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How Socialist Era Chinese Economic Initiatives Affected Labor Relations in China

NICHOLAS CEDENO
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Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Nicolai Volland
Associate Professor of Asian Studies and Comparative Literature
Thesis Supervisor

Flora Shao
Assistant Professor of Asian Studies and Comparative Literature
Honors Adviser

* Electronic approvals are on file.

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to highlight the socialist initiatives that were introduced to China by the Chinese Communist Party. Specifically, the paper will delve into the Chinese communes, Danweis, and the Hukou registration system and how these affected labor relations in the country. This paper is split into multiple chapters all spanning different periods of time. Not only will this paper look into the details of these socialist initiatives but it will also look into their rise and fall and what ultimately caused it.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In a post WWII era in China there were a multitude of changes that occurred from an economic and fiscal perspective across the nation. Primarily, the country adopted a socialist focus on their economic and social policies for its citizens. These policies included the Danwei system in its cities, the commune system in the rural countryside, and the Hukou registration system. These policies changed the way individuals in China worked and how they lived. Within the Danwei and commune systems they were run through state owned enterprises where all goods were provided by the state and work and the means of production were all ran and provided by the Chinese government. The transition towards this work within the Danwei system and initially began during communist work uprising during the 1920s and 1940s both in China and other countries around the world (Xiaobo p.42). Specifically, China took a lot of their socialist initiatives from Russia and the things that the Soviet Union would do with their workers. The Danwei system also took a lot of inspiration from Japanese “enterprise societies”. The Danwei system is described to have “China’s ancient traditions, western urban ideas, and influences of Republican and CCP periods.” (Bray). The Danwei system had taken influence from a multitude of areas in order to best put together a system that the Chinese government felt that would be able to contribute to their growth. In addition to the Soviet and Japanese influences for the way work would be conducted there was a lot of Western European influence for the living systems specifically. The Danwei system was China’s way of controlling their production in factories and in urban areas, whereas the Commune system was China’s way of controlling

farming and production in rural areas. The introduction of these two systems was quite beneficial for China for a time especially during their birth boom in the 1950s.

The commune system became popular after WWII around the same time as the Danwei system. The work and food production was produced by individuals in the Chinese countryside in order to centralize the food production and in what the Chinese government hoped would increase their production levels for the country (Cheng p.664). There was an abundance of land in the Chinese countryside in the 1940s, the Chinese government took over all of this land and then looked to redistribute it amongst the individuals living in the countryside and people who would be working there. The redistribution of this land was based on how much an individual was able to contribute to their specific commune and how much they had had previously. If someone was able to provide more, like additional tools, seed, or animals to the creation of the commune they would be rewarded with more land to work on (Hu). These communes, similar to the Danwei system were a way for the workers to work together and have a communal way of work but also had a big impact on social and living situations in the country. Workers in China would be assigned to a Danwei or to a commune and would have to work and live there for as long as they could. This was the governments way of controlling production and their way of ensuring that they could keep the work of Chinese citizens under their watch and centralize as much of the country as they could. As mentioned previously, the placement of a Danwei or a commune were based on location of the system and what was needed at the moment. Danwei's were primarily factories that were close to cities whereas communes stuck to the land in rural areas of China. Due to this almost all means of production was centralized and the Chinese government controlled how much was produced and what was produced. For example, as of December 1978, the state paid 20% more to communes for grain purchased under quota, and

30% more for grain purchased over quota. This investment in certain areas was based off of the needs of the country and what would be most profitable and necessary for the nation. This was also apparent in the Danwei system where the country would shift the focus of certain factories based on what the country needed. In reality, there was a discrepancy between the benefits and living conditions between urban and rural areas in China in the few decades following WWII and there is feeling that this is what contributed to many of the economic inequalities within the country currently. Urban living was far better and the opportunity offered to workers and individuals living in urban parts of China were significantly better. It would be significantly better if someone were living closer to China's big cities and left the communes that they were stuck at and the Chinese countryside. The only issue was that this was not something that was easy to do for many due to the different registration systems that were present within the country.

The most apparent registration system and one that has had a major impact in how workers did work and where they worked is the Hukou registration system. This way of registration would assign an individual a Hukou that would determine where they could work, what type of work they could do, and where they could travel in order to do this work. This system was also introduced in the 1950s after WWII and was originally started in cities (Liu). After many farmers began moving to cities to obtain an urban Hukou and seek a better way of life some changes were made to expand the Hukou system's jurisdiction so that they had control over urban areas as well. This was part of the government's plan to centralize everything and keep production and work under the eye of the state and ensure that they remained in control (Liu). Like the commune system and the Danwei system the Chinese government used the Hukou system to ensure that they met their needs. Originally the Hukou system was adopted to stop the influx of individuals that were trying to the cities from rural areas but then grew to a

system for the Chinese government to strategically move workers and assign individuals to places where they would be most useful for the country and do more work on goods that the country was lacking or that they would be able to turn for a higher profit. This Hukou registration system was the primary factor in determining whether an individual would be stuck in the countryside working for a commune or whether they would be able to move to the city and find work there.

These changes that were put into place by China during their socialist regime ultimately began to fall apart and led to the demise of a completely state-owned system. These main times of change began to occur during the 1980s and continued until the early 1990s when the Danwei system and the Commune system were almost completely phased out. A lot of these initiatives that were put in place by the government in an effort to centralize a lot of work within China are what have contributed to a large amount of the socioeconomic gaps that have occurred within the country and their effects have contributed to large gaps between the rich and the poor even today. Ultimately, these inequalities led to the downfall of these major reforms and the transition from Socialism that was implemented within the country after WWII began and led to major changes within the country. China's transition towards capitalism was not exclusively due to internal changes but was also due to foreign investment (Solinger 1993 p. 576). As more and more companies were moving to do work with China, establishing offices and private factories, the appeal to leave these state owned enterprises and make more money whilst having more freedom over the specific work that you would be doing prompted many people to leave their Danwei or move to the city and work in the private sector. Over time this became more and more popular and the amount of workers that were looking to stay working within the state began to dissipate. As China began to open up to trade with a wider range of countries and allow for more

foreign investment, their grip on the Chinese economy and the lives of workers began to loosen until the issues within their country and the demands of the workers became too much and the Chinese government had to change their outlook on these specific systems but also shift towards capitalism.

From the creation of China's socialist party in the mid 20th century to about the early 1980s China was seeing many successes with these programs. However, it began extremely apparent the downfalls of these programs and the Chinese economic policy during these times. The 1980s were a time of much economic reform within the country. As mentioned previously, the Chinese economy primarily had a communal focus for how they conducted business and for the production of their products. The government wanted enterprise autonomy where the production of any products for the country and for any types of trade completely fell under the state and what they were able to provide. The Danwei and commune systems had a fair amount of success for the few decades they were around but in 1979 there was a shift to promote economic reform within the country (Solinger 1993 p. 188). The Chinese economic system slowly saw more and more privatization within companies and production and profit retention and profit seeking really began to take off in the 1980s which led to decentralization occurring across the nation. Many of the faults of the initiatives that the Chinese government had put in place had happened due to an overreliance on the state itself.

China during this time had what you could call an "Iron Rice Bowl" where work was guaranteed to citizens across the country whether it be working in the cities at specific Danweis or in communes in the countryside. The state was so involved with the production for plants, factories, and farms that it was almost impossible for them to fail (Wang). This practice backfired, however, because if the Chinese government stopped their support for a specific

facility they would seek other options for finding resources or funding for their work. A factory in Wuhan had a incident where this occurred, the Chinese government had originally invested a lot in machinery building in the area and their focus was on producing large things. China's aim to use factories to produce what they specifically needed was the reason they stopped investing in order to build this large machinery (Solinger 1993 p. 192). The funding was pulled but the factory struggled to find new ways to make up this output. In turn, the city shifted its focus to smaller things and agriculture. Additionally, the area began to look into other markets where they would be able to find funding and also find suitors that would be willing to buy their products. The southern part of the country is where many of the shifts towards a private and free market had occurred. They no longer felt the need to solely rely on the Chinese state to provide them with their supply and demand (Solinger 1993 p. 194) . This level of ultra-control was how the Chinese would traditionally conduct their business historically but due to increased trade over time and countries wanting to do business with the nation this is what prompted the Chinese economy to have more private opportunities for workers. When the shift first began there was a lot of blurriness between private and public work and the way the country functioned even the private sector had a lot of dependency on the state for a period.

The downfall of Chinese socialism was due to the poor planning of their early socialist era initiatives and the fact that a completely state controlled economy would not be sufficient and successful in the long run. Globalization and economic growth are made difficult and poverty and social wealth gaps grew a great amount during China's decades of socialism. The negative effects of the Chinese government's period of socialist practices can still be felt now. Wealth inequality is at an all-time high, with a very small middle class in the country. Additionally, the discrepancies between rural and urban areas is also extremely apparent with economic mobility

being restricted in the rural parts of the country. This paper will look into the creation of the Danwei and Commune systems, the Hukou registration system, and how China's political outlook in the mid 20th century ultimately led the nation to its transition from socialism to capitalism in the early 1990s.

This paper highlights many of the changes that China implemented during the Cultural revolution and the beginning of the socialist era in the country and their lasting effects. Specifically, the Mao era where many of the initiatives and changes were first implemented in an effort to create a more socialist economic system and political environment.

Chapter 2

Socialist/Mao Era (1955 – 1978)

Beginning in the 1950s China entered a new phase of leadership style and how the country operated. During this time, Mao Zedong came to power and implemented a lot of changes that would greatly change China's economy for the foreseeable future. With the rising of the socialist era in the country the Chinese communist party truly came to power and brought about many political, social, and economic changes that changed the scope of the country forever. From an economic perspective, China was looking to have all-encompassing systems for their workers in order to centralize their work and control the means of production within the country. Most notably, the largest changes that were implemented included the Danwei and Commune systems, the Hukou registration system and many political changes within the country. These were all implemented during China's first five-year plan. This was a time where China was really making a big effort to install true socialism within China.

Politically, the Chinese government changed a lot in the 1950s due to the uprising of the Chinese communist party led by Chairman Mao at the time. China was looking to make a switch to socialism and in order to achieve that there needed to be a major overhaul of the entire economic landscape in China. The Chinese government took a lot of their inspiration from Russia and how they practiced socialism in their country (Solinger 1999 p.3). During the 1950s China and Russia were the two biggest communist nations in the world and at first the Soviet government had given a lot of support to China and their path towards communism up until Joseph Stalin's death in 1956. After Stalin's death there were major changes within the Soviet Union and the man who had taken over for him, Nikita Khrushchev, implemented many economic reforms within the country after his death. Khrushchev denounced a lot of the policies of Stalin and

with that the support for China and their journey towards communism was stopped and the relationship between both sides soured over time (Andreas 2019 p.2). The Chinese government, led by Mao, was left to pursue communism within their country on their own.

The Danwei system was present in cities and focused on producing goods in factories, because all of the production was owned by the state the Chinese government would control their entire supply and demand. Within the Danwei system workers were provided work, housing, food, and any goods they may have needed were at their disposal within their specific Danwei. Whilst living at a Danwei there was no reason to leave and everything that was given to the workers was subsidized by the state. Due to everything being provided wages were not very high but since everything was covered it was still able to work for a period. The Chinese government had different focuses in different areas of the country and wanted to improve output both from an agricultural perspective in the Communes but also increasing output in factories within the Danweis in urban areas. The Chinese government seized control of what these factories could produce and were able to ensure that whatever the country needed was able to be made whenever it was needed. The peak for the Danwei system was in the 80s where a large amount of individuals worked in Danweis and there were high levels of production across the country (Erling). The Danwei system was China's state owned enterprises within the urban areas of China. One of the largest Danweis at the peak of their powers was the Capital Steel Danwei near Beijing. These work areas, due to them exclusively being developed near cities accounted for about 15 to 20% of all workers within the country. This is because at the time during the cultural revolution and until about the 1980s the majority of workers within the country still resided in the countryside.

In order to keep these workers in the countryside under the watchful eye of the Chinese government the country established the Commune system that ran parallel to the Danwei system in the country. The communes were introduced in the 1950s during the socialist movement as part of an anti right movement (Zhenhua). Farmers and individuals in the countryside were given land and formed communities that would work on the land they were assigned. The land that individuals were given was typically taken from farmers that were already on the land and dispersed amongst different sets of people. However, the farmers whose land was taken were often given some larger cuts of the farmland that they were working on so they had some added benefits based off what their specific commune would produce (Hu). These added benefits were based off of land that was given, tools, machinery, and animals that were already owned. Produce was distributed to individuals with 70% being based off labor production and 30% being what was initially contributed by an individual or family to their respective commune (Huang). These communes were established to centralize agriculture but also to centralize political decision making within the Chinese countryside. Due to the centralization of all production and decision making there was very little variation across the different communes and what they were able to grow and raise from an economic perspective. Additionally, from a social and political standpoint there was also very little variation across respective communes. Primarily, these communes led to a shift in how individuals worked within the country. The ways rural areas functioned from a societal standpoint and how they did farm changed to a more communal system. Each household was split into teams and then were formed into different organizational brigades where each team was expected to be responsible for certain activities within the area (Huang). These activities included farm labor organization, a group that had to establish small workshops and elementary schools, large scale land projects, working a hospital, high school,

small factories, side-line industries, and work towards a welfare fund to aid the poorer communities within the commune. The communes were similar to the Danwei system due to the fact that everything was put into one place for workers and families. Their homes were covered and there were even communal furnaces and kitchens for individuals and families living in the commune. The Chinese government hoped to build a community of workers that would work together and also looked to control the supply and demand of agriculture within the country. There were periods when the Chinese government would order for certain things to be produced in order to meet their demands or there were certain bonuses the communes would receive based on whether or not quotas were hit or not. In the late 70s the government offered bonuses of 20% for purchases of grain under quota and 30% in bonuses for grain purchased over quota (Huang). This was the Chinese governments way of incentivizing production when there was a need for certain foods within the country.

Chart Comparing Commune Organization to Traditional Administrative Divisions

Commune Organization under the PRC	Traditional Administrative Divisions
County (Hsien)	County (Hsien)
(District)	(District)
Commune Population 10,000-80,000 (Labor Force 1/3) 2,000-20,000 Households 10-30 Brigades	Hsiang Large market town with market network
Brigade Population 1,000-2,000 200-400 Households 10-20 Teams	"Natural village"
Team Population 100-200 (Labor Force 1/3) 20-40 Households	* In some cases a natural village corresponds to a team, in others to a brigade, depending on the size of the village.
Household	Household

Figure 1 "The Commune System (1950s): Asia for Educators: Columbia University."

The figure above depicts the change in how the labor force changed throughout China prior to the commune system being introduced and after. This shows how the population is dispersed throughout the different parts of the commune system. There is a breakdown of the different groups within each level. The shape of the system is in an upside down triangle where as you go down the pecking order there are new responsibilities. The system progressively grew over time. At the height of the Chinese commune system there were roughly 53,000 communes in China, 170,000 peasant's households in the communes, and 90,000,000 acres of arable land (Hu). Within the changes that the government looked to implement within the people living in China, they sought to equalize the classes, specifically the lower classes and bring them more to the middle class.

The Chinese government looked to make a lot of advancements within agriculture production within the country in the few decades that the commune system was put in place. For example, the government was looking to have full mechanization for grain but that was abandoned by 1980 and the government looked to have target mechanization for other produce instead. Additionally, in 1957 Chairman Mao had hoped to double the agricultural production in that year throughout the country.

Within the commune system specifically, there were many downfalls to how they operated and to what led to their demise. Simply, many individuals within the communes struggled to provide for their families and even struggled to feed them. Within the country many individuals were moved around based on where their work was needed. Many were sent to work on the farms but depending on what goods the Chinese government was hoping to produce some farmers were taken from their farms and put into steel mills where they had little to no

knowledge of how the steel production industry worked. As time progressed the Chinese government sent more and more individuals to the countryside in order to aid with this work and to also ensure that cities were not being overrun with workers. For many, they were forced to resort to their final options. With great famine spread across rural China in the later parts of the 20th century many individuals struggled to stay afloat in these communes. Specifically, between 1958 to 1962 in the earlier stages of the communes and during China's Great Leap Forward came the Chinese famine (Kong). Communes, specifically, contributed to this famine greatly causing many deaths across China. The communes and the government overworked workers and took away some of the promises of "free supply" that many individuals were given at the beginning parts of the communes. Many farmers resorted to having to melt steel in order to keep warm and slaughtering much of the livestock that they were raising in order to eat and survive (Hu). These livestock were supposed to be sold on behalf of the commune in order to ensure profit for everyone. Additionally, the melting of steel was in furnaces that were originally made for steel production but much of it ended up becoming weak and useless so the steel was then burnt for warmth within the countryside. Through these actions it is quite apparent how desperate many were to get out of these hardships and simply ensure that they survived. These negative experiences prompted many long term negative effects for individuals living here. Within the female population, specifically, there were lasting impacts that were caused by them having to take on extra work within the communes and were often times the first to go hungry within their respective group.

For the individuals living in these communes there were not many positive outcomes aside from those who were at the top of commune leadership. The top of the pecking order within these communes made all of the decisions and also were awarded the biggest chunk of the

profits from the communes. However, from an economic and productivity standpoint, agriculture and many farming practices became more efficient. Though the individuals who were farming the land were not able to reap any benefits of the commune system before they were brought to an end the Chinese agriculture business saw increased levels of output by the time the 90s came around. During the communist rising throughout China, the government looked to increase the economic output by the rural areas of the country through not only the commune system and Danwei system but also the hukou registration system. The Hukou registration system was one of great control over individuals in China. This system required homes to register the number of individuals living in a home and would limit their mobility within their own country. This furthered the divide between rural and urban cities in China (Chan). In an attempt to control a person's residency status. Individuals would exclusively be registered as an urban or rural worker. Mobility was only a possibility if approved by the government. Additionally, different welfare programs were only options for individuals in an urban setting when compared to rural settings. Individuals were registered at birth, similar to how birth certificates operate in the United States with their Hukou. The Hukous would have an individual's status whether that be urban or rural, legal address, sector for activity, religion, and a description about their individual appearance.



Figure 2: Via Erling

The figure above depicts a Hukou card which shows the basic information that an individual would have had to present for their registration. Workers and citizens are required to carry these around with them in order to aid in the identification or workers throughout the country.

The Hukou system was first started in the 1950s and the modern day system had emerged in less than a decade. Its main goal was to create different residential groups and had a code of laws, regulations, and programs that would aid in helping create these residential groups. This system was built off of the baojia system that is a more traditional population registration system in the country. In addition to determining where people could live, without a Hukou individuals would not be able to determine their eligibility for food, clothing, shelter, employment, schooling, marriage, and army eligibility. The Hukou was something that would determine many aspects of a person's life and this journal showed that there was a fairly large disparity between those with a rural hukou and an urban hukou. This is a notion that has continued even into

present day China where there is a large socioeconomic gap between the lower class and the upper class. There has been dialogue for years about how China's middle class is growing however this is not the case. The government, in order to promote individuals to go to the countryside, offered free transportation to leave urban areas (Solinger 1993 p. 36). Additionally, many were offered free plots of land that they could use to farm in the Chinese countryside. Movement to get an urban hukou was extremely difficult and not many people were allowed to move. People in urban areas were given food rations but for the most part, those in rural areas were left to farm and provide for themselves.

There has always been a type of registration system in China, but the modern version with its strict rules was only brought about in the 1950s under what was called the People's Republic of China Hukou Registration Regulation (Chan). During China's great leap forward the Chinese government was looking to improve their manpower in order to increase their economic output within the country. Specifically, they wanted to improve the work that was done in rural areas and to ensure that there was not an overreliance on machinery.

Due to the implementation of the Chinese Communes and the Danwei system individuals and work groups within China had no experience having to fight for their working rights themselves in the country. The state offered everything for them and all was set in stone, so there was no need to have to negotiate at all with their employers or with the state in order to obtain a more equitable work space. The implementation of the socialist era economic initiatives changed how individuals did work but also the role of the government in the lives of laborers throughout the country. Due to the poor labor rights that were present in China this is a big reason why many international corporations decided to move their factories, offices, and many means of production to the country in order to improve their profit margins.

There were some benefits that individuals were able to take advantage of, specifically in urban areas. Specifically, individuals with urban Hukous had access to the Danwei system which provided them with free housing as well as different welfare benefits within certain areas. These individuals in urban areas had access to a multitude of things like better work, better education for their families and opportunity to buy real estate within urban areas. Not only would individuals within these urban areas have these benefits but they would also have health insurance, retirement, unemployment, maternity, and work insurance. These were a multitude of benefits that were not given to migrant workers and even workers in rural areas. During the great famine in China the produce and food that was produced by individuals in communes was actually taxed and some of the food that was produced was taken and given to others in other parts of the country (Hu). This is what led to the rampant starvation in communes that went untreated for a long time in the countryside. This was due to the fact that the Chinese government was hoping to urbanize as quickly as possible in the post WWII era and the Chinese government's mismanagement of the countryside eventually led to mass famine that made its way into the cities before the government was willing to do anything to stop it.

During China's early socialist movement there were some extremely audacious goals that were not met in many cases. During this time period, the Chinese government was hoping to boost production levels and create a more communal way of work both through the communes and the Danweis across the country. Along with these two things individuals were also guaranteed a range of benefits that overtime became more and more obsolete amongst workers. Within this time period there are not many cracks within their systems but there are some glaring issues that would eventually lead into reform needing to happen in order to increase the longevity of a lot of these areas of work within the country. Along with the communes and

During the Hukou registration system brought about a lot of change about where people are allowed to work and what they were able to do that was something new that was introduced within the country (Liu). The Chinese government was hoping to reduce the likelihood of all citizens hoping to go to one place like cities but also wanted to ensure that different areas of work had plenty of individuals that were ready to work and ensure that output was as good as possible. Though the Hukou registration system did work relatively well the quality of life for individuals who were living in rural areas versus urban areas were drastically different. Many of the needs for reform stemmed from the Chinese government's poor planning and unfair quotas that were put on workers (Liu). The way these initiatives were set up were to ensure that the state could oversee all of the means of production within the country however the Chinese people then became over reliant on the government and with the population and production growing the government's control began to loosen on these areas of production.

Chapter 3

Early Reform Era (1978 – 1989)

As time progressed, there were glaring issues within the socialist era changes that the government had implemented and this prompted some reform to the systems that had about 20 or so years to operate. There were many improvements that the government was hoping to make or initiatives that never completely came to fruition so changes ultimately needed to be made. Due to famine and many promises not completely being kept the Chinese government was forced to begin making slight changes within their country. China after adopting socialism saw many political changes both within the country socially and economically. From an economic perspective, it is easy to see the impacts communes and the Danwei system were able to make and how the production and output within the country changed greatly. As mentioned in the previous chapter, when first implemented these initiatives were far from perfect and needed some reform in order to improve for the future. The first signs of reform came about in 1978 with some minor changes looking to be made within the country.

Overall, the downfall of China's socialist era economic initiatives ultimately ended up being because of their poor management of the Communes and Danweis. China mismanaged these areas of work and due to this they ultimately fell. Originally, workers within these sectors were promised a multitude of benefits and this is what drew many in to start these Danweis and communes. Overtime, as stated earlier, these benefits and promises were not kept and held up to the standard that they should have been at. The Chinese government allowed for an overreliance on their support and once that support was lifted it led to many individuals feeling betrayed and wanting to move out of their Danwei and work in the private sector. This was also an issue in Wuhan where there were many factories. The Chinese government had offered so much support

to these factories that they were constantly reliant on their supply and help when hoping to create things. When support for a certain areas within the manufacturing business were pulled due to the government wanting to shift focus elsewhere some workers in the area were discontent and ended up shifting and looking towards the private sector to aid their supply chains and help fund their work. The Chinese government used these state-owned enterprises as ways to fill their areas of need so when the government was in need of certain goods or agriculture they would completely shift focus elsewhere (Bray). Due to this some factories would become completely obsolete at times unless needed for another assignment. Specifically, within the Danwei system this is what led to quite a few cracks within the system and caused some issues within the way individuals did work. In the end, the Chinese government being too willing to shift focus whenever they pleased proved to have many negative effects for the longevity of the Danwei and Commune systems specifically. It was difficult for factories and farms to be able to focus on and perfect one product that they would hope to make and the workers struggled to specialize in certain areas of production. The communes and Danweis, though first started with good intentions did end up struggling to achieve what they had first looked to achieve.

These processes has been in place for decades and not until the 70s did it receive some type of reform in China. Originally, without an urban Hukou, an individual was completely barred from working in the cities. This fed into the Chinese governments focus at the time of attempting to build out their rural output and have more workers travel to the countryside. This was the case for a while until the Chinese government saw urban areas as a place in need. There was higher demand for laborers however the government did not want cities to get overcrowded. In order to fix this, the government allowed for workers to obtain an urban working Hukou but would not be able to live in urban areas. Similarly, to how the Chinese government would shift

funding and supply for certain factories or communes when they identified areas of need for different means of production, they did the same thing with their labor force. Depending on where there was more need for workers the government would grant more Hukous for that area or would relax the restrictions on many Hukous in specific areas (Erling). Under this system there is also a title called migrant laborers which allows the government to have these workers work in cities and do urban related work, however they are not categorized as an urban worker.

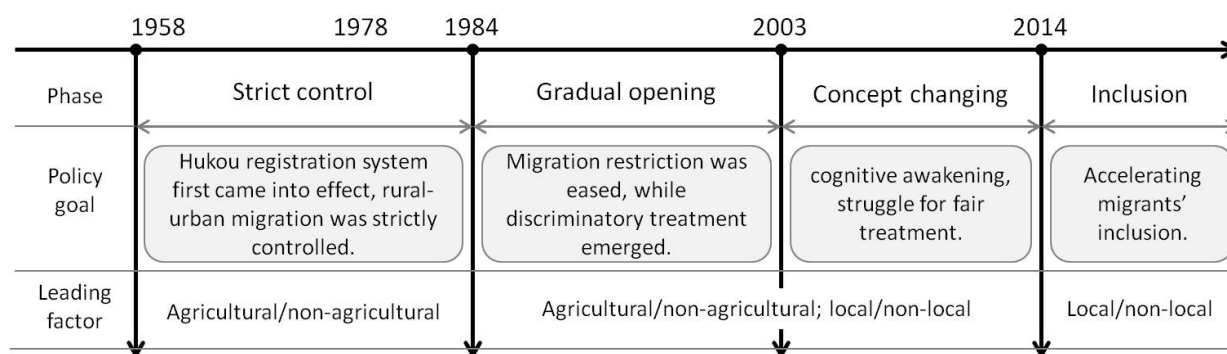


Figure 3: Via Erling

The figure above shows a rough timeline of the different levels of control the Hukou system had to deal with from its inception to the present day. Originally, after WWII and while the commune and Danwei systems were beginning to get put into place the Hukou system had very intense restrictions on where individuals could work and live. This was to ensure, from the Chinese governments standpoint, that there was enough workers in the different parts of the country in order to boost productivity. As time progressed, and it became more apparent that the urban areas of China were in need of more workers migration was allowed for some individuals to ensure that the cities would have a strong supply of labor for the factories and foreign investors that were beginning to come into China (Erling).

This easing of migration within the country for work came during the early 80s where the Danwei and Commune systems were also beginning to fall as foreign investment started to become more and more apparent. In the 80s as well, this was when an individual's personal identity card was created and this further allowed for people to be identified and understanding where their specific Hukou was for would help keep greater order for workers and the country (Erling). This was all occurring while China's "iron rice bowl" was cracking. Over time, the treatment of migrant workers in China had deteriorated with many not given the same benefits as those who worked in the areas that they were living. The disparity between urban and rural citizens was quite large but migrant workers were even more disadvantaged than any of these individuals. For a time, workers who would migrate into the city or into areas that were different from where they were allowed to live were not given any benefits that individuals in the cities were given and workers that lived in rural areas were given. Additionally, starting as early as the 1970s over 260 million citizens who had a rural Hukou traveled to urban areas illegally in search of gaining the same benefits that individuals in the urban areas received (Erling). Many ended up unemployed or receiving some type of backlash for traveling to these urban areas illegally. These workers were treated as lesser citizens than those who worked and lived within the same Hukou.

In a move to make moving work to China even more enticing the government removed the right to strike in 1982 so despite the poor working conditions individuals would not have the opportunity to strike even if they wanted to. These anti strike laws became very apparent when the Tiananmen square protests had begun. The Tiananmen square protests and the massacre that followed are a major part of Chinese history that the government in the country has attempted to cover up. It first began with students protesting the Chinese government and hoping to achieve greater democracy throughout the country. The protests started out as peaceful and in addition to

the students workers from all around the country came to show their support and also protest for improved working rights for themselves and for everybody in China. This was a time of unrest within China and the government was not sure what to do because the workers often served as a support system for the government and the policies that the Chinese government was implementing at the time. The support from these workers for the students helped aid the protests and slow down the efforts of the Chinese government to stop the protests. Though the protests were peaceful the Chinese government then turned to using force to stop the protests. After calling in the armed forces and tanks to break up the students coming together the peaceful protests turned violent and many individuals ended up losing their lives. There is no official number in terms of how many lives were lost but there have been reports that there are anywhere from a few hundred to over 10,000 people that were killed or injured during the response to the protests.



Figure 4: The Protestors in Tiananmen Square From: BBC



Figure 5: A Protestor Confronting the Tanks Sent By the Chinese Government From: Encyclopedia Britannica

The photos above show the protestors congregating in Tiananmen square. There were thousands of individuals out hoping to achieve some type of traction to gain a more democratic society where workers were given a fair say in issues that pertain to them and for students to gain more accountability for their government.

A large reason workers had gotten involved with the protests were due to political changes that were implemented in the country in 1989. One of the largest being taking away the voice of the working class in decision making throughout the country, something that has still continued to present day China. Workers were looking for increased representation within the government and for increased pay and improved working conditions. The workers were also looking for more opportunity to unionize because China only has one union which the Chinese government was controlling and still does even currently. The efforts of the Chinese workers has

largely been relatively ineffective with wages and workers rights not improving as much as they should have at the time.

The Chinese workforce is the largest in the world and wages are low compared to many other countries. With roughly 1.4 billion people living in the country there is no shortage of individuals to supply labor in the country and this is a reason why wages stay so low (Bajpai). Additionally, due to the Hukou registration system, many individuals in rural areas and from middle class families aren't very well educated which lead to an abundance of low skilled workers and now that those regulations are relaxed there are many workers who are moving to big cities with poor education who are willing to work for low wages (Bajpai). With strikes being outlawed in the country and the unions working in conjunction with the state there is not much that could stop companies from doing what is best for them and treating their workers unfairly. The state itself is simply hoping for more foreign investment to boost its economy so while working with the All – China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), they are able to have a strong hold on the rights of Chinese workers. The ACFTU is China's lone union organization so it is easy for the government to manipulate it (Chen). A major issue with the ACFTU is that, despite its growth, there has been a lack of voice for many of the workers in the country. The ACFTU has an inability to mobilize and due to its connection with the state it makes it hard for the union to have major impact or stand up to the Chinese government or corporations in the country. With roughly 40% of executives in the ACFTU also holding some type of role in the Chinese government not much really gets done (Chen 2009). Simply put, this is a conflict of interest for the country and the executives within the union.

Chapter 4

Reform Era

The reforms of many socialist projects and initiatives progressively changed more and more as time progressed but they didn't really see major changes brought about until the early 1990s when it was apparent China had to make a major shift away from socialism and those practices. Throughout this paper it had been shown that the Chinese government's stronghold on the Chinese means of production and economy began to loosen over time. With foreign investment increasing and with Chinese workers no longer wanting to work in the state owned enterprises like the communes and the Danweis true reform was needed and started in the 90s. Workers were in limbo for a period of time, especially in cities, because even though companies and work outside of the Danweis were able to pay more the fact that Danweis provided housing and food were still what kept individuals working there. This, along with the price of rent and real estate outside of the Danweis being extremely expensive there was great reform that was needed within the nations economy and social structure in order to allow for individuals to leave the state owned enterprises.

Both the communes and the Danwei system were part of a theory called the Chinese "iron rice bowl". This is the notion that workers, factories, and farms were put into opportunities where it was nearly impossible to fail. With prices of goods being subsidized by the government and their willingness to always buy the goods that are produced workers always had something to work towards. Workers were also always guaranteed work and through the communes and Danweis. A large inhibitor to economic growth is job displacement and unemployment and the Chinese government was hoping to combat this through the Iron Rice Bowl theory. As the guaranteed work given to workers in China began to lessen there was a further divide between

those who had a job working in the private sector versus the public sector. In the early 1990s after there were reforms to the Iron rice bowl that looked to increase work efficiency but ensure that there were not major changes to specific work relationships within the country, a large portion of employees decided it was in their best interest to stay working in the public sector in order to have more job security (Wang). This led to an imbalance between the state sector and private sector within China. The reforms made against the commune system and to the iron rice bowl furthered the divide between individuals working across both lines in China. Additionally, in 1997 when there were more reforms and more individuals were relieved of their duties in the public sector and were forced to the private sector (Wang). Workers that were still in the public sector were able to get more social welfare and enjoyed higher social standings within the country.

As time progressed, China's iron rice bowl began to "crack" and the commune system proved to not be able to provide as much economic growth as Chinese officials had hoped. These efforts to guarantee everyone work and establish all workers as equals proved to backfire tremendously for China. With productivity and motivation for workers within the country dropping an end had to be brought to these programs. The only issue was after these programs were taken away the immediate effects for the country were very negative. After the state-owned enterprises as part of the iron rice bowl were reformed there was a large uptick in individuals being unemployed, with roughly 37 million individuals losing their jobs and another 67 million workers completely lost their job security that was provided to them through the system (Kong). As the communes grew and progressed the rural productivity and limited farmers' economic interests when it came to looking for ways to be as efficient as possible. This was primarily due

to the fact that farmers lacked decision making power when it came to what they farmed and when.

Furthermore, as the State Owned Enterprises were reformed in the mid 80s and early 90s there was a negative impact on individuals working in China as part of these state-owned enterprises. Over time the Chinese government found that the guaranteed work that was provided to individuals was not working out and major changes were made. The largest change being that job placement became more merit based rather than every individual being guaranteed a job. These changes spurred a major labor movement within China towards a more at-will form of employment within the country. Specifically, give employers more of a say over who is hired, fired, and kept for their respective companies. Additionally, job candidates then had to submit to entrance exams, serve a probationary period and sign a contract agreeing to certain requirements set by the boss. The new contract permitted an employer to sack unruly or incompetent workers. An example of this was a new law implemented in 1995 which allowed employers to layoff “no-fault” workers, meaning that the employers did not need any real reason or for the employee to do something against company policy in order to lay them off (Kong).

Previously, employers were not given much power when it came to choosing and managing their labor force which led to the lack of productivity the Chinese work force suffered from as time progressed. This policy began with smaller entities and progressively extended to larger and larger groups as time progressed. The Chinese government avoided an abrupt change within their policy and implemented it this way instead. The number of individuals protected by the iron rice bowl in these state owned enterprises decreased from 113 million to 67 million between 1997 and 2001 (Kong). These changes released a generation of workers who had been accustomed to having their wage and jobs handed and assigned to them for decades into the

workforce. Layoffs from the SOE reform were particularly harsh on SOE workers, because the SOE sector in China had never witnessed employment uncertainty before this layoff policy, many of these workers never had to go through the job search process and didn't have any monetary safety nets put in place. Many of these layoffs were unexpected for many workers. From the side of the Chinese government, there were not many social and economic welfare programs in place that would be able to support workers who had been paid off, especially at this magnitude. In addition, many of the workers who were eventually laid off were older, female, and unskilled, which further led to a higher level of inequality amongst many Chinese workers around the country (Kong). These groups of workers have historically been at a disadvantage and it continued during and after the commune system and state owned enterprises were reformed.

The communes were not the only Chinese state owned enterprise to fall come the 1980s and 1990s. The Danwei system, as mentioned earlier, came to an end in the early 90s. This was largely due to the increase in privatization within the country and foreign companies looking to do business with China. In cities, private companies were able to pay more. However, due to the Danweis providing housing, food, childcare, and any other home supplies a family might need. These benefits within the Danwei still outweighed what an individual would get outside of it for quite a while. However, there were some loopholes that workers and families were able to find. For example, should a family already be housed in the Danwei but they are also offered an opportunity to work for a private company somewhere nearby, these families would send one parent to work for the private company or factory and the other would stay working with the Danwei. This would allow families to still have all of the benefits that the Danwei could provide yet also take in more money than they would be paid solely working in that area. The reason that individuals progressively were more and more inclined to move away from the Danwei system

was that they felt the welfare promises that were made to them, similar to the commune system, were no longer at the same level as before (Lu). This is what led to the Danweis beginning to fizzle out and the country ultimately shifting more towards capitalism. Also, drawing parallels to the communes, women continued to be marginalized within the Danweis along with migrant workers and poorer unskilled workers. The issue was that if women were not supported roughly 30% of weaving and spinning machines in China would have stopped (Lu). Economic mobility was not possible for many individuals and in these state owned enterprises the poor would remain poor and the rich would remain rich. There have been lasting effects from this and continues to be an issue in China even today. Within the country there is a very small middle class and to move up in socioeconomic status is extremely difficult.

There were many protests against the Danwei system and some of the inequalities it caused. Most notably, there were many workers that were also a part of the Tiananmen square protests. The rights of workers and for the welfare systems that were promised for so long to continue were a hot topic during the time and something many Chinese citizens had fought for. During the time of the Danweis there were feelings that more social welfare systems should be put in place to better support their workers. One thing that was recommended was a pension plan to aid citizens when they retire (Lu). This would entice them to continue to work for the Danwei and also provide older Chinese citizens with a better quality of life especially considering all of the work they would do for the country throughout their lives. Additionally, these employees would only continue to get more and more skilled so it is a way of attracting and retaining top talent. Unfortunately, the Chinese government did not necessarily listen to many of what their workers were asking for and shifting to work in the private sector seemed like a better option overall. Not only were the benefits that were promised not living up to standards but wages were

low, there were housing issues, and the lure of the private sector became more enticing as time went on until China changed their economic focus from socialism to capitalism and opened its borders to more foreign investment.

The total number of Chinese citizens that have been put into this group of migrant urban workers has grown from roughly 30 million in the 1980s to 140 million in 2009 (Chan). This is in large part to the easing of the Hukou intensity over time that was mentioned earlier. More individuals have been allowed to live in more rural areas but work in urban areas where there is greater job opportunity as well as higher wages, on average, than jobs in rural areas. Over time the hukou registration system has received a large amount of pushback from individuals both in China and outside. There have been two main attempts to improve the hukou system, but to little success. The first has been to shift a lot of the deciding power from the higher levels of government to the lower levels (Chan). This has given the lower portions of government more power when it comes to deciding how many citizens and who would be allotted urban worker status. This was an effort to take some responsibility away from the government and allow for further decentralization within the country. This proved to not be successful and the government continued to have complete control over workers and their migration and work status within the country. Additionally, the government has attempted to make a “fairer” system where if a person’s parents or child gains urban registration then they will most likely be allotted urban registration as well.

This has had lasting effects on individuals in China, especially those who continue to live in the countryside. Their access to a proper education, welfare benefits, and well paying jobs continues to be scarce. Additionally, due to the trickle down affect, the importance of the Gaokao in being able to attend the best Universities has also contributed to many individuals being stuck

in their economic situation. In order to prep for the Gaokao, students have to study for countless hours and many parents dedicate a lot of their time and savings in order to ensure that their student will score well on the exam so that they can then attend a good university and then get a high paying job. The issue is that in the countryside, students do not have access to good education and the families are unable to pay for top-of-the-line tutoring. This has contributed to a cycle of poverty and a lack of socioeconomic mobility in the country. These students will eventually not score as well as their peers in urban areas and won't be able to attend the same caliber universities and will in turn struggle to get better jobs. The Hukou system has relaxed its restrictions when it comes to workers sticking in rural or urban areas and there is more accessibility to gain an urban Hukou but even still the likelihood of this happening and being able to work their way up to a different socioeconomic class is slim.

During the 1950s, China experienced a baby boom and a large shift in the political landscape of the country. With the rise of Mao Zedong and the socialist party in China this brought about the economic changes that changed the way the country did work and operated for the next few decades. There was an overreliance on state owned enterprises which ultimately led to the downfall of socialism also contributed to other issues within the country. China looked to have a more public service outlook to how they did work and operated as a whole within their society. During the shift to a more public service philosophy there was an old saying of "One sweeps snow from his front door-steps instead of worrying about the frost on his neighbor's roof" (Huang). This is a traditional Chinese quote that embodies the classical ideology that individuals in China are primarily looking out for themselves. The social change in China was brought about by the communist ideals that were introduced by the people's republic of China and led to the policy changes that changed the scope of how work was conducted in China.

Additionally, the implementation of these practices led to negative worker production as the practice of the commune system and the “iron rice bowl” progressed until, finally, in the early 1990’s reforms to these programs, though necessary for China’s long-term growth had a negative effect on many workers within the country (Xie). Additionally, according to a study done between 1997 and 2002, roughly 27 million workers were laid off due to the end of China’s Iron Rice Bowl (He). These programs had negative effects for the country as time progressed and after they were deemed ineffective the reforming of these programs had even more detrimental effects for the people of China. Specifically, the lack of equality amongst different socioeconomic classes and a lack of labor unions in the country.

As mentioned earlier, many of the economic policies deteriorated over time and especially in the 1980s this was a time of great economic reform within China. The benefits for individuals were no longer the same as what had been promised for workers that were both in the Danweis and the communes whether it be in rural areas or urban areas. The state over time was looking to improve living standards, help address social needs, and ensure social stability. All of these hopes contributed to the country’s project of social reform. For a while the state looked to operate wholesale trade within the country completely taking control of the supply and demand of goods coming in and out of the country. This operates in conjunction with the Chinese government’s internal focus of controlling the supply and demand coming out of their factories. This internal practice proved to have negative effects for the country in the long term and the reliance of state owned enterprises on the government’s involvement with their businesses and providing the entirety of their supply and demand ultimately is what led to the government’s grip on these businesses.

For a period of time there was difficulty for both the private sector and public sector gaining dependency from the state. This began to deteriorate due to the growth of China, one of the goals of the People's Republic of China was to lead to further urbanization and grow China's cities. Once this goal was achieved the Chinese government struggled to completely oversee the economic workings of the country. The growth of cities helped grow the private sector and as a result the Chinese government slowly lost their socialist ways and continued into the country adopting capitalism in the early 90s. Many major changes happened during the 80s in China, however, economic reform began in 1979 with profit retention and profit sharing following shortly in the early 80s (Solinger 1993 p. 189). This was the first indication of lessening of China's economic policy and when decentralization continued China was met at a crossroads in terms of their economic policy when looking to drive the country forward. It should come as no surprise that the ideologies of capitalism and socialism are quite polarizing and as the country grew China had to come to terms with allowing the country to continue to grow but in turn having to let go of their socialist policies (Solinger 1993 p. 195).

One individual who played an integral part in China's economic policy was an individual by the name of Chen Yun. He had been involved with the Chinese Communist Party in China as far back as 1931. He played an integral part in the economic affairs of the country especially during the early years of the Peoples Republic of China. Specifically, from 1954 to 1962 Chen Yun was the fifth highest ranked member of the party (Bachman). In the 1950s, the Chinese government took a lot of inspiration from eastern European countries along with Soviet inspiration (Solinger 1993 p. 37). Chen Yun was calling for the Chinese government to not model their economy after what the Soviets were doing and was one of the few who believed that their economic policies, like the communes and Danweis, would not be sustainable in the

long run. This belief of his continued into 1978 when his interventions on economic policy helped with the reforms for the country to move away from the current practices they were operating with (Bachman). Additionally, in Xue Muqiao's 1979 speech many of the same ideas as Chen Yun's speech in 1956 speaking on how China's economy was too centralized and that their ideas would not be able to sustain their policies. Xue Muqiao, in 1979, made very similar points to those made by Chen Yun back in 1956. Not only did the points made by Chen Yun in 1956 end up coming to fruition over the next few decades, many of his points as well as his influence prompted the economic reforms that occurred beginning in 1979 spanning until the early 90s (Bachman). The practice of socialism that China had originally been based off of Chairman Mao's beliefs however that the government needed to have a stronger hand in the nation's economy and ensuring the rights of workers were in the hands of the state. The benefits that many individuals were given as well as their right to work were completely controlled by the state.

The Chinese government often claims that they are doing what's best for its people and the workers within the country however they are just using their power to manipulate the union. China having a socialist country negatively impacts the workings of the union and makes it weaker in a sense. China's labor union is not voluntary so it makes the idea of coming together to incite change, a normal union practice somewhat obsolete (Hui). Due to China's socialist economy it is assumed that the interests of workers align with what the state thinks is best. This is not the case, and what is best for workers is often not a priority by the state. China's labor union, and other socialist labor unions are weaker because they are usually dependent on the state, employers, or both (Friedman). This leads to unions in socialist states having a double

identity of sorts, where they are not able to prioritize the rights of workers because they are constrained by the state and large corporations.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Discussion

There are a multitude of long lasting effects that have occurred due to the introduction of many of the initiatives that were introduced by the Chinese government that were discussed in this paper. Most notably, the lack of workers rights, lack of socioeconomic mobility, and a large discrepancy between the quality of life for individuals living in rural areas versus urban areas. The Chinese government hoped to adopt a communist focus for the country from a political and economic standpoint. For decades this was their main focus and they centralized all means of production into the state. This ended up backfiring on the country by the early 1990s after much reform to their policies from about 1972 until 1992. Overall, the country had built an overreliance by the workers and the factories and farms that were producing the goods on the government to provide for them and it was the gradual lack of benefits being provided that caused uneasiness within the Chinese working class. In 1981 for example, profit sharing started within the country in the communes and the Danweis which did show some steps in the right direction in order to provide workers with higher wages but by 1989 there ended up not being much given to workers overall. This along with other benefits that were not living up to what was initially promised are what eventually led to China's switch to capitalism.

In regards to the Danweis in China specifically, China was hoping to make these working groups a catch all in a way for anything the Chinese citizens would need to live. The Chinese government was hoping to provide them with everything they needed and in turn there would be almost no reason for them to leave the Danwei. The Danweis had medical care, food, housing, living necessities, and work for them all. It was not luxurious by any means but in exchange for their work they were given everything they may need to survive. One of the downsides was that

workers were not given a lot of money in exchange for their work that they would be able to use for other things like pleasure. The downfall of the communes was multi faceted. As mentioned earlier there were many benefits that were promised to individuals that were working on those communes and as time progressed these benefits were not living up to what was initially promised to them. This caused much unrest within the country and made workers more susceptible to being pulled out of the state owned enterprises and into the private realm for work.

At its core, the Chinese government was hoping to make changes to their political system and economy that would drive the country forward. Though there were some successes in the beginning of the socialist era in China these successes quickly began to sour. The government created an overreliance from workers and the means of production within the country and in turn when benefits were not living up to what was promised or the government was not able to back certain factories and producers and ultimately the communes and Danweis began to fizzle out and the Hukou registration system was heavily reformed. The lasting effects of the downfall of these initiatives have resulted in low wages for Chinese workers, a small middle class in the country, and poor workers rights due to the lack of unions. Ultimately, the Chinese government themselves are what caused their own downfall.

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ACADEMIC VITA

EDUCATION

The Pennsylvania State University Schreyer Honors College	University Park, PA
<i>College of the Liberal Arts Bachelor of Arts in Labor and Human Resources</i>	<i>Class of May 2023</i>
<i>College of the Liberal Arts Bachelor of Arts in Chinese</i>	
<i>College of the Liberal Arts Bachelor of Arts in Asian Studies</i>	Dean's List (6/7)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Penn State Division of Development and Alumni Relations (DDAR)	University Park, PA
<i>Intern in the Office of the Vice President</i>	<i>May 2021 – Dec 2022</i>

- Conducted a comprehensive campaign review while collaborating with a consulting firm and introduced changes to strategic plan for latest \$2.2 billion campaign ; projected to increase yearly fundraising total to \$500 million per year by 2025
- Facilitated the expansion of the division by introducing a horizontal based staffing model to increase collaboration between units and engagement with donors capable of making gifts of \$5 million or more
- Created a new linear regression model taking into account fundraiser ratings and non disposable income to more accurately determine donor capacity and identify prospective donors

Pacific Investment Management Company LLC (PIMCO)	Austin, TX
<i>Human Resources Summer Analyst Diverse Talent Acquisition Research</i>	<i>June 2022 – Aug 2022</i>

- Received a full time return offer to be an HR business partner in the NYC office
- Added about 500 new prospects to talent pool by conducting research on prospective candidates from underrepresented communities in an effort to diversify executive leadership at the firm and centralize talent search
- Developed 5 candidate maps for multiple senior level positions of need including senior campus recruiters, executive vice presidents, and HR business partners

Olé & Obrigado Imports	New Rochelle, NY
<i>Marketing and Business Development Intern</i>	<i>Jul 2020 – Oct 2020</i>

- Increased viewership and watch times by 990% and 999% respectively by rebranding the company YouTube channel and publishing brand relevant content for the top Spanish wine importer of 2020
- Introduced a new marketing strategy centered around giveaways to promote interaction with company Instagram account resulting in a 13% increase in followers and 30% more interaction with posts

*Sales Logistics Intern**May 2019 – Jun 2019*

- Decreased ordering and data retrieval process of 200 wines from company stock program by 25% by creating 120 family codes
- Developed a new organizational system for the wine cellar to decrease packaging and locating times for wines by 150% and to decrease new cellar employee training time by 66%

LEADERSHIP & INVOLVEMENT**Penn State Student Philanthropy Network****University Park, PA***President**Apr 2022 – Present*

- Acted as the treasurer for the Penn State class gift campaign, Penn State's oldest tradition, raising over \$50,000 for this year's class gift ; a Student Philanthropy Network record
- Spearheaded Giving Tuesday efforts for over 100 Penn State organizations raising upwards of \$2 million total over these 24 hours

Penn State Lion Ambassador Student Alumni Corps**University Park, PA***Committee Director | Executive Board | DEI Chair**Jan 2021 – Present*

- Collaborated with Penn State administration to plan the Exhibition of Who WE ARE ; aimed at educating the Penn State community through speaker panels and showcasing different minority groups on campus
- Oversaw the planning of Campus Showcase, a project aimed at highlighting resources for minority students on campus

Penn State IFC/ Panhellenic Dance Marathon (THON)**University Park, PA***Merchandise Inventory Captain**Apr 2021 – Apr 2022*

- Maintained the inventory of 10000 units with over \$300,000 in yearly sales for the largest student run philanthropy in the world
- Streamlined order filling and product locating times through implementation of new inventory organizational system

*Merchandise Administrative Captain**Sep 2020 – Apr 2021*

- Led a team of fundraising specialists to raise \$34,800 benefitting the Four Diamonds Fund ; an 88% increase from the year prior ; a merchandise committee record

HONORS, SCHOLARSHIPS, SKILLS, INTERESTS

Honors: NYS Comptroller's Student Achievement Award; NYS Attorney General Triple "C" Award ; Hispanic Scholarship Fund Scholar ; Tombros Trustee Scholarship ; FLAS Fellowship ; Bunton Waller Scholarship ; Paterno Fellow

Skills: Proficient in Spanish, Conversational in Chinese, Basic Knowledge of STATA, Proficient in Microsoft Office

Interests: Playing Violin at Carnegie Hall, Swimming, Yankees, Running, Real Madrid, Surfing, Victor Cruz, Dominican Republic