

Studies of China's Economy

Thomas G. Rawski

Despite the tendency among academic economists to emphasize theory, technique, and empirical work on the United States and other high-income nations, the study of China's economy maintains a modest but lively presence within the community of North American economists. Building on recent work by Penelope B. Prime¹ and Gary H. Jefferson,² this review will highlight key stages in the development of Chinese economic studies, identify topics that have attracted clusters of research, point to areas in which China-oriented research has opened new pathways for economic research, and sketch emerging areas of research focus.

Hosea Ballou Morse (1855–1934) stands out as the first American researcher to focus on China's economy. A Harvard graduate, Morse spent decades in China, where he became a commissioner of China's Maritime Customs while producing valuable studies of China's guilds, international trade, and domestic administration.³

Charles F. Remer (1889–1972) and John Lossing Buck (1890–1975) were the first academic economists to specialize in China-related research. Based at the University of Michigan, Remer produced studies of China's international trade and incoming foreign investment, and also of trade boycotts, which served as an outlet for nationalist sentiments during the decades preceding World War II.⁴ Buck, who taught for many years at what is now Nanjing University, produced massive studies of China's rural economy that are widely cited even today.⁵ During this early period, Ralph M. Odell, a textile analyst within the US government, produced detailed analyses of cotton manufacture in China (and many other nations).⁶

With encouragement from Simon Kuznets (1901–85), the future Nobel laureate, systematic study of China's national income began during the 1940s. Ta-chung Liu (1914–75) published an exploratory study of China's national income during the 1930s,⁷ which subsequently expanded into a massive comparison of China's economy during the 1930s and 1950s.⁸ Professor Liu was also prominent among the group of academic economists who helped launch Taiwan onto its pioneering trajectory of outward-looking economic growth during the late 1950s, a development that influenced China's decision to launch its own policy of economic opening two decades later.⁹

As the Cold War intensified, the US government and private donors provided financial support to students and researchers studying Communist bloc nations, including China. In 1961 the Social Science Research Council established a Committee on the Economy of China, chaired by Simon Kuznets. This group produced a series of volumes, including Dwight H. Perkins's study of long-term trends in Chinese agriculture, Nai-ruenn Chen's compendium of Chinese economic statistics, and a volume on economic trends in the People's Republic.¹⁰

This committee and its successors worked to create a community of China-oriented economists, supporting important conference volumes edited by Dwight H. Perkins and Robert F. Dernberger,¹¹ and sponsoring less formal gatherings to provide opportunities for young researchers (including this author, who began graduate study in 1965) to present their own work and become acquainted with established scholars. Alexander Eckstein (1915–76), a prominent contributor to these efforts, organized seminars and conferences and encouraged younger specialists while pursuing his own research.¹² The Joint Economic Committee of the US Congress sponsored a series of volumes that showcased China-related studies by government and academic economists.¹³

The common method underlying these studies, particularly those focused on the People's Republic, was the use of fragmentary data to reconstruct the broader economic landscape. This approach arose from the paucity of systematic data prior to 1949, and from the limited publication of economic statistics under the People's Republic until the appearance of the *China Statistics Yearbook* [中国统计年鉴] in 1981. This focus on fragmentary information resurfaced in the late 1990s when some observers, including the present author, questioned the reliability of official growth figures during the slowdown that followed the Asian financial crisis,¹⁴ and again in 2008–9, when official reports were scrutinized for possible exaggeration of short-term performance in the wake of the global financial crisis and subsequent recession.

The establishment of diplomatic ties between China and Canada (1970), the gradual expansion of links between China and the United States beginning with President Nixon's visit to China (1972), and the eventual normalization of relations (1979) thoroughly transformed the research agenda for China-oriented economists, who could now conduct field studies within China,¹⁵ pursue collaborative research with Chinese colleagues,¹⁶ recruit Chinese students to study in their home institutions,¹⁷ and create personal networks to facilitate data collection and access to informants and field sites.

China's subsequent shift toward publication of a growing array of economic data enabled economists to contemplate an expanding universe of quantitative studies. Once noted for its failure to provide detailed economic information, China now routinely issues vast quantities of data through open publications and, most recently, official websites. Additional research opportunities arise from the growing availability, typically through informal channels, of large data sets based on detailed information about demographics, household income and expenditures, enterprises, research institutes, or foreign trade transactions, which has encouraged recent research on income distribution (discussed below), industrial development,¹⁸ innovation,¹⁹ and trade.²⁰

China's "open door" policy has also allowed overseas researchers to implement projects, typically working with Chinese colleagues, that combine written surveys and field interviews. Some of this work incorporates China into multicountry studies such as the World Bank's investment climate survey.²¹ Other projects have added new dimensions to available knowledge of subjects like migration²² and rural finance.²³

Generations of studies that present broad overviews of China's economy clearly reflect this massive expansion of data availability. Whereas early volumes by Alexander Eckstein (1977) and Christopher Howe (1978) focus on a narrow array of measures centered on national aggregates and foreign trade, subsequent work from the World Bank (1983), Carl Riskin (1987), and Barry Naughton (2007) and a 2008 volume edited by Loren Brandt and Thomas G. Rawski reveal a progressive expansion in

the range and depth of data sources.²⁴ Indeed, Chinese data sometimes provide researchers with opportunities that extend beyond what is available elsewhere—as when the availability of national income data for metropolitan areas allowed researchers to conduct empirical tests of propositions flowing from the “new economic geography.”²⁵

China's combination of remarkable economic gains and rich data resources has attracted the interest of prominent economists beyond the modest ranks of “China specialists.” Lloyd Reynolds (1910–2005) was an early example.²⁶ Many Nobel laureates, including Simon Kuznets (1901–1985), Herbert Simon (1916–2001) and Leonid Hurwicz (1917–2008) developed a deep interest in China's economy and society. Amartya Sen contributed to an early conference volume on China's economy and comments frequently on China-related subjects, often in the context of China-India comparisons.²⁷ Robert Mundell has offered opinions and advice on the evolution of China's renminbi currency.²⁸ James J. Heckman has written on Chinese education.²⁹ Robert W. Fogel has examined issues surrounding China's health care and growth prospects.³⁰ Paul Krugman has jostled with Chinese colleagues on exchange rate management and other issues related to China's role in the global economy.³¹

China-related research by North American economists displays endless variety,³² but it clusters around major topics, several of which receive detailed treatment in Penelope Prime's 2007 review. Subsequent work in these areas includes a review of China's overall growth since 1952 and forecasts to 2025 by Perkins and Rawski,³³ new contributions on the political economy of Chinese growth by Naughton,³⁴ an innovative exploration of Chinese growth mechanics in which Loren Brandt, Chang-tai Hsieh, and Xiaodong Zhu use a three-sector model to show how state ownership hinders both growth and structural change,³⁵ a penetrating analysis of China's fiscal system by Christine Wong and Richard Bird,³⁶ and new work on finance that, among other contributions, places China's financial system in an international context.³⁷

We can also cite substantial work in topics for which Prime's survey provided no detailed mention. These include the following.

Labor, Wages, and Education

These topics have attracted many authors. Results include early work by Thomas Rawski,³⁸ Jeffrey R. Taylor,³⁹ and others; extensive reviews of research on both labor and education;⁴⁰ a book of essays on education edited by Emily Hannum and Albert Park;⁴¹ and essays by Xiao-yuan Dong,⁴² Belton Fleisher,⁴³ and Margaret Maurer-Fazio,⁴⁴ among others.

Industrial Development and Enterprise Behavior

These topics have also attracted substantial attention beginning with early studies by Kang Chao,⁴⁵ Chu-yuan Cheng,⁴⁶ Thomas Rawski,⁴⁷ and Yuan-li Wu.⁴⁸ In addition to studies of large-scale industry, which include a substantial volume edited by Gary H. Jefferson and Inderjit Singh,⁴⁹ China's development of rural industry attracted considerable attention, including works by Carl Riskin and Martin Weitzman and Chenggang Xu,⁵⁰ a World Bank-sponsored volume edited by William Byrd and Qingsong Lin,⁵¹ and later studies focused on the recent privatization of so-called township and village (TVE) enterprises.⁵²

Macroeconomics, Finance, and Capital Markets

Contributions in this area include Nicholas Lardy's widely cited monograph,⁵³ essays on the political economy of reform by Yingyi Qian and several coauthors,⁵⁴ work by Loren Brandt and Xiaodong Zhu on inflation dynamics,⁵⁵ and numerous analyses of firms listed on China's Shanghai and Shenzhen stock exchanges.⁵⁶

Distribution, Inequality, and Poverty Alleviation

Steep increases in income inequality during the reform era have sparked extensive study of distributional issues, in part because of the erroneous perception that income inequality in prereform China was unusually low in international terms, a view contested by Thomas Rawski.⁵⁷ Recent studies, bolstered by the growing availability of census and survey data, include contributions by Carl Riskin and Azizur R. Khan;⁵⁸ a review by Dwayne Benjamin, Brandt, John Giles, and Sangui Wang;⁵⁹ and several collections of papers.⁶⁰ China's achievements in liberating several hundred million citizens from the clutches of absolute poverty have attracted considerable attention, especially from World Bank researchers.⁶¹

International Trade, Investment, and Finance

Long a staple topic for international researchers using data available from China's trade partners,⁶² these topics have attracted renewed interest because of China's steeply rising involvement in a broad array of global markets. Recent contributions include books by Nicholas Lardy; an overview of China's globalization by Lardy and Lee Branstetter;⁶³ essays by authors such as Peter Schott,⁶⁴ Robert Feenstra, and Hiau Looi Kee,⁶⁵ Brandt, Rawski, and Xiaodong Zhu;⁶⁶ and analyses of international currency and financial disequilibria by Ronald McKinnon,⁶⁷ Wing Thye Woo,⁶⁸ and others.

Agriculture, Rural Policy, and Out-migration of Villagers

With its history of sweeping institutional changes—from fully marketized private farming through land reform, collectives, people's communes, and, twenty years later, the household responsibility system and a subsequent move in the direction of market revival—and equally dramatic shifts in output, productivity, and structure, China's farm sector has occupied a central position among the research interests of China-oriented economists. The long list of studies includes books by Dwight Perkins,⁶⁹ Peter Schran,⁷⁰ Nicholas Lardy,⁷¹ and Louis Putterman;⁷² lively debate about the impact of commune organization on incentives and productivity and, through them, on the great famine of 1959–61;⁷³ analysis of how the return to household farming sparked steep increases in farm output;⁷⁴ and ongoing studies of the evolution of Chinese agriculture and the rural economy, most notably by Scott Rozelle and a wide array of coauthors.⁷⁵

Economic Growth and the Environment

With environmental issues playing a growing role in China's domestic policy and international relations, economists have focused increasing attention on this subject. On the domestic side, a broad review by James Roumasset, Kimberley Burnett, and Hua Wang finds that China's recent burst of growth

has produced rather modest environmental costs, which do not justify the alarmist claims that have received wide circulation in North American media.⁷⁶ Thomas Rawski's study of trends in urban air quality reaches similar conclusions.⁷⁷ Wing 'Thye Woo has addressed the issues raised by China's emergence as the largest national source of the greenhouse gases that raise the likelihood of global warming.⁷⁸

International Comparisons

China's dramatic economic gains have sparked growing interest in cross-national comparisons aimed at comparing Chinese performance with international norms and highlighting special features associated with China's massive growth spurt. Studies of this genre include work focused specifically on China and India;⁷⁹ analyses of East Asia focused on urbanization,⁸⁰ innovation,⁸¹ food policy,⁸² and future growth prospects;⁸³ and cross-national statistical comparisons.⁸⁴

New knowledge about China's economy does not come only from economists. Scholars from many fields have added important elements of breadth and depth to our understanding of the nature and evolution of China's economy. The following brief observations capture some of the many some of the many economically relevant studies contributed by non-economist authors.

Geography

While economists have devoted only limited attention to spatial issues,⁸⁵ geographers have contributed substantial studies in a number of areas, including urbanization,⁸⁶ environment,⁸⁷ migration,⁸⁸ and the impact of the Three Gorges dam project.⁸⁹

Anthropology

Field studies focused on households and communities, typically in rural areas, have obvious potential for mapping important features of economic life at the microlevel. Studies that delve into the realities of local economic organization, the informal governance of rural communities, the use of contracts and other management tools, and the behavior of small-scale entrepreneurs add new dimensions to the picture that emerges from the statistical methods favored by economists.⁹⁰ Starting with materials from local field studies, G. William Skinner (1923–2008) constructed comprehensive models that placed market relations at the heart of social, political, linguistic, and cultural patterns; the impact of his work on local systems extended far beyond China studies.⁹¹

Sociology

Like their anthropological colleagues, sociologists have produced numerous studies rooted in field studies of particular segments of society: urban and rural communities,⁹² factory management,⁹³ labor relations,⁹⁴ and inequality,⁹⁵ among others, all with important implications for understanding economic structure and behavior.

Government

Researchers specializing in the study of Chinese politics have produced valuable research on a wide array of economic topics, including environmental issues,⁹⁶ rural issues (including the great famine of 1959–61),⁹⁷ the growing impact of lobbying and public opinion on official policy,⁹⁸ the structure and development of science and technology,⁹⁹ the organization and management of important industries,¹⁰⁰ the financial system,¹⁰¹ industrial policy,¹⁰² labor reform,¹⁰³ and general studies of China's political economy.¹⁰⁴

Economic history, a territory long shared between economists and historians, deserves particular attention. Researchers in both fields have contributed mightily to the expansion of knowledge in this area during the present author's professional lifetime. Looking back over several decades, we see broad overviews,¹⁰⁵ as well as illuminating studies in many fields, including prices;¹⁰⁶ the production, marketing, and distribution of products ranging from rice, silk, tea, sugar, cotton textiles, and cigarettes to books and sexual services;¹⁰⁷ market integration;¹⁰⁸ demography;¹⁰⁹ public administration;¹¹⁰ institutions;¹¹¹ education;¹¹² science;¹¹³ commerce;¹¹⁴ business;¹¹⁵ contracts;¹¹⁶ regional economies;¹¹⁷ income distribution;¹¹⁸ and many others.

China's astonishing growth over the past three decades, which qualifies as a major event in world economic history, raises obvious historical questions about the wellsprings of this growth eruption. Instead of seeking to explain China's failure to develop—a staple topic during this author's undergraduate studies in the early 1960s—it now seems essential to ask what social and cultural (as well as economic) formations encouraged and supported China's high-speed growth and why such growth appeared only after 1978. What, for example, retarded China's growth during the final decades of the Qing dynasty, roughly 1870–1911, a period of relative domestic stability during which China benefited from postwar recovery (following the Taiping rebellion), a full-fledged market economy, an international regimen of free trade and (after 1895) investment, and a government that was somewhat inclined to pursue growth-oriented reforms?

As economists begin to consider the determinants of long-term growth, they find themselves scrambling to catch up with the work of historians who have staked out challenging positions well in advance of their colleagues from the dismal science. Reacting against the idea that stagnation or decline dominated China's pre-1949 economy, a cluster of studies published around 1990 argued that China achieved modest but definite advances in output, industrialization, urbanization, and even income per person during the decades prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1937.¹¹⁹ These studies, grounded in extensive documentary research, focused exclusively on China's economy and, partly as a result, attracted little attention beyond the China field.

More recently a group of historians known collectively as the “California school” launched a wave of publications that expanded both the time frame and the geographic scope of research on long-term trends in China's economy. The key arguments of this group, most clearly articulated by Kenneth Pomeranz, are that prior to the British Industrial Revolution there was little difference in economic structure or per capita income between China's commercialized lower Yangzi region and economically advanced areas of Western Europe, and, furthermore, that Britain's head start in industrialization arose from its easy access to coal rather than from any advantage linked to political, legal, or other institutional factors.¹²⁰

Although these specific claims seem unlikely to withstand careful examination,¹²¹ this new work has electrified specialists studying both Europe and Asia, sparked enormous controversy, and transformed the formerly sleepy and isolated field of Chinese economic history into a focal point for intensive research and analysis by a substantially enlarged community of researchers. In short the California school has become a prime mover in creating a dynamic and exciting field of international or global economic history.

Thanks to the efforts of Pomeranz and his colleagues, we can now look forward to a third wave of economic history research that can combine extensive institutional knowledge with the documentary strength and quantitative depth of earlier studies, as well as the broad sweep and interpretive flair of the California school.

This is only one of many new avenues that await future scholars of China's economy. In addition to issues surrounding China's spatial economy (mentioned above), the list of important but neglected topics includes (but is surely not limited to) big business; industrial organization; health care, pensions, and other social safety net provisions; microlevel studies showing the impact of international trade and incoming foreign direct investment; and the overseas and domestic impact of China's rapidly expanding overseas direct investment.

As occurred in the decades following Japan's emergence as a major economic power, growing awareness of China's economic circumstances has begun to penetrate the structure of economic science. So far the impact remains modest: China's long-term experience undercuts the "law of diminishing returns" and shatters antiglobalist claims that participation in world markets damages poor nations and poor people. China's recent development negates the "Washington consensus" and challenges important elements of the "new institutional economics." Its reform experience indicates that economists may have exaggerated the benefits of private ownership and undervalued competition.

But this is only the beginning. Further study will expand our understanding of the structure, operation, and management of China's economy. This new knowledge will enhance our capacity to analyze Chinese policy and performance; it may permit better forecasts of Chinese economic outcomes; it will certainly enrich the discipline of economics.

Notes

Thomas G. Rawski, Professor of Economics and History, joined the University of Pittsburgh's faculty in 1985 after fourteen years at the University of Toronto. His research focuses on the development and modern history of China's economy, including studies of China's reform mechanism and achievements, as well as analyses focused on productivity, investment, industry, trade, labor markets, environment, and economic measurement. His publications include books on economic growth and employment in China, Chinese history in economic perspective, economic growth in prewar China, China's transition to industrialization, and economics and the historian. He is coeditor of the recent volumes *China's Rise and the Balance of Influence in Asia* (with William W. Keller, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007) and *China's Great Economic Transformation* (with Loren Brandt, Cambridge University Press, 2008).

This article was written in June 2009.

¹ Penelope B. Prime, "Studies of China's Economy in the United States," in Robert F. Ash, David L. Shambaugh, and Seiichiro Takagi (eds.), *China Watching: Perspectives from Europe, Japan, and the United States* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), ix, 261.

² Gary H. Jefferson, "How Has China's Economic Emergence Contributed to the Field of Economics?," *Comparative Economic Studies* 50, no. 2 (2008): 167–209.

³ Hosea Ballou Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* (London and New York: Longmans, Green, ,1910); *The Trade and Administration of China* (London and New York: Longmans, Green, ,1913); *The Guilds of China* (London and New York: Longmans, Green, ,1932).

⁴ C. F. Remer, *The Foreign Trade of China* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1926); *Foreign Investments in China* (New York: Macmillan, 1933); *A Study of Chinese Boycotts, with Special Reference to Their Economic Effectiveness* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1933).

⁵ John Lossing Buck, *Land Utilization in China, a Study of 16,786 Farms in 168 Localities, and 38,256 Farm Families in Twenty-Two Provinces in China, 1929–1933* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937); *Land Utilization in China: Statistics* (Nanking, Shanghai, and Chicago: University of Nanking, Commercial Press, and University of Chicago Press, 1937).

⁶ US Department of Commerce, Ralph Milton Odell, and US Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Cotton Goods in China* (Washington, DC: „Government Printing Office, 1916).

⁷ Ta-chung Liu, *China's National Income, 1931–36* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1946).

⁸ Ta-chung Liu and K. C. Yeh, *The Economy of the Chinese Mainland: National Income and Economic Development, 1933–1959* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965).

⁹ Limin Xue, Chen-kuo Hsu, and Dwight H. Perkins, *Industrialization and the State: The Changing Role of the Taiwan Government in the Economy, 1945–1998* ([Cambridge, MA]: Harvard Institute for International Development [at] Harvard University and Chung-hua Institution for Economic Research, 2001).

¹⁰ Nai-ruenn Chen, *Chinese Economic Statistics: A Handbook for Mainland China* (Chicago: Aldine, ,1967); Alexander Eckstein, Walter Galenson, and Ta-chung Liu, *Economic Trends in Communist China* (Chicago: Aldine, ,1968); Dwight H. Perkins, *Agricultural Development in China, 1368–1968* (Chicago: Aldine, ,1969).

¹¹ Robert F. Dernberger, *China's Development Experience in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980); Dwight H. Perkins, *China's Modern Economy in Historical Perspective* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975).

¹² Alexander Eckstein, *The National Income of Communist China* ([New York]: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962); Alexander Eckstein, *China's Economic Development: The Interplay of Scarcity and Ideology* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1975).

¹³ For example, see US Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *China's Economy Looks toward the Year 2000: Selected Papers* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office,, 1986).

¹⁴ Thomas G. Rawski, "What Is Happening to China's GDP Statistics?," *China Economic Review* 12, no. 4 (2001): 347–54.

¹⁵ See, for example, American Rural Small-Scale Industry Delegation, *Rural Small-Scale Industry in the People's Republic of China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); American Wheat Studies Delegation, Virgil Allen Johnson, Halsey L. Beemer, and Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China (U.S.), *Wheat in the People's Republic of China: A Trip Report of the American Wheat Studies Delegation* (Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences, 1977); and Andrew G. Walder, *Zouping in Transition: The Process of Reform in Rural North China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

¹⁶ Examples include joint work on the measurement of industrial capital and productivity by several US economists and a group of researchers at the Institute of Quanti-Economics of the Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS); research on income distribution by members of the CASS Economics Institute and a number of international researchers; and rural survey work in which Loren Brandt, Albert Park, Scott Rozelle, and other North American specialists have worked with Huang Jikun, Zhang Linxiu, and many other Chinese researchers. See, for example, Kuan Chen, Gary H. Jefferson, Thomas G. Rawski, Hongchang Wang, and Yuxin Zheng, "New Estimates of Fixed Investment and Capital Stock for Chinese State Industry," *China Quarterly*, no. 114 (1988): 243–66; Gary H. Jefferson et al., "Ownership, Productivity Change, and Financial Performance in Chinese Industry," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 28, no. 4 (2000): 786–813; Renfu Luo, Linxiu Zhang, Jikun Huang, and Scott Rozelle, "Elections, Fiscal Reform, and Public Goods Provision in Rural China," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 35, no. 3 (2007): 583–611; and Carl Riskin, Renwei Zhao, and Shi Li, *China's Retreat from Equality: Income Distribution and Economic Transition* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2001).

¹⁷ A number of returned students have assumed prominent positions – for example YI Gang at the People's Bank of China, FANG Xinghai in the Shanghai Municipal government, ZUO Xuejin at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, LI Ling, LIN Yifu, ZHAO Yaohui and ZHOU Qiren at Peking University, and BAI Chong'en, LI Daokui, and QIAN Yingyi at Tsinghua University.

¹⁸ Loren Brandt, Thomas G. Rawski, and John Sutton, "China's Industrial Development," chapter 15 in Loren Brandt and Thomas G. Rawski (eds.), *China's Great Economic Transformation* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁹ Karen Fisher-Vanden and Gary H. Jefferson, "Technology Diversity and Development: Evidence from China's Industrial Enterprises," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 36, no. 4 (2008): 658–72; Albert G. Z. Hu, Gary H. Jefferson, and Qian Jinchang, "R&D and Technology Transfer: Firm-Level Evidence from Chinese Industry," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 87, no. 4 (2005): 780–86.

²⁰ One example is Kalina Manova and Zhiwei Zhang, "China's Exporters and Importers: Firms, Products, and Trade Partners," unpublished conference paper, 2008.

²¹ For example, see World Bank, *A Better Investment Climate for Everyone* (Washington, DC, and New York: World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2004).

²² For example, see Linxiu Zhang, Scott Rozelle, and Jikun Huang, "Off-Farm Jobs and On-Farm Work in Periods of Boom and Bust in Rural China," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 29, no. 3 (2001): 505–26.

²³ Loren Brandt and Hongbin Li, "Bank Discrimination in Transition Economies: Ideology, Information, or Incentives?," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 31 (2003): 387–413; Albert Park, Loren Brandt, and John Giles, "Competition under Credit Rationing: Theory and Evidence from Rural China," *Journal of Development Economics* 71, no. 2 (2003): 463–95.

²⁴ Brandt and Rawski, *China's Great Economic Transformation*; Alexander Eckstein, *China's Economic Revolution* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Christopher Howe, *China's Economy: A Basic Guide* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007); World Bank, *China: Socialist Economic Development* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1983).

²⁵ For theory, see Masahisa Fujita, Paul R. Krugman, and Anthony Venables, *The Spatial Economy: Cities, Regions, and International Trade* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999); for China applications, see Chun-Chung Au and J. Vernon Henderson, "Are Chinese Cities Too Small?," *Review of Economic Studies* 73, no. 3 (2006): 549–76; Chun-Chung Au and J. Vernon Henderson, "How Migration Restrictions Limit Agglomeration and Productivity in China," *Journal of Development Economics* 80, no. 2 (2006): 350–88; and Kam Wing Chan, J. Vernon Henderson, and Kai Yuen Tsui, "Spatial Dimensions of Chinese Economic Development," chapter 19 in Brandt and Rawski, *China's Great Economic Transformation*.

²⁶ Lloyd G. Reynolds, "China as a Less Developed Economy," *American Economic Review* 65, no. 3 (1975): 418–28.

²⁷ See "Economic Development: Objectives and Obstacles," in Dernberger, *China's Development Experience in Comparative Perspective*, chap. 1; "Passage to China," *New York Review of Books* 51.19 (December 2, 2004); and Stephan Klasen, Isabel Günther, Amartya Kumar Sen, and Jean Drèze, *Perspectives on the Economic and Human Development of India and China* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 2006).

²⁸ Robert Mundell, Calla Wiemer, and Heping Cao, "Prospects for an Asian Currency Area," in *Asian Economic Cooperation in the New Millennium: China's Economic Presence* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2004), 43–55; Robert A. Mundell, Mario I. Blejer, and Marko Skreb, "Monetary and Financial Market Reform in Transition Economies: The Special Case of China," in *Financial Sector Transformation: Lessons from Economies in Transition* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 265–308.

²⁹ James J. Heckman, "China's Investment in Human Capital," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 51, no. 4 (2003): 795–804; James J. Heckman, "China's Human Capital Investment," *China Economic Review* 16, no. 1 (2005): 50–70.

³⁰ Robert W. Fogel, "Forecasting the Demand for Health Care in OECD Nations and China," *Contemporary Economic Policy* 21, no. 1 (2003): 1–10; Robert W. Fogel, "Why China Is Likely to Achieve Its Growth Objectives," NBER Working Papers, no. 12122, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2006.

³¹ "Questions to Ponder," *China Daily* (US ed.), May 25, 2009, 4.

³² For instance, see Paul B. Trescott, *Jingji Xue: The History of the Introduction of Western Economic Ideas into China, 1850–1950* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2007).

³³ "Forecasting China's Economic Growth to 2025," chapter 20 in Brandt and Rawski, *China's Great Economic Transformation*.

³⁴ "A Political Economy of China's Transition," chapter 4 in Brandt and Rawski, *China's Great Economic Transformation*. See also his contributions to China Leadership Monitor, <http://www.hoover.org/publications/clm/>.

³⁵ "Growth and Structural Transformation in China," chapter 17 in Brandt and Rawski, *China's Great Economic Transformation*.

³⁶ "China's Fiscal System: A Work in Progress," chapter 12 in Brandt and Rawski, *China's Great Economic Transformation*.

³⁷ Franklin Allen, Jun Qian, and Meijun Qian, "China's Financial System: Past, Present, and Future," chapter 14 in Brandt and Rawski, *China's Great Economic Transformation*; Charles W. Calomiris, *China's Financial Transition at a Crossroads* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

³⁸ Thomas G. Rawski, *Economic Growth and Employment in China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

³⁹ For example, see Jeffrey R. Taylor, Y. Y. Kueh, and Robert F. Ash, "Rural Employment Trends and the Legacy of Surplus Labour, 1978–1989," in *Economic Trends in Chinese Agriculture: The Impact of Post-Mao Reforms* (Oxford, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne: Clarendon Press, 1993), 273–309.

⁴⁰ Fang Cai, Albert Park, and Yaohui Zhao, "The Chinese Labor Market in the Reform Era," chapter 6 in Brandt and Rawski, *China's Great Economic Transformation*; and Emily Hannum, Jere Behrman, Meiyang Wang and Jihong Liu, "Education in the Reform Era," chapter 7 in the same volume.

⁴¹ Emily Hannum and Albert Park, *Education and Reform in China* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

⁴² For example, see Xiao-yuan Dong, Louis Putterman, and Bulent Unel, "Privatization and Firm Performance: A Comparison between Rural and Urban Enterprises in China," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 34, no. 3 (2006): 608–33; Xiao-yuan Dong and Liqin Zhang, "Economic Transition and Gender Differentials in Wages and Productivity: Evidence from Chinese Manufacturing Enterprises," *Journal of Development Economics* 88, no. 1 (2009): 144–56.

⁴³ For example, see Belton M. Fleisher, Klara Sabirianova Peter, and Xiaojun Wang, "Returns to Skills and the Speed of Reforms: Evidence from Central and Eastern Europe, China, and Russia," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 33, no. 2 (2005): 351–70; and Belton M. Fleisher and Xiaojun Wang, "Returns to Schooling in China under Planning and Reform," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 33, no. 2 (2005): 265–77.

⁴⁴ For example, see Sarah Cook and Margaret Maurer-Fazio, eds., *The Workers' State Meets the Market: Labour in China's Transition* (London: Frank Cass, 1999); and Margaret Maurer-Fazio and James Hughes, "The Effects of Market Liberalization on the Relative Earnings of Chinese Women," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 30, no. 4 (2002): 709–31.

⁴⁵ Kang Chao, *The Development of Cotton Textile Production in China* (Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1977).

⁴⁶ Chu-yüan Cheng, *The Machine-Building Industry in Communist China* (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971).

⁴⁷ Thomas G. Rawski, *China's Transition to Industrialism: Producer Goods and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980).

⁴⁸ Yuan-li Wu, *Economic Development and the Use of Energy Resources in Communist China* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, 1963); *The Steel Industry in Communist China* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, 1965).

⁴⁹ Gary H. Jefferson and Inderjit Singh (eds.), *Enterprise Reform in China: Ownership, Transition, and Performance* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁵⁰ Carl Riskin, "Small Industry and the Chinese Model of Development," *China Quarterly*, no. 46 (1971): 245–73; Martin L. Weitzman and Chenggang Xu, "Chinese Township-Village Enterprises as Vaguely Defined Cooperatives," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 18, no. 2 (1994): 121–45.

⁵¹ William A. Byrd and Lin Qingsong (eds.), *China's Rural Industry: Structure, Development, and Reform* (Oxford, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990).

⁵² Dong, Putterman, and Unel, "Privatization and Firm Performance; Hongbin Li and Scott Rozelle, "Privatizing Rural China: Insider Privatization, Innovative Contracts, and the Performance of Township Enterprises," *China Quarterly*, no. 176 (2003): 981–1005; Hongbin Li and Scott Rozelle, "Insider Privatization with a Tail: The Screening Contract and Performance of Privatized Firms in Rural China," *Journal of Development Economics* 75, no. 1 (2004): 1–26.

⁵³ Nicholas R. Lardy, *China's Unfinished Economic Revolution* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1998).

⁵⁴ For example, see Yingyi Qian, Jinglian Wu, Nicholas C. Hope, Dennis Tao Yang, and Mu Yang Li, "China's Transition to a Market Economy: How Far across the River?," in *How Far across the River? Chinese Policy Reform at the Millennium*, edited by Yingyi Qian, Jinglian Wu, Nicholas C. Hope, Dennis Tao Yang, and Mu Yang Li, "China's Transition to a Market Economy: How Far across the River?," in *How Far across the River? Chinese Policy Reform at the Millennium*, series of Stanford Studies in International Economics and Development, edited by Nicholas C. Hope, Dennis Tao Yang, and Mu Yang Li (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp. 31–63.

⁵⁵ Loren Brandt and Xiaodong Zhu, "Redistribution in a Decentralized Economy: Growth and Inflation in China under Reform," *Journal of Political Economy* 108, no. 2 (2000): 422–39; "Soft Budget Constraint and Inflation Cycles: A Positive Model of the Macro-dynamics in China during Transition," *Journal of Development Economics* 64, no. 2 (2001): 437–57.

⁵⁶ For example, see multiple essays by Zhiwu Chen cited at http://en.scientificcommons.org/zhiwu_chen.

⁵⁷ Thomas G. Rawski, "The Simple Arithmetic of Income Distribution in China," *Keizai kenkyu* [Economic research] 33, no. 1 (1982): 12–26.

⁵⁸ Azizur Rahman Khan and Carl Riskin, "Income and Inequality in China: Composition, Distribution, and Growth of Household Income, 1988 to 1995," *China Quarterly*, no. 154 (1998): 221–53; "China's Household Income and Its Distribution, 1995 and 2002," *China Quarterly*, no. 182 (2005): 356–84.

⁵⁹ Dwayne Benjamin, Loren Brandt, John Giles, and Sangui Wang, "Income Inequality during China's Transition," chapter 18 in Brandt and Rawski, *China's Great Economic Transformation*.

⁶⁰ Björn Gustafsson, Shi Li, and Terry Sicular, *Inequality and Public Policy in China* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Guang Hua Wan and World Institute for Development Economics Research, *Understanding Inequality and Poverty in China: Methods and Applications* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁶¹ For example, see Martin Ravallion and Shaohua Chen, "China's (Uneven) Progress against Poverty," *Journal of Development Economics* 82, no. 1 (2007): 1–42.

⁶² Alexander Eckstein, *Communist China's Economic Growth and Foreign Trade: Implications for U.S. Policy* (New York: McGraw-Hill for the Council on Foreign Relations, 1966).

⁶³ Lee Branstetter and Nicholas R. Lardy, "China's Embrace of Globalization," chapter 16 in Brandt and Rawski, *China's Great Economic Transformation*.

⁶⁴ Peter K. Schott, "The Relative Sophistication of Chinese Exports," *Economic Policy*, no. 53 (2008): 5–49.

⁶⁵ Robert C. Feenstra and Hiau Looi Kee, "Trade Liberalisation and Export Variety: A Comparison of Mexico and China," *World Economy* 30, no. 1 (2007): 5–21.

⁶⁶ "International Dimensions of China's Long Boom," chapter 2 in William W. Keller and Thomas G. Rawski (eds.), *China's Rise and the Balance of Influence in Asia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007).

⁶⁷ For example, see Ronald McKinnon, "Why China Should Keep Its Exchange Rate Pegged to the Dollar: A Historical Perspective from Japan," *International Finance*, March 2007; and Ronald McKinnon and Gunther Schnabl, 2009. "The Case for Stabilizing China's Exchange Rate: Setting the Stage for Fiscal Expansion," *China & World Economy*, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, vol. 17(1), pages 1–32. –February 2009).

⁶⁸ Wing-Thye Woo, "The Structural Nature of Internal and External Imbalances in China," *Journal of Chinese Economic and Business Studies* 4, no. 1 (2006): 1–20; Wing Thye Woo and Geng Xiao, "Facing Protectionism Generated by Trade Disputes: China's Post-WTO Blues," in Ross Garnaut and Ligang Song, eds., *China: Linking Markets for Growth* (Canberra: Australian National University Press and Asia Pacific Press, 2007).

⁶⁹ Dwight H. Perkins, *Market Control and Planning in Communist China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966).

⁷⁰ Peter Schran, *The Development of Chinese Agriculture, 1950–1959* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969).

⁷¹ Nicholas R. Lardy, *Agriculture in China's Modern Economic Development* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁷² Louis G. Putterman, *Continuity and Change in China's Rural Development Collective and Reform Eras in Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

⁷³ For example, see Gene Hsin Chang and Guanzhong James Wen, "Communal Dining and the Chinese Famine of 1958–1961," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 46, no. 1 (1997): 1–34; Gene Hsin Chang and Guanzhong James Wen, "Food Availability versus Consumption Efficiency: Causes of the Chinese Famine," *China Economic Review* 9, no. 2 (1998): 157–65; and Xiao-yuan Dong and Gregory K. Dow, "Does Free Exit Reduce Shirking in Production Teams?," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 17, no. 2 (1993): 472–84.

⁷⁴ For example, see Terry Sicular, "China's Agricultural Policy during the Reform Period," in *China's Economic Dilemmas in the 1990s: The Problems of Reforms, Modernization, and Interdependence*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1991.

⁷⁵ For example, see Jikun Huang, Keiji Otsuka, and Scott Rozelle, "Agriculture in China's Development," chapter 13 in Brandt and Rawski, *China's Great Economic Transformation*; and Terry Sicular, "Plan and Market in China's Agricultural Commerce," *Journal of Political Economy* 96, no. 2 (1988): 283–307.

⁷⁶ James Roumasset, Kimberley Burnett, and Hua Wang, "Environmental Resources and Economic growth," chapter 8 in Brandt and Rawski, *China's Great Economic Transformation*.

⁷⁷ Thomas G. Rawski, "Urban Air Quality in China: Historical and Comparative Perspectives," in Nazrul Islam (ed.), *Resurgent China: Issues for the Future* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 353–69.

⁷⁸ Ligang Song and Wing Thye Woo (eds.), *China's Dilemma: Economic Growth, the Environment, and Climate Change* (Canberra: Anu E Press, Asia Pacific Press; Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press; Beijing, China: Social Sciences Academic Press, c2008).

⁷⁹ Barry Bosworth and Susan M. Collins, "Accounting for Growth: Comparing China and India," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 22, no. 1 (2008), pp. 45–66.; L. Alan Winters and Shahid Yusuf (eds.), *Dancing with Giants: China, India, and the Global Economy* (Washington, DC: World Bank: Institute of Policy Studies, c2007).

⁸⁰ Winters and Yusuf, *Dancing with Giants*.

⁸¹ Shahid Yusuf, *Innovative East Asia: The Future of Growth* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2003); Shahid Yusuf and Simon J. Evenett, *Can East Asia Compete? Innovation for Global Markets* (Washington, DC, and New York: World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁸² Terry Sicular, *Food Price Policy in Asia: A Comparative Study* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1989).

⁸³ Joseph E. Stiglitz and Shahid Yusuf, *Retbinking the East Asia Miracle* (Washington, DC and New York: World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁸⁴ Geert Bekaert, Campbell R. Harvey, and Christian T. Lundblad, "Financial Openness and the Chinese Growth Experience," working paper, Columbia University Business School, 2007.

⁸⁵ But see Ralph William Huenemann, *The Dragon and the Iron Horse: The Economics of Railroads in China, 1876–1937* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984); and *The Spatial Economy of Communist China: A Study on Industrial Location and Transportation*, by Yuan-li Wu with H. C. Ling and Grace Hsiao Wu. (New York: Published for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford, CA by Praeger, 1967).

⁸⁶ For example, see Kam Wing Chan, *Cities with Invisible Walls: Reinterpreting Urbanization in Post-1949 China* (Hong Kong and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁸⁷ Vaclav Smil, *The Bad Earth: Environmental Degradation in China* (Armonk, NY, and London: M. E. Sharpe and Zed Press, 1984); *China's Environmental Crisis: An Inquiry into the Limits of National Development* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1993); *China's Past, China's Future: Energy, Food, Environment* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

⁸⁸ C. Cindy Fan, *China on the Move: Migration, the State, and the Household* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

⁸⁹ Shiu-hung Luk and Joseph B. Whitney, *Megaproject: A Case Study of China's Three Gorges Project* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1993).

⁹⁰ Examples include Rubie S. Watson, *Inequality among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); James L. Watson, *Emigration and the Chinese Lineage: The Mans in Hong Kong and London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Kellee S. Tsai, *Back-Alley Banking: Private Entrepreneurs in China* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002); Shu-min Huang, *The Spiral Road: Change in a Chinese Village through the Eyes of a Communist Party Leader* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989); Hill Gates, *China's Motor: A Thousand Years of Petty Capitalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); Myron L. Cohen, *Kinship, Contract, Community, and State: Anthropological Perspectives on China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005); and Myron L. Cohen, *House United, House Divided: The Chinese Family in Taiwan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976).

⁹¹ G. William Skinner and Hugh D. R. Baker, *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1977); G. William Skinner, *Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China* (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 1964).

⁹² Wenfang Tang and William L. Parish, *Chinese Urban Life under Reform: The Changing Social Contract* (Cambridge, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); William L. Parish and Martin King Whyte, *Village and Family in Contemporary China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); Anita Chan, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger, *Chen Village: The Recent History of a Peasant Community in Mao's China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Martin King Whyte and William L. Parish, *Urban Life in Contemporary China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

⁹³ Andrew G. Walder, *Communist Neo-traditionalism: Work and Authority in Chinese Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Doug Guthrie, *Dragon in a Three-Piece Suit: The Emergence of Capitalism in China* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

⁹⁴ Anita Chan, *China's Workers under Assault: The Exploitation of Labor in a Globalizing Economy* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2001).

⁹⁵ Martin King Whyte, *Myth of the Social Volcano: Perceptions of Inequality and Distributive Injustice in Contemporary China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).

⁹⁶ Judith Shapiro, *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Elizabeth C. Economy, *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).

- ⁹⁷ Dali L. Yang, *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan: Market Transition and the Politics of Governance in China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004); Lynda Schaefer Bell, *One Industry, Two Chinas: Silk Filatures and Peasant-Family Production in Wuxi County, 1865–1937* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).
- ⁹⁸ Benjamin A. Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550–1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Scott Kennedy, *The Business of Lobbying in China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).
- ⁹⁹ Richard P. Suttmeier, *Science, Technology, and China's Drive for Modernization* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1980); Denis Fred Simon and Merle Goldman, *Science and Technology in Post-Mao China* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1989).
- ¹⁰⁰ Eric Thun, *Changing Lanes in China: Foreign Direct Investment, Local Governments, and Auto Sector Development* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Edward S. Steinfeld, *Forging Reform in China: The Fate of State-Owned Industry* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Adam Segal, *Digital Dragon: High-Technology Enterprises in China* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).
- ¹⁰¹ Victor C. Shih, *Factions and Finance in China: Elite Conflict and Inflation* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- ¹⁰² Dorothy J. Solinger, *From Lathes to Looms: China's Industrial Policy in Comparative Perspective, 1979–1982* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991); *China's Transition from Socialism: Statist Legacies and Market Reforms, 1980–1990* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1993).
- ¹⁰³ Mary Elizabeth Gallagher, *Contagious Capitalism: Globalization and the Politics of Labor in China* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).
- ¹⁰⁴ Yasheng Huang, *Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: Entrepreneurship and the State* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Minxin Pei, *China's Trapped Transition: The Limits of Developmental Autocracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).
- ¹⁰⁵ Lloyd E. Eastman, *Family, Fields, and Ancestors: Constancy and Change in China's Social and Economic History, 1550–1949* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1973); Albert Feuerwerker, *Studies in the Economic History of Late Imperial China: Handicraft, Modern Industry, and the State* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1995); Ramon Hawley Myers, *The Chinese Economy, Past and Present* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1980).
- ¹⁰⁶ Thomas G. Rawski and Lillian M. Li, *Chinese History in Economic Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
- ¹⁰⁷ Bell, *One Industry, Two Chinas*; Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China: Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890–1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980); Robert Y. Eng, *Economic Imperialism in China: Silk Production and Exports, 1861–1932* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1986); Robert Gardella, *Harvesting Mountains: Fujian and the China Tea Trade, 1757–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Emily Honig, *Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919–1949* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1986); Richard A. Kraus, *Cotton and Cotton Goods in China, 1918–1936* (New York: Garland, 1980); Sucheta Mazumdar, *Sugar and Society in China: Peasants, Technology, and the World Market* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University East Asia Center, 1998); Cynthia Joanne Brokaw,

Commerce in Culture: The Sibao Book Trade in the Qing and Republican Periods (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007).

¹⁰⁸ Loren Brandt, "Chinese Agriculture and the International Economy, 1870–1930s: A Reassessment," *Explorations in Economic History* 22, no. 2 (1985): 168–93.

¹⁰⁹ James Z. Lee and Feng Wang, *One Quarter of Humanity: Malthusian Mythology and Chinese Realities, 1700–2000* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

¹¹⁰ Madeleine Zelin, *The Magistrate's Tael: Rationalizing Fiscal Reform in Eighteenth-Century Ch'ing China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

¹¹¹ Pierre-Etienne Will, Roy Bin Wong, and James Z. Lee, *Nourish the People: The State Civilian Granary System in China, 1650–1850* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1991).

¹¹² Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979).

¹¹³ Elman, *On Their Own Terms*.

¹¹⁴ Susan Mann, *Local Merchants and the Chinese Bureaucracy, 1750–1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987).

¹¹⁵ Wellington K. K. Chan, *Merchants, Mandarins, and Modern Enterprise in Late Ch'ing China* (Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University 1977); Parks M. Coble, *The Shanghai Capitalists and the Nationalist Government, 1927–1937* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1980); Sherman Cochran, *Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900–1945* (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999); Sherman Cochran, *Encountering Chinese Networks: Western, Japanese, and Chinese Corporations in China, 1880–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

¹¹⁶ Zelin, *The Magistrate's Tael*.

¹¹⁷ Philip C. Huang, *The Peasant Economy and Social Change in North China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985); Philip C. Huang, *The Peasant Family and Rural Development in the Yangzi Delta, 1350–1988* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990); Ramon Hawley Myers, *The Chinese Peasant Economy; Agricultural Development in Hopei and Shantung, 1890–1949* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Making of a Hinterland: State, Society, and Economy in Inland North China, 1853–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Agricultural Change and the Peasant Economy of South China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972).

¹¹⁸ Loren Brandt, "Farm Household Behavior, Factor Markets, and the Distributive Consequences of Commercialization in Early Twentieth-Century China," *Journal of Economic History* 47, no. 3 (1987): 711–37; Loren Brandt and Barbara Sands, "Beyond Malthus and Ricardo: Economic Growth, Land Concentration, and Income Distribution in Early Twentieth-Century Rural China," *Journal of Economic History* 50, no. 4 (1990): 807–27.

¹¹⁹ Loren Brandt, *Commercialization and Agricultural Development: Central and Eastern China, 1870–1937* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); David Faure, *The Rural Economy of Pre-liberation China: Trade Expansion and Peasant Livelihood in Jiangsu and Guangdong, 1870 to 1937* (Hong Kong and New York: Oxford

University Press, 1989); Thomas G. Rawski, *Economic Growth in Prewar China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

¹²⁰ Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

¹²¹ Stephen Broadberry and Bishnupriya Gupta, "The Early Modern Great Divergence: Wages, Prices, and Economic Development in Europe and Asia, 1500–1800," *Economic History Review* 59, no. 1 (2006): 2–31.