLICY

- What is MCF?
 - A comprehensive set of policies aimed at enhancing the competitiveness of the whole industry by integrating military and commercial sectors;
 - A refined mobilization strategy to wage and win a long-term strategic competition with the U.S.
 - A representative case in terms of being a major policy initiative involving a large number of actors.

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CASE and DATA: MILITARY-CIVIL FUSION POLICY

- Data: **MCF Document Dataset**
 - Policy documents, not laws, dominate China's policy landscape;
 - An original dataset of MCF-related policy documents since 2000;
 - 200 + central/provincial policy documents collected (sorted out by issuing date, issuing authority, document type, category, domain, and full content of each document);
 - This analysis focuses only on 122 central documents issued from 2013 to 2020.

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HISTORY OF MCF

- MCF has been formulated over a long period
 - Deng's attempts at 军转民;
 - Jiang's reforms of defense industry;
 - Hu's proposal and implementation of 军民融合式发展;
 - MCF is obviously ***not Xi's invention.***

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MCF BEFORE XI ASSUMED POWER

- MCF policy process were seriously ***disjointed.***
 - No central coordination mechanism *between the state and the military* (ex. The PLA had no department in charge of MCF corresponding to the MCF bureau within the MIIT);
 - No coordination mechanism *within the state* to reform the self-contained defense industrial system;
 - No coordination mechanism *between the central bureaucracy and provinces.*

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MCF JUST BEFORE XI ASSUMED POWER

- Efforts at MCF developed but only *incrementally*.
 - Progress was made based on and as a part of *existing* broader policy initiatives (ex. Attempts at financial integration by reforming the ownership structure of the defense conglomerates and facilitating the private investment);
 - Coordinating mechanisms were temporarily set up on a specific project basis (ex. The construction of the high-speed digital network)

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WHAT IS XI'S INNOVATION IN MCF?

- The elevation of MCF from the level of guideline (方针) to that of national strategy (战略);
- Issuance of the “decision on the collaborative development of economic and military construction” (2016.7)

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WHAT IS XI'S INNOVATION IN MCF?

- The establishment of the MCF headquarters (中央军民融合发展委员会) (2017.2)
 - Designed to demonstrate the commitment of central leaders to MCF;
 - Designed to provide a central coordinating mechanism in which concerned actors are to determine priorities and allocation of resources.

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MEASURING THE EFFECT OF XI'S INSTITUTIONAL INNOVATIONS

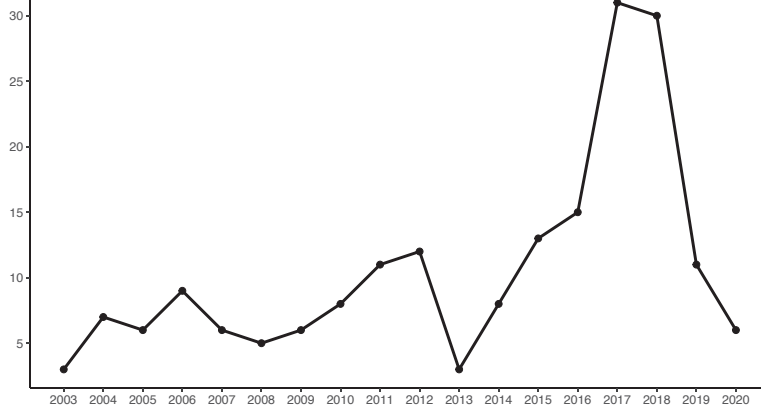
- Measuring *protractedness*
 - Have Xi's innovations set a milestone in ways that marked a substantive departure from the previous attempts?

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MEASURING PROTRACTEDNESS

Figure 2. Number of Policy Documents relating to MCF over time (2003–2020)



Data Source: MCF documents dataset ver.1

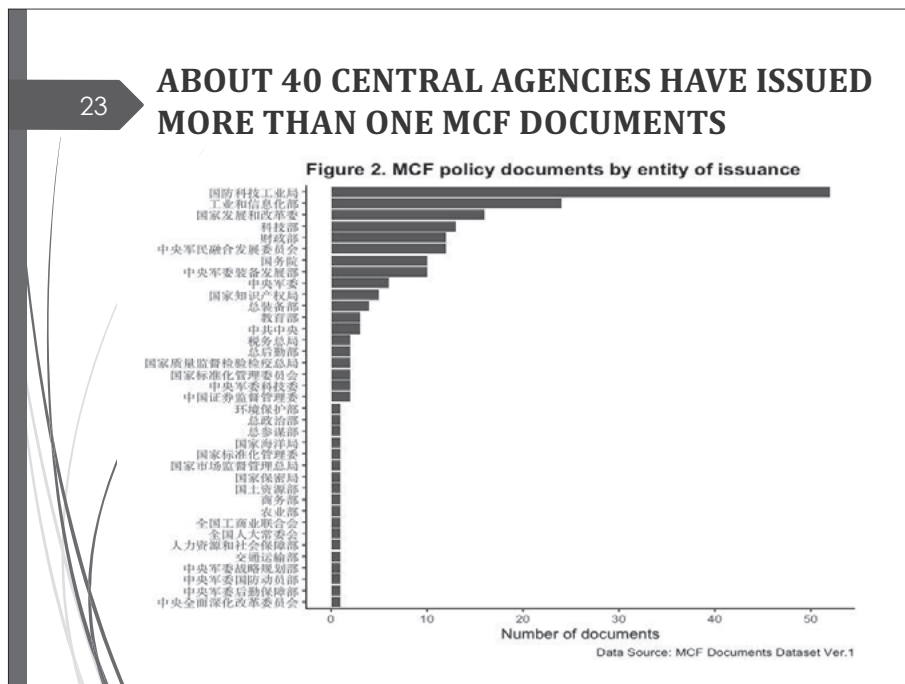
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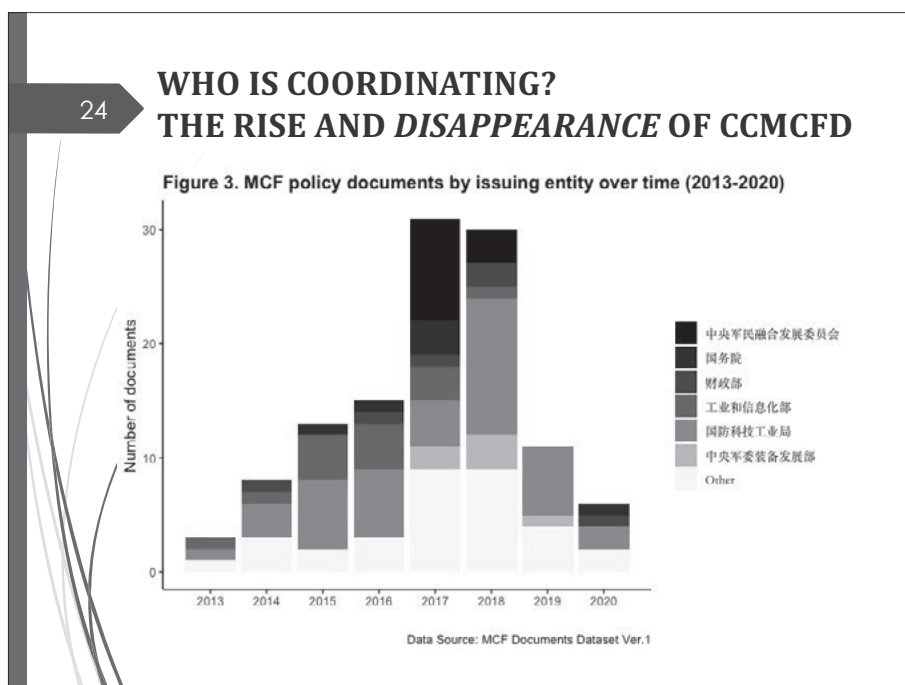
MEASURING THE EFFECT OF XI'S INSTITUTIONAL INNOVATIONS

- Measuring *disjointedness*
 - Key decisions are made in a number of different and only loosely coordinated agencies and inter-agency decisional bodies.
 - Have Xi's innovations created a functioning central coordinating mechanism (particularly aimed at connecting the military and the state bureaucracy)?

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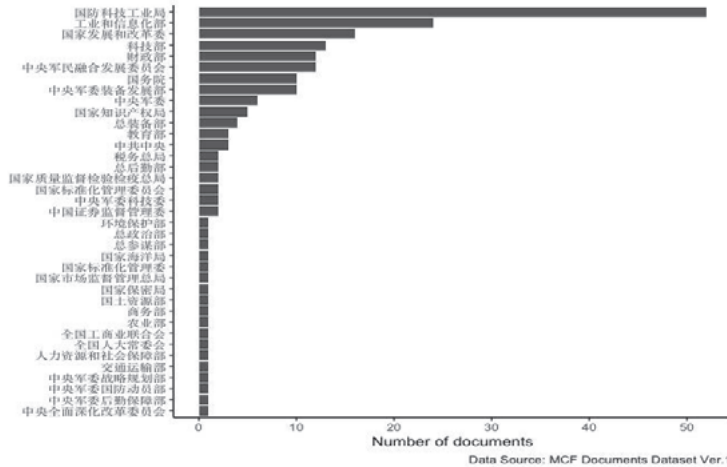


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WHO IS ACTUALLY COORDINATING? SASTIND SEEMS TO HAVE PLAYED MAJOR ROLE

Figure 2. MCF policy documents by entity of issuance

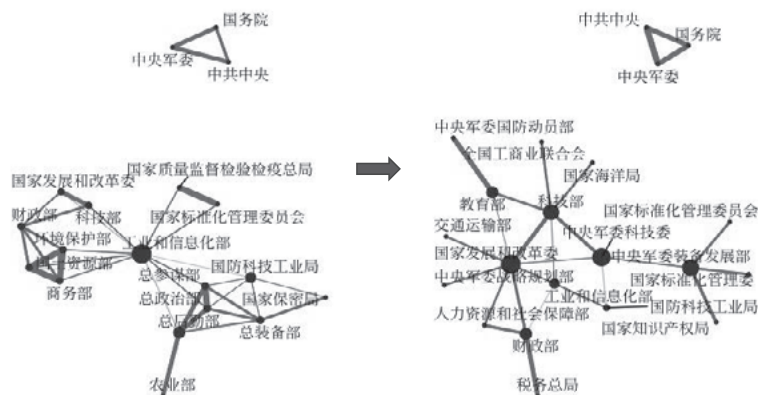


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EVOLVING STRUCTURE OF POLICY NETWORK

Figure 4. The structure of MCF policy network (before and after 2017)



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MEASURING THE EFFECT OF XI'S INSTITUTIONAL INOVATIONS

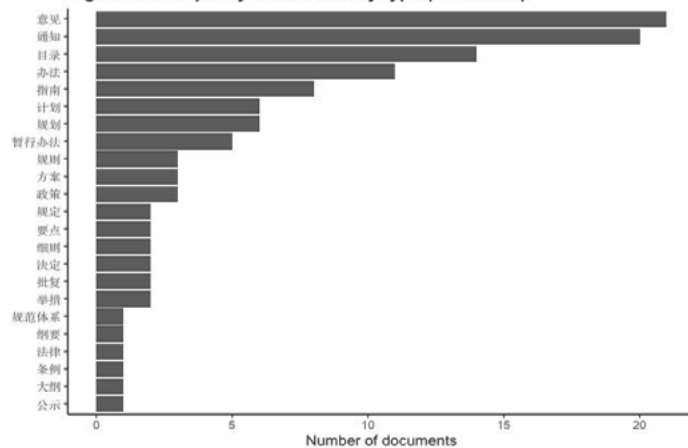
- Measuring *incrementalism*
 - There is no single, coherent national policy; continual changes in the priorities take place during which the relative weight of policies gradually changes.
 - Has Xi administration produced a law or a policy document that determines the issue in ways that clarify priorities, procedures, and responsibilities of relevant actors?

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THERE ARE 20 + DIFFERENT TYPES OF POLICY DOCUMENTS ON MCF

Figure 5. MCF policy documents by type (2013-2020)

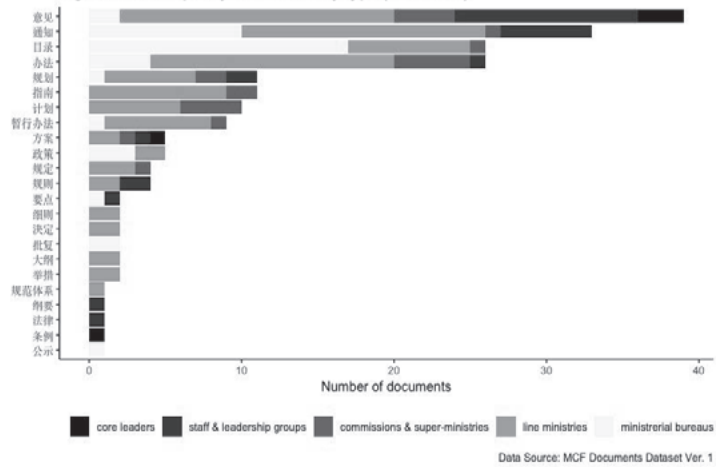


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TYPE OF DOCUMENT DOES NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT AUTHORITY LEVEL

Figure 5-1. MCF policy documents by type (2013-2020)

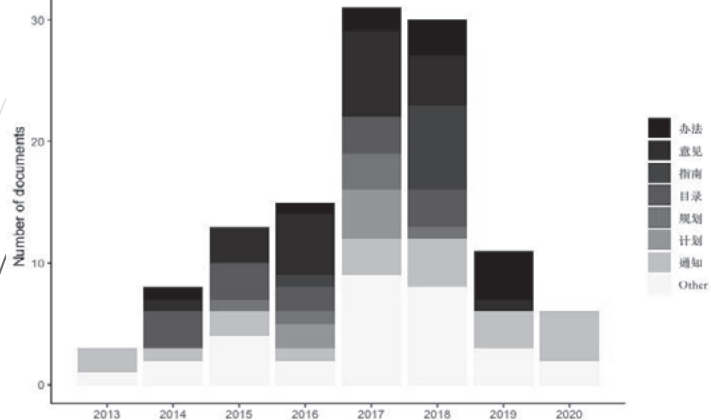


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MORE AUTHORITATIVE DOCUMENTS SEEM TO HAVE BEEN ISSUED IN 2016 AND 2017

Figure 6. MCF policy documents by type over time



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INCREMENTAL (RE)FORMULATION OF MCF PRIORITIES

	Domain	Time of Inclusion
“6” Major Domains	Fundamental Domain [基础领域]	2016 Opinion
	Manufacturing Domain [产业领域]	
	Science and Technology [科技领域]	
	Education Resources [教育资源]	
	Social Services [社会服务]	
	Emergency and Public Safety [应急和公共安全]	
“3” Major Security Domains	Maritime [海洋]	First CCMCFD meeting (June 20, 2017)
	Space [太空]	
	Cyberspace Security and Informatization [网络安全和信息化]	
“n” Nascent Technological Areas	Biotechnology [生物科技]	Likely July, 2018
	New Energy [新能源]	
	Artificial Intelligence [人工智能]	
“1”	“Going Out” of MCF [融合走出去]	Jiang et al. (December 2017)

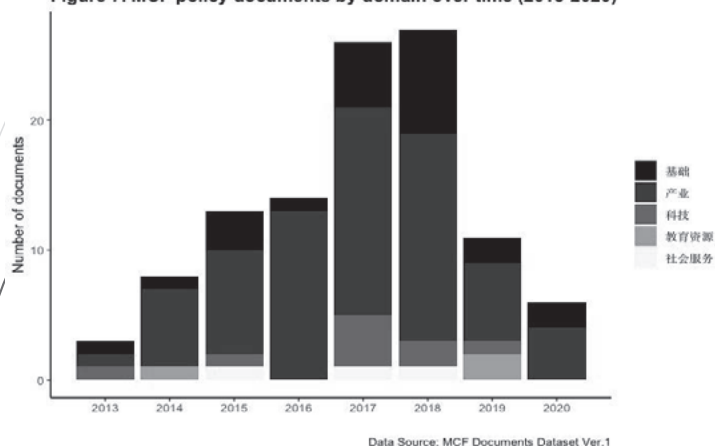
[Source] MCF Documents Dataset; Wood 2021; Jiang et al. 2017; Zeng et al. 2018.

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WHAT IS XI'S FOCUS IN MCF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION?

Figure 7. MCF policy documents by domain over time (2013-2020)



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TENTATIVE FINDINGS

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- Andrew Mertha, "Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0" *The China Quarterly*,
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- Sebastian Heilmann and Mattias Stepan, eds., *China's Core Executive: Leadership Styles, Structures, and Processes under Xi Jinping*, 2016. Mercator Institute for China Studies.
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