Contents

Acknowledgments ix
Contributors xi
List of Tables and Figures xii
Abbreviations xiii

1. Embracing Uncertainty: Guerrilla Policy Style and Adaptive Governance in China
   Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth J. Perry 1

2. From Mass Campaigns to Managed Campaigns: “Constructing a New Socialist Countryside”
   Elizabeth J. Perry 30

   Sebastian Heilmann 62

4. Learning through Practice and Experimentation: The Financing of Rural Health Care
   Wang Shaoguang 102

5. Governing Civil Society: Adapting Revolutionary Methods to Serve Post-Communist Goals
   Nara Dillon 138

6. A Return to Populist Legality? Historical Legacies and Legal Reform
   Benjamin L. Liebman 165

7. Sustaining and Contesting Revolutionary Legacies in Media and Ideology
   Yuezhi Zhao 201
8. Retrofitting the Steel Frame: From Mobilizing the Masses to Surveying the Public  
   *Patricia M. Thornton*  
   237

9. The Elusive Search for Effective Sub-County Governance  
   *Joseph Fewsmith*  
   269

10. Central-Local Dynamics: Historical Continuities and Institutional Resilience  
    *Jae Ho Chung*  
    297