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**SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND CIVIL SOCIETY
IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA**

SUN Yan (Nanjing University)

The Awakening of Citizen Consciousness: A Case Study from North Zhejiang

In rural China, land disputes caused by demolition have been a concern in terms of the peasant rights protection. Because of long-term institutional problems, peasants' rights are ignored in the demolition process. Having analyzed property this study examines the anti-demolition processes taken place in recent years in three villages in North Zhejiang. In a sense of "Daily Resistance" by James Scott this study looks at the mechanism of the resistance and its inner logic. Three types exemplifies the anti-demolition movement: "weapons of the weak", as Scott suggested in this studies; collective resistance; and lodge complaints ("shangfang"). Through comparison, this paper unfolds the process of peasant rights protection and how peasants have struggled for an equal citizenship.

Kuang Xianwen (University of Southern Denmark)

Collective Resistance of Chengzhongcun Villagers in China: A Case of Guangzhou, Guangdong Province

The purpose of this study was to examine the factors contributing to the mergence and persistence of collective action in *chengzhongcun* (literally known as "village(s) amid the city") in China. Based on a one-and-a-half month fieldwork in Guangzhou, China, this study was designed to answer the questions of what triggered collective action in *chengzhongcun* and how and why *chengzhongcun* villagers could sustain their collective resistance under a repressive local state.

While not denying the importance of the structural opportunity for collective action in *chengzhongcun*, rational considerations of the villagers and their cultural features were taken as crucial factors in triggering and sustaining collective action in *chengzhongcun*. First of all, rational considerations of the villagers had spurred them to converge and rejuvenate a social network which had long been weakening, while the cultural features embedded in the social network had strengthened solidarity of the protesters, leading to the emergence of collective action. Later on when the local authority repressed the collective action, rationality and the cultural features of the villagers had together led to labor division among them, which in fact helped to sustain the collective action in *chengzhongcun*.

CHEN Xiaoyun (Sun Yat-Sen University)

No-organization: The strategy of Homeowners' Collective Activisms
—A Survey of the Anti-incinerator Action in Guangzhou

This paper provides narratives and analysis of a homeowner's collective action caused by the government's intention of building a trash incinerator in Guangzhou. It argues that in the urban right-defending actions, "No-organization" has become an important strategy. There are three characteristics of this activism strategy: decentralization, self-orientation in the action, cyber cascades. The effective practices of the action relies on two mechanisms: one is the "adaptation mechanism" in which the homeowners share their knowledge about the risk of "organize", the consensus about the political deadline in the activism and the strategy proposed and promoted by the positive actors; the other is the "motivate mechanism" including the low-cost action by the Internet and the success from the "no organization" strategy. Although "no organization" activism strategy can pose great pressure on the government, yet it may also reveal that the homeowners in the activism have to face the dilemma because of the deficiency of legitimacy. The strategy shows that the citizens get a chance for progress in the interaction with government; however, it would bring negative impacts on the urban governance and the construction of civil society in China.

CHANG Xinyue (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

Censorship in Cyberspace: Accommodation and Resistance among Chinese Netizens

In January, 2010, the biggest internet search engine, Google, announced its potential exodus from the Chinese market due to China's practice of censorship. Many foreign commentators have criticized China's practice of censorship. But what are the views of Chinese citizens? Most have overlooked the problem since the situation has already been a part of their taken-for-granted daily lives. But there is a group of people who are well aware of internet censorship. They are the Chinese returnees who have experienced both the domestic and overseas cyber-worlds. They are used as informants in this ethnographic research to provide a fresh view on the issue of censorship in cyberspace. The research seeks to understand how those who have lived outside China understand internet censorship within China in order to provide a useful glimpse into how nationalism and internationalism interact within a globalizing China. Some informants view internet censorship as a negative intrusion and a representation of an untruthful government while others consider it as a necessity in managing China's cyberspace due to the special cultural context of Chinese society. Though their perceptions vary, my informants expressed a paradoxical nationalism, defending a government they felt ashamed of; this was expressed repeatedly during interviews. In this paper, I analyze in depth this paradoxical nationalism among my informants, to better understand Chinese censorship and how it may be justified.

OUYANG Dishun (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

Full-scale Mobilization: A Village-level Election in Rural China

China's official account on village-level elections in rural areas is that such is how China's peasants participate in the country's political life and wield their power as decision makers of local affairs. This recent fieldwork done in a Li ethnic prefecture in southern China may have added some findings to other dimensions of the above understanding. Two powerful clans have been in fierce conflict as their respective leaders are running for the President of the Villagers' Committee. Efforts during the campaign include uniting other families and promising financial returns for independent voters, among many other things. In the process, it seems that a set of rules which is obviously different from the official regulation has been established. Through constant manipulation and mitigation of these rules by the two parties, a new village head has finally come into power. This research tries to analyse how the two candidates gain their power as their clans' leaders, play with the rules, and relocate their resources to win over the rival. At the same time, there is also the complexity in the interaction among elements including kinship, ethnic identity, subsistence, and informal power in the context of a modern state.