

## **New Structuralism: A New Explanation for Chinese-style Development \*\***

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### **Abstract**

“New Structuralism” is a new academic exploration for clarifying and building confidence in the practical and theoretical approaches to “Chinese-style development”. In essence, it is very different from the “New Institutionalism” of Western scholarship, but is a concept and framework adapted to the realities of the development process in China and its special conditions and circumstances. Chinese society comprises a dual structure characterized by the co-existence of the “umbrella society” and “beehive society” that drive “Chinese-style development” by “walking on two legs”: one being a government-oriented “umbrella development”, and the other a spontaneous “beehive development” by the people. Practice has proven that if social-economic structural transformation is analogous to a musical melody, the “umbrella development” and “beehive development” will comprise a duet to propel China’s social-economic development centred on a tripartite approach that focuses on developing industries, the market, and the urban economy.

**Key words:** Chinese-style development, social-economic structural transformation, umbrella society, beehive society, new structuralism

### **Introduction**

In recent years, Chinese social science scholars have initiated research into the approach or model of “Chinese-style development” and have met with some encouraging results. Some

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scholars use the term of “Chinese Road” (中央文献研究室/Central Documentation Research Office, 2011; 陈学明/Chen Xueming, 2017), while others prefer “China or Chinese Model” (郑永年/Zheng Yongnian, 2010 and 2016).<sup>1</sup> However, this subject has received insufficient attention and systematic in-depth exploration is lacking.

While Chinese social scientists tell the story of “Chinese-style development” they would also explore issues of a theoretical nature with researchers from other parts of the world (张继焦/Zhang Jijiao, 2016). This exercise will enable the theoretical basis of Chinese development to be more readily understood and accepted in China and to engage in a discourse with foreign scholars.

### **Analytical Framework: “Chinese-style Development” from Different Perspectives**

A major area of research among Chinese social science scholars is centred on the development of China and the transformation of its society. It is therefore worthwhile to consider what are the social structure and cultural features of Chinese society; the reasons why China adopts a system that is different from the West and why are the Chinese able to succeed in following a development path that is different from that of the West. These questions have fundamentally shaped the confidence of Chinese social sciences in the development of theories, approaches, systems and culture in the research agenda.

China has promoted the reform and opening-up policy for over 40 years and has become the world's second largest economy since 2010. The period has witnessed a Chinese economic boom and the consequent massive changes in its social and cultural structures. An important question that awaits answer is how to evaluate the radical changes in the social and cultural structure of China. Many scholars in China and other countries generally agree on the existence of two impacts on the allocation of resources and economic development: one is the visible hand of state intervention and the other is an invisible hand of the market. However, Li Peilin (1992) has put forward the idea that there is “another invisible hand in the form of a social structure transformation”. This transformation not only promotes social development but also affects the manner in which resources are allocated as well as the directions of industrial adjustment and the depth of economic institutional reform. Consequently, apart from the impacts of state intervention and the market, it is necessary to take into account the characteristics of Chinese social structure and its transformation in the study of the relationships among the different actors, namely, the state, market, enterprises, society and the people and their roles in resource allocation in the process of “Chinese-style development”. Resource allocation is an important feature in a heterogeneous society comprising the state, the market, and enterprises at different levels. It would ensure the efficient utilization of resources, to improve the performance of business communities, and to overcome possible bottlenecks.

The development process driven by the reform and open-up policy has been accompanied by a series of significant structural shifts in all regions ranging from the coast to inland areas,

and typically characterized by three modes of change, namely, industrialization (from agricultural to industrial society), marketization (from the planned to market economy), and urbanization (from rural to urban society). These changes have propelled China into a comprehensive phase of transition that may be labelled as a “social-economic structure transformation” (张继焦/Zhang Jijiao, 2015a). In other words, a new economic and social structure is beginning to take shape in China. Thus, the phenomenon of “Chinese-style development” has to be studied and analysed not by means of existing approaches but from the perspective of “a new economic and social structure”.

### **New Structuralism: A New Explanation for Chinese-style Development**

The transformation of social-economic structure has long been a subject of study by social science scholars. A great deal of research in the West has attempted to explain the rapid rise of China and put forward various theories and viewpoints on the topic. Among them there are two more prominent perspectives. The first is called the “local government as industrial firms” theory that attributes rapid development of China in the last three decades or so to the participation of local governments in the market economy as business firms. Some American scholars proclaim that China is promoting “state capitalism” (Walder, 1995). The second is called the “dignitary economy” theory put forward by researchers who assert that influential officials and their appointees are in charge of major projects and accumulate large fortunes at the expense of the ordinary people. These perspectives or approaches dominate the arguments prevalent among Western scholars but without offering fairly sound explanations of the structural foundation of Chinese-style development as well as the internal motives and operating mechanisms of the economic boom.

Drawing upon the “social-economic structure transformation” theory proposed by Li Peilin (1992) and my observations of China’s industrialization, marketization and urbanization and deliberation on China’s social-economic structure transformation, I have introduced a pair of new conceptions of the “umbrella society” and “beehive society” (Zhang, 2016 and 2018) to describe China’s economic and social structure and its transformation. The former goes beyond “local government as industrial firms” theory, while the latter is a response to the “dignitary economy” theory. The two theories form a unity of opposites and are indispensable to explaining the “dual” social structure and the manner of resource allocation in China. The new structuralism approach introduces a new theoretical approach that which is different from new institutionalism in Western scholarship.

The concept of “Chinese-style development” embodies the idea of social-economic structural transformation with its three changes (industrialization, marketization and urbanization) as its core and its association with the “dual” structure of Chinese society, namely, the government-led “umbrella society” and the civilian-led “beehive society”. Thus, the Chinese-style development path is driven by a two-pronged process similar to two legs. One is the government-led leg that promotes development with public ownership as the mainstay and the participation of

private and foreign enterprises. This may be likened to an “umbrella” approach characterized by patron-client and supporter-receiver “umbrella” relationship between the state and private enterprises. The other is a civilian-led leg powered by the spontaneous initiatives of the common people who work like “bees” to improve their life. These people build their own “beehives” of relationships and networks to mobilize their resources for mutual benefit. This form of economic change may be seen as a form of “beehive” development. In short, these “umbrella” and “beehive” societies together drive the processes of industrialization, marketization and urbanization as the key components of China’s socio-economic structural transformation. Hence, the “new structuralism” theory comprising the elements of “social-economic structural transformation”, “umbrella society” and “beehive society”, may throw light on the structural elements, internal motives and operating mechanism of Chinese-style development.

### **The Government-led “Umbrella” Development**

The initial stage of economic progress of developing countries is often influenced by the structural elements of traditional societies in which the state often plays a more prominent role than the market. China, the largest developing country in the world, is still in its preliminary stage of socialist market economy with a low level of marketization. The visible hand in the form of state involvement is conspicuous and its intimate “umbrella” relationship with private enterprises is an important structural element that steers resource allocation and economic progress.

With its long tradition of commerce and trade, China boasts of many long-established enterprises or “time-honoured brands”. To derive a comprehensive understanding of these enterprises, one should ideally study them in the context of the “umbrella” social structure rather than to treat them as isolated enterprises. The existence of old brands is marked by a form of father-style umbrella relationship (“patron-client” and “supporter-receiver” relation) between the authorities ranging from the central to municipal levels and time-honoured brand corporations and its influence on resource allocation. The state is like an umbrella and provides protection to enterprises and the market in the initial stage of socialist market economy, especially during periods of market failure. Therefore, the authorities, relying on the foundation of state-owned enterprises and social “umbrella” relationship, was better positioned to explore the overall path to socialist construction that is best suited to the unique conditions of China (see 张继焦/Zhang Jijiao, 2015b; 张继焦/Zhang Jijiao and 李宇君/Li Yujun, 2015; 张继焦/Zhang Jijiao, 殷鹏/Yin Peng and 万斌/Wan Bin, 2015).

A principal cause of the collapse and disintegration of the former Soviet Union in the 1990s may be attributed to the loss of state-owned enterprises as the economic foundation of the state (Kotz, 2005; 吴恩远/Wu Enyuan, 2005). Influenced by American *laissez-faire* capitalism, the Soviet Union allowed the privatization of large and medium-size enterprises to an extent that led to the disappearance of state-owned enterprises and the consequent undermining of its grip on political power. But then, despite the spirit of “freedom” and “democracy” in advanced



countries, the governments of all levels and parties of all kind have in fact been “hijacked” by financial cliques, major firms, and powerful capitalist interests. In contrast, owing to the role of state-owned enterprises as the foundation of the Chinese economy, central guidelines and policies are carried out from central to local areas with little deviation from the overall objectives of the entire process of economic and social development. The “umbrella” development approach led by the state not only avoids the potentially chaotic market competition that prevails in capitalist countries, but also prevents the danger of national disintegration and the occurrence of “colour revolution”<sup>2</sup> that had shaken the foundations of ex-socialistic countries in the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia. Instead, resource allocation in China is tied to the “umbrella” relationship between governments and state-owned enterprises under the guidance of the central government. The “umbrella” development approach led by the state is not only a force that drives the Chinese economic boom, but also leads to state-connected entities of all levels in a dominant and controlling position in the process of economic and social development. Hence, the so-called “local government as industrial firms” theory popularized by some Western scholars lacks sufficient analytical capability to explain the essential features and operational mechanism of Chinese-style development.

The benefits of the “umbrella” development approach led by the state included due attention, in the initial stage of the socialist market economy, on issues of market failure, low marketization level, and the need to focus limited resources and money to concentrate on selected major deals. There were also some drawbacks, such as collusions between government officials and private enterprises, corruption, and various malpractices. From the 1990s, but especially after China’s ascension to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, efforts were committed to such tasks as the separation of the state and enterprises, combat against corruption, and construction of rule-based governance of the country. Much has since been achieved. In 1992, the Party’s 14<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China (NCCPC) reiterated China’s commitment to economic reform aimed at establishing a socialist market economy and allowing the market to play the basic role in resource allocation under state macro control.<sup>3</sup> This policy was reaffirmed in the 1997 15<sup>th</sup> NCCPC.<sup>4</sup> In 2002, the 16<sup>th</sup> NCCPC proposed to “give a fuller play to the basic role of the market in the allocation of resources,”<sup>5</sup> In 2007, the 17<sup>th</sup> NCCPC sought to “introduce institutions to give a better play to the basic role of market forces in allocating resources.”<sup>6</sup> In 2012, the 18<sup>th</sup> NCCPC introduced the policy of “leveraging to a greater extent and in a wider scope the basic role of the market in allocating resources.”<sup>7</sup> In 2013, The Third Plenary Session of the 18<sup>th</sup> CPC Central Committee adopted the *“Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC on Some Major Issues Concerning Comprehensively Deepening the Reform.”*<sup>8</sup> President Xi Jinping elaborated on several issues pertaining to the *Decision* by pointing out that

“positioning the market as playing a ‘decisive role’ in resource allocation is conducive to establishing the correct notion of the government-market relationship in the whole

Party and the whole society, and conducive to transforming the economic growth pattern and government functions as well as reining in corruption and other forms of misconduct.”<sup>9</sup>

Hence “comprehensively deepening reform” is the goal and direction of the future. On 17 March 2013, premier Li Keqiang alluded to undue state intervention and the need to pass this misplaced power from the state to the market. While this devolution of power might cause some amount of harm, the transition would meet the needs of development and the aspiration of the people.<sup>10</sup> On 26 May 2014, President Xi Jinping reminded the 15<sup>th</sup> Collective Learning of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee that the “basic role” of the market was the allocation of resources, and emphasized as a “decisive role” in the Third Plenary Session of the 18<sup>th</sup> CPC Central Committee, and thus marked a new orientation in the function of the market. In 2016, Xi stressed that the core issue of the reform of deepening economic system restructuring was the proper management of the relationship between the state and the market so that the market would play the decisive role in allocating resources and the state to carry out its functions of government. This would imply the better use of the “invisible hand” (the market) and “visible hand” (the state) based on the philosophy of dialectics and the theory of gripping with two hands (the market and the state).

The discourse on the relationship between the state and business is inevitable in the process of development of the socialist market economy. Historically, the bedfellows of money and power have almost been the focal points of the causes of corruption.<sup>11</sup> The collusion between the state and business could lead to bureaucratic arrogance and greed. The official policy advocates a new type of relationship between the state and business in the form of a “cordial” and “clean” relationship in which each party occupies its proper position and role. The state and business should be courteous partners to foster an environment of pleasant and positive interaction.<sup>12</sup>

The latest phase of the development process in China’s economy has been one of transitioning from a period of rapid growth to that of high-quality development in the midst of a “new normal” situation of deepening and thorough reform but which also raises new challenges for the “umbrella” development approach led by the state. Both theory and practice have proven that the market is the most efficient means in the allocation of resources. Attempts to improve the socialist market economy is to be guided by the rule of the market. It is necessary to address the problems arising from market imperfection, from too much state interference or because of lack of foresight. It is important to recognize the rationality and historical limitations of the “umbrella” relationship between the state and business and the manner of resource allocation in the context of the Chinese social structure. The state should refrain from any supervision that is best left to the mechanism of the market, thus to achieve the maximization of benefits and optimization of productivity in resource allocation. This will allow businesses and individuals to inject more vitality and initiatives to drive the economy and to create fortunes. It is by leveraging on the synergic relations of the market and the state, each playing its proper

roles and functions, that the development of the socialist market economy will be powered forward. China's market economy is neither a laissez-faire nor a state-intervention economy, but a mixture of both that focuses on the decisive role of the market in allocating resources and the effective role of the state. It is combining the state and business to become a "golden pair" and to complement each other that the healthy and orderly development of China's society and economy will be achieved.<sup>13</sup>

### **The "Beehive" Development Approach of Private Initiatives**

The defect of the so-called "dignitary economy" theory proposed by Western scholars is that they highlighted certain repulsive phenomena in the form of state-business collusion and a minority of corrupt officials taking advantage of their power for self-benefit, but overlooking aspects that are commendable such as the widespread active participation of ordinary people in the market economy and prospering through hard work. In reality, the basic economic system of China is a mixed structure with state ownership as the mainstay and diverse economic entities involving stock-holding, joint-venture, private or individual ownership, and self-employment companies.

The reform and opening-up policy in China has helped to release the productive energies of the people whose initiatives have led to the creation of millions of opportunities in a diversified range of economic activities. The common people are industrious and work like untiring "bees" to initiate and build up businesses. Each business enterprise, irrespective of size, is led by a "queen bee" supported by many "worker bees" to build up their own "beehive", and in the process evolve a "folk mechanism" in market resource allocation and social and economic development. These individual enterprises in turn nurture ties and networks of inter-connected "beehives" (张继焦/Zhang Jijiao, 2004; Zhang, 2007, 2009 and 2012; Zhang and Yin, 2013). According to *The Report on the Relationship between Individual, Private Economy and Employment in China* published in 2015, self-employed and private enterprises have gradually become the main avenues of job creation, accounting for a significant tenfold increase from 22.63 million employees in 1990 to 250 million in 2014.<sup>14</sup> According to the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce (ACFIC), the private business sector contributed more than 60 per cent of China's GDP in 2013, with 19 provinces contributing to more than 50 per cent of the total. In the province of Guangdong, in which Shenzhen is located, the private business sector's contribution to its GDP exceeded 80 per cent.<sup>15</sup> According to *The Report of China Private Enterprises Top 500* published by ACFIC, the cutoff point in 2016 was based on a minimum net worth of 10.175 billion yuan, compared with 9.509 billion yuan the year before. The total assets of the top 500 enterprises were 17,300,487 million yuan, or an average of 34.601 billion yuan per business in (2016), and representing an increase of 25.16 per cent (over 2015). The total sales revenue of these top 500 enterprises was 16,156,857 million yuan with 32.314 billion yuan per business or an increase of 10.1 per cent.<sup>16</sup>

In the well-connected giant social structure of the business sector, every single person adheres to the principles of reciprocity, mutual benefit and co-operation. There are two forms of “beehive” among employees, “chain” and “net”, and three types of management “beehives” which are family-centred, value chain-centred, and ethnic group-centred networks. Many enterprises began as folk “beehives” and became “queen bees” who assist many “worker bees” to make fortunes by their hard work. For example, some time-honored brands show the features of “beehives” (张继焦/Zhang Jijiao and 刘佳丽/Liu Jiali, 2015). Migrants of minority communities from border areas to the cities form a highly heterogeneous group accustomed to their “original ecology style” economy of primary goods production to be drafted into the “market style” urban economy. For example, in the coastal city of Qingdao, the migrant Korean Chinese community has evolved into a dependent-transplantation type economic and cultural environment. The migration of Hohhot Mongolian has evolved into an “innovation-transplantation style” community, while the Kunming Hui migration has resulted in a “half innovation-half integration style” community, in which enterprises and entrepreneurs played an important role (Zhang, 2014 and 2019). For instance, in 2016 the total number of employees in top 500 enterprises are 8,881,700 with 15,000 per business and an increase of 1.8 per cent. Among them, the Su’ning Holding Group is the largest with a total workforce of up to 180,000.<sup>17</sup> It is clear that the “beehive society” is a major feature of economic and social structure, and on which the extensive and influential private sector Chinese-style development depends. This “beehive society” oriented sector is becoming a major component of the private economy.

American scholar James C. Scott (1999) listed a series of mega projects intended to improve human condition that had failed. He attributed this largely to neglecting the people, alleging that these projects did not offer channels of communication at grass roots level. This means that more attention should be paid to the people in the development process. The mass line is the traditional approach of serving the people and all levels of government are committed to fulfilling the people’s desire for a better life and is repeatedly reiterated by President Xi Jinping.<sup>18</sup> The last 30 years have provided ample evidence to demonstrate that the state has strived to provide adequate public service to the people and to engage them in the development process to generate wealth and raise the standard of living. The state has invested heavily to alleviate poverty in poor and remote areas, at the same time implementing a series of people-oriented projects and welfare system at all levels from the local to regional levels. These include the re-developing shanty towns, subsidizing the social security system, setting targets in poverty alleviation, supporting the development of remote and sparsely-populated minority localities, and introducing programmes to revitalize border areas to improve livelihood. Local authorities are reminded of the need to prioritize the people’s position in society and to adhere to the principles that development undertaken for the benefit of the people. It is the people who drive the development process and to enjoy the fruits of their labour. This people-centred approach will replace the old unilateral administration of the local, provincial or central authorities. It is realized that to foster close relationship among the party, the administration

and the people would help to stimulate the initiatives and to release the energies of the people by adapting the development process to the needs of the cultural traditions especially among minority groups. The people constitute “another visible hand” which, in complement with the visible hand of the state and the acknowledged invisible hand of the market, will exert a significant influence on the manner of resource allocation and to serve as a driving force in economic and social development.

The recent call for “mass entrepreneurship and innovation” of the central government that dovetails with the social structure of “beehive” society would expand employment and increase income, raise spiritual confidence and self-esteem and thus to generate greater vertical mobility, equity and justice in society. The fact that ordinary people are working hard in the market economy like “bees” is a convincing advocacy of the “beehive society” theory, as well as confuting the misplaced interpretation of the “dignitary economy” theory of Western scholarship.

## Conclusion

Social science scholars in Europe and America are currently confronted with difficulties and challenges arising from the global economic crises. These same scholars in China are presented with different development opportunities created by the steady evolution of the economy. China has evolved into a middle-income country from being a poor and backward one. Its social sciences are unearthing fresh perspectives and insights to bring about new academic viewpoints and visions. The massive social-economic structural transformation of China accompanied by industrialization, marketization and urbanization is marking a defining episode in the history of humankind and offers a fertile ground for social science research and investigations. The “New Structuralism” theory proposed by China’s scholars and based on the theory of “social-economic structural transformation” is a new academic exploration of “Chinese-style development”. In essence, it is different from the “New Institutionalism” approach of European and American scholars. This new theory reveals that China’s social structure is a kind of dual structure incorporating the co-existence of the “umbrella society” and “beehive society”, and points out how Chinese-style development “walks on two legs”, one being a government-oriented “umbrella development”, and the other is a spontaneous people-oriented “beehive development”.

Practice has amply shown that, taking social-economic structural transformation as a melody, the “umbrella” and “beehive” development components would form a complementary duet, to propel China’s social-economic development successfully that is founded on the three solid sectors of industrialization, marketization and urbanization. The “New Structuralism” theory is derived from the continuous observations and investigations of China’s social scientists and is a reflection of the confidence in the theory of Chinese-style development, which not only marks the conceptual and interpretative ingenuity of Chinese social scientists



but also expresses a new theory integrating the intellectual traditions of international and local scholarship.

### Notes

- 1 On 23 March 2016, World Bank chief economist and senior vice president, honorary president of National School of Development of Peking University Lin Yifu points out in a forum on “The myth and way out of the Chinese model” at the 2016 Boao Forum for Asia that China is a communist country and has its own development principles that do not necessarily appropriate to other countries, but may reveal insights on the development process in developing countries.
- 2 The “colour revolution” refers to the regime change movements of recent decades and known by various colours that occurred in different independent states in many parts of the world.
- 3 On 12-18 October 1992, the Communist Party of China’s 14<sup>th</sup> National Congress in Beijing summarized the historical experience in 14 years after the Third Plenary Session of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the CPC, and reviewed and adopted the report on Accelerating the Pace of Reform and Opening-up and Modernization to Achieve Greater Victories in the cause of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics by President Jiang Zemin.
- 4 On 12-18 September 1997, the 15<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the CPC in Beijing reviewed and adopted the report on Holding High the Great Banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory and Push the Cause of Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century in an All-round Way by President Jiang Zemin.
- 5 On 8-14 November 2002, the 16<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the CPC in Beijing reviewed and adopted the report on Building a Well-off Society in an All-round Way and Creating a New Situation of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics by President Jiang Zemin.
- 6 On 15-21 October 2007, the 17<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the CPC in Beijing reviewed and adopted the report on Holding High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Striving for a New Victory in Building a Well-off Society in an All-round Way by President Hu Jintao.
- 7 On 8-14 November 2012, the 18<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the CPC Beijing reviewed and adopted the report on Firmly March on the Path of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, and Strive to Complete the Building of a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects by President Hu Jintao.
- 8 On 12 November 2013, *The Third Plenary Session of the 18<sup>th</sup> CPC Central Committee Communique* posted the full report by Xinhua News Agency and CCTV.
- 9 On 9-12 November 2013, The Third Plenary Session of the 18<sup>th</sup> CPC Central Committee in Beijing discussed President Xi Jinping’s working report commissioned by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and adopts the “Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC on Some Major Issues Concerning Comprehensively Deepening the Reform”, accompanied by explanatory notes.
- 10 On 5-17 March 2013, the 12<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the CPC was convened in Beijing.
- 11 It is understood that there are seven kinds of “non-classic” financial routes of collusion between Chinese officials and businessmen: obtaining large orders from central enterprises, obtaining government support for projects, operating government-licensed resources, obtaining state resources, seeking relations for others, embezzling state-owned assets, and amassing money through illegal activities.
- 12 On 4 March 2016, President Xi Jinping delivered a speech on Members of the Civil Construction and Industry Federation at the Fourth Session of the Twelfth CPPCC National Committee.



- 13 On 26 May 2014, Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee organized the 15<sup>th</sup> collective learning about “letting the market play the decisive role in allocating resources and letting the government play its functions better”. President Xi Jinping emphasized that this is a major theoretical proposition, as well as a major practical proposition.
- 14 Source: *A Report on the Relationship between Individual Private Economy and Employment in China* released by Chinese Association of Individual and Private Workers on 26 October 2015, which was collected by reporter Gao Jing of Xinhua News Agency.
- 15 The data was released by All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce on 28 February 2014, and reported by Sun Tiexiang of Xinhua News Agency.
- 16 See *A Report of China Private Enterprises Top 500* published by ACFIC on 25 August 2016.
- 17 See *An Analysis Report of China Private Enterprises Top 500* published by ACFIC on 25 August 2016.
- 18 On 15 November 2012, Newly-elected President Xi Jinping delivered a speech on the first plenary meeting of the 18<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the CPC in response to questions posted by Chinese and overseas reporters.

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