

Index

- aboveground civil society organizations in
 China, 11, 67, 141, *see also* civil society
 organizations in China
 competitive control by the state and, 25,
 67–9, 85–7
 training of social workers as benefit to local
 government, 73–4
- ACFTU, *see* All-China Federation of
 Trade Unions
- ACWF, *see* All-China Women's Federation
- activists, *see also* *Hong Kong labor activists*;
Mainland Chinese activists
 behind-the-scenes coaching of small-scale
 contention by, 3–4
 coaching of atomized action by, 90, 106,
 108–9, 111, 116–17, 121, 124
 coaching of discursive action by, 125, 128
 coaching of micro-collective action by, 92,
 104
 freedom of information activists, 156–7
 interviews with, 163–4
 tactical coaching and moral support by,
 116–17, 165
- adaptive authoritarianism, 143
- Advantage of Being Atomized, *The* (Rev), 109
- al-Assad, Hafiz, 28
- All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU),
 7, 30–1, 58, 72, 83, 95, 110, 136
 migrant workers demand for
 representation in, 32
- All-China Women's Federation (ACWF), 7
- American civil rights movement of the 1950s
 and 1960s, 13
- associational revolution in China, 6–7, 23, 50
 grassroots labor organizations and, 34
- atomized action, 20, 110, 123–4, 141
 activist's tactical coaching and moral
 support, 116–17
 atomized peasant resistance in Hungary,
 15–16, 109–10
 challenge of moral authority of local
 officials as tactic of, 111, 124
 challenge to social stability as tactic of,
 110–11, 124
 collective consciousness and, 123
 compared with micro-collective action, 106,
 121
 compared with weapons of the weak, 109
 deception as tactic of, 116
 disguised mobilization and, 111, 115, 117,
 121, 144
 vs. everyday resistance, 124
 under Hu Jintao administration, 107
 inadvertent buttressing of state's power
 by, 144
 individualization of contention in, 106
 Li's story of for injury
 compensation, 116–17
 narratives to inspire workers as tactic
 of, 115–16
 negative inducements and, 108
 non-coordinated Chinese peasant resistance
 in 1980s and, 109
 organizational risks and, 121, 124
 Pay It Forward (underground labor
 organization) as case study of, 111–15,
 118–21
 pedagogies of contention in, 20,
 106–11, 115, 121–4, 144, 147,
 157, 168

Index

187

- performance threats and, 111
- reduced organizational risks due to individualized action of, 106
- repertoire of verbal and performance threats used in, 107–9
- as result of inefficient formal labor dispute system, 107
- rights bargaining coaching of Chang (injured worker) and, 117–21
- suicide shows as tactic of, 111, 117
- workers' lack of faith in local state institutions and, 122
- authoritarian state control, 6, 27
- adaptive authoritarianism, 143
- atomized action's inadvertent buttressing of state power and, 144
- bargained authoritarianism, 143
- civil society as threat to, 66
- of civil society organizations via social management and service delivery, 5, 66–7
- coercion and, 28
- horizontal disaggregation of local states and, 51–2, 61
- labor organizations as threat to the state, 37–8
- mobilizing without the masses as political compromise with state power, 143–5
- in non-Chinese civil society organizations, 160
- paying off of protesters and, 28, 54–5, 124, 142
- repression of underground labor organizations and, 52–4
- repression-mobilization nexus and, 24
- routinized absorption of popular contention by, 142–3, 145
- state to society signals and, 62–3
- bargained authoritarianism, 143
- Bayat, Asef, 16
- behind-the-scenes coaching, 11, 144, 155, 159, 160, 165
- of atomized action, 90, 106, 108–9, 111, 116–17, 121, 124
- of discursive action, 125, 128
- by environmental groups, 158
- of micro-collective action, 92, 104
- by senior citizen associations, 158
- of small-scale contention, 3–4
- Beijing labor organizations, 34
- competition for funding with Pearl River Delta organizations and, 46
- construction and service worker clientele in, 39
- entrepreneurial migrant workers as founders of, 38
- incubator effect in organizational expansion of grassroots, 42–4
- vs. Pearl River Delta labor organizations, 48
- relationship with the state of, 39, 48
- white-collar professionals as founders of, 38, 48
- Beijing on Action International Cultural Center (Beijing Zai Xingdong Guoji Wenhua Zhongxin), 39
- Beijing Women's Legal Aid and Research Center, 5
- Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation, 8
- Beijing Zhicheng Legal Aid Station For Migrant Workers (Beijing Zhicheng Nonmingong Falu Yuanzhu Yu Yanjiu Zhongxin), 38
- black lawyers (*heilushi*), 39
- blacklisting, 92, 99–101, 103–4, 141
- Blecher, Mark, 146
- Bribes, *see* protesters, paying off of
- Bureau of Civil Affairs, 7, 11, 35, 39, 55, 67
- Bureau of Commerce, 7
- Bureau of Industry and Commerce, 35, 39, 67, 127, 138
- Burma, 49
- buying off of protesters, *see* protesters, paying off of
- cellular activism, 32
- censored entrepreneurialism, 11, 23, 51, 62–5, 89
- Chang (injured worker), 117–21, 123
- charity law (2016), 69
- citizenship consciousness, 19
- civil society, 49
 - authoritarian state control over via repression-mobilization nexus, 24
 - authoritarian state control via coercion and, 28
 - in illiberal states, 27, 160
 - as threat to authoritarian power, 66
- civil society in China
 - authoritarian state control over via repression-mobilization nexus, 24
 - authoritarian state control via coercion and, 28
 - charity law (2016) and, 69
 - Regulations on Registration and Management of Social Organization* (1998) and, 69

- civil society organizations in China, 4, 6,
see also aboveground civil society
 organizations in China
 aboveground sector of, 7
 benefits of partnership with state for local
 government, 73
 collaboration with the state in 2000s, 69–70
 competitive control via social management
 and service delivery in Hu Jintao
 administration, 5, 66–7, 71–3
 discursive action and, 125–6
 important role of in mobilizing and
 sustaining contention, 159
 need to devise new tactics of mobilizing
 without the masses and, 156
 state competitive control over, 70–1
 state corporatism pre-2000s and, 9, 69
 state graduated control over, 70
 tactics under flexible repression of and, 20
 training of social workers as benefit to local
 government, 73–4
 underground sector of, 8
 workers' ambivalent attitude
 towards, 122–3
- coaching, *see* behind-the-scenes coaching
- coercion, 28
- collective action
 disguised collective action, 20, 49, 142, 144
 disruptive collective action, 14
 disruptive defined, 14
 micro-collective action, 20
- collective bargaining, 41–2, 76, 104, 150,
 152–5
 Solidarity in Action and, 94–8
- collective consultation (*jiti xieshang*), 94–5,
 95n. 4, 97–8, 152
- collective contention, 153, 159
 by labor organizations and workers during
 Hu Jintao administration, 153
 rise in post-1989, 143
- Color Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 53
- community-based trade unions, 136
- competitive control, 11, 23, 25,
 66–71, 85–7
 vs. fragmented control, 50
 social management and service delivery in
 Hu Jintao administration, 71–3
- consultative authoritarianism, 70, 149
- contention, *see also* collective contention;
 individual contention
 active organizational involvement in
 facilitating popular, 158–60
 behind-the-scenes coaching of, 3–4
 coaching of by environmental groups, 158
 coaching of by organizations allied with
 media and, 159
 coaching of by senior citizen
 associations, 158
 collective contention, 153
 collective contention in rural areas, 159
 comparing dynamics of, 12f. 1.1
 contentious performances, 18
 grammar of contention, 19, 91, 138, 142,
 145
 micro-politics of organizing, 3
 pedagogies of contention and, 3, 18–21,
 103–5, 141, 145, 150
 pedagogies of contention in
 atomized action and, 20, 106–11, 115,
 121–4, 144, 147, 157, 168
 pedagogies of contention in discursive
 action and, 21, 106–8, 125–7, 138–40,
 147–8, 169
 pedagogies of contention in micro-collective
 action and, 20, 145, 168
 pedagogies of contention of Solidarity in
 Action, 96
 state's routinization of popular contention,
 142–3, 145
- contracting production to the household
 (*baochan daohu*), illegality of, 109
- control, *see* authoritarian state control;
 competitive control; flexible repression;
 fragmented control; graduated control
- corporatism, in civil society organizations in
 China, 9, 69
- democracy and democratization, 49
 in Burma, 49
 demand for democratic elections in official
 unions and, 33, 95, 98
 grassroots democracy, 83
 liberal democracies, 148
 Tiananmen Democracy Movement (1989)
 and, 28, 96
- disciplinary power, 67–8, 74, 86
- discursive action, 21, 125–6, 139–41,
 150, *see also* migrant workers;
 Workers' World
- discursive domination of migrant
 workers, 126
- migrant workers museum as, 129–31
- pedagogies of contention in, 21, 125–7,
 138–40, 147–8, 169
- performance and literary arts as
 tactic, 131–2
- disguised collective action, 20, 49,
 142, 144

Index

189

- disruptive collective action, 14
 defined, 14
 domestic labor scholars, 47–8
- Egypt, 13, 160
 emergency incident (*tufa shijian*), 106
 environmental organizations, 70, 158, 160
 green civil society movement, 5
 everyday resistance, 4, 124
- Facilitator (Xie Zuozhe)*, 43
 Falun Gong, 8
 Fanrao Hotline (*XiaoChen Fanrao Rexian*), 38
 flash demonstrations, 11, 18, 20, 103, 145,
 150, *see also* micro-collective action
 against Manufacturer's Association, 92
 flexible repression, 9–10, 20, 25, 89, 141
 tactical innovations in response to, 89
 floating population (*liudong renkou*) of
 migrant workers, 31
 fragmented control, 10–11, 23, 60
vs. competitive control, 50
 figure of in Guangdong Province
 (2009–11), 51f. 3.1
 by local states of underground labor
 organizations, 54–5
 underground labor organizations and, 25,
 50–1, 62–5
 freedom of information activists, 156–7
- Gallagher, Mary, 151
 graduated control, 70
 grammar of contention, 19, 91, 138,
 142, 145
 grassroots labor organizations in China, *see*
also labor organizations in China
 competition for funding between Beijing and
 Pearl River Delta organizations and, 46
 construction and service worker clientele in
 Beijing, 39
 contentious mobilization in PRD *vs.*
 Beijing, 42
 domestic labor scholars and, 47–8
 entrepreneurial migrant workers as founders
 of in Beijing, 38
 factory workers as clientele in Pearl River
 Delta, 42
 Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee
 (CIC) and, 40–1
 Hong Kong labor activists as founders and
 leaders of in Pearl River Delta, 40–2, 48
 incubator effect in organizational expansion
 of in Pearl River Delta, 44–6
 lack of unification in, 49
 legal services offered to workers by, 35
 Mainland Chinese activists as founders and
 leaders in Pearl River Delta, 39–40, 48
 Migrant Women's Home (*Dagongmei*
Zhijia) and, 34, 38
 migrant workers suspicion towards, 44
 mobilization under fragmented control
 and, 62–5
 precarious legal standing of, 35
 relationship with the state in Beijing, 39
 rise of, 34–8
 rise of during associational revolution, 34
 Same Hope Home (*Tongxin Xiawang*
Jiayuan) as, 43–4
 social services provided by, 36
 State Security Bureau as fueling mistrust
 among labor leaders, 47
 as threat to the state, 37–8
 as unconventional mobilizing structures, 49
 volunteer networks and activist
 training in, 37
 white-collar professionals as founders of in
 Beijing, 38, 48
 green civil society movement, 5
 Green Watershed, 158
 Guangdong Federation of Trade Unions, 33
 Guangdong Panyu Migrant Worker Center
 (*Guangdong Panyu Dagongzu Fuwubu*),
see Panyu Center
 Guangdong Province
 hard and soft repression of labor
 organizations by local agencies in, 55–8
 Honda factory strikes in 2010 and, 32–4
 local agencies interacting with labor
 organizations in, 56, 64
 guerrilla policy making, 69
- Han Dongfang, 153
 harmonious society (*hexie shehui*), 54
 Honda factory strikes (Guangdong Province,
 2010), 32–4
 Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee
 (CIC), 40–1
 Hong Kong labor activists, 45, 93, 153
 as founders and leaders of grassroots labor
 organizations in Pearl River Delta, 40–2
 household registration system (*hukou*)
 migrant workers and, 22–3, 31, 126
 Hu Jintao administration, 54, 67
 collective contention by labor organizations
 and workers during, 153
 competitive control via social management
 and service delivery in, 71–3
 labor disputes under, 107

- Huang Zhiming, 45
human-centered development (*yiren weibei*), 71
Hungary
 atomized action of peasant resistance in, 15–16, 109–10
- illegal organizations, 53
incubator effect
 in grassroots labor organizations in Beijing, 42–4
 in grassroots labor organizations in Pearl River Delta, 44–6
independent labor representation, 1, 32–4, 96, 104
individual contention
 dynamics of, 14–17
 weapons of the weak and, 14
informal networks, 13
internal migration in China, 67
internet censorship, 28
interviews, 163–4
Italy, 49
- Jiang Zemin administration, 53
- Kelliher, Daniel, 110
Kong Xiaohong, 33
- Labor Bureau, 122
 neglect of underground labor organizations as control strategy in, 61–2
Labor Contract Law (2008), 32, 107, 152
Labor Dispute Mediation and Arbitration Law (2008), 32
Labor Is Glorious (song, Workers' World), 131–2
labor law, 2, 32, 94, 102, 107, 117, 121–2, 124, 168
labor organizations in China, 21–3, *see also* Beijing labor organizations; grassroots labor organizations in China; Pay It Forward; Pearl River Delta labor organizations; underground labor organizations in China; Workers' World
 assisting workers with labor exploitation issues and, 22
 Chinese party-state's wariness of, 23
 collective contention in Guangdong Province under Hu administration, 153
 discursive action and, 125
 household registration system (*hukou*) reform for migrant workers and, 22–3
 independent labor unions and, 32–4
 migrant workers in reform era and, 32–4
 migrant workers pre-reform era and, 30–2
 migrant workers' Honda factory strikes in Guangdong Province (2010), 32–4
 national distribution of, 35, 36t. 2.1
 Social Engineering as case study of, 74–86
 Xi administration's repression of collective action and, 153–6
- Li (migrant worker), 116–17
Li Lianjiang, 151
Li Tao, 38
Li Zhen, 38
Liao Xiaofeng, 44–5
Lide Shoe Factory strike, 153
Little Birds (*Xiao Xiao Niao*), 38–9, 45
location hopping, 64
Luenshing Factory strikes (2013), 153
- Ma Xiaoduo, 43–4
Mainland Chinese activists, 39–40
Marshall, T. H., 147
mass incidents (*quntixing shijian*), 5, 18, 50, 54–5, 61, 90, 106, 110, 121, 143, 154–5
media, 159
Mertha, Andrew, 160
micro-collective action, 20, 93, 141, 150, *see also* flash demonstrations
 compared with atomized action, 106, 121
 diagnostic frames used in, 20, 103–4
 inadvertent buttressing of state power by, 145
 motivational frames used in, 20
 organizational risks and, 105, 121
 pedagogies of contention in, 20, 145, 157, 168
 Solidarity in Action (underground labor organization) as case study of, 93–105
 as symbolic form of contention, 104
 worker solidarity and, 105
micro-politics, 3
 of repression, 24
Middle East, social non-movements in, 15
Migrant Women's Home (*Dagongmei Zhijia*), 34, 38
migrant workers, *see also* Workers' World
 absence of independent labor unions and, 30–2
 ACFTU and, 32
 cellular activism of, 32
 challenges in mobilizing, 159
 discursive domination of by referring to as peasants, 126

Index

191

- economic exploitation and social marginalization of, 125–6
- entrepreneurial migrant workers as founders of labor organizations, 38
- female migrant workers, 38, 43
- household registration system and, 22–3, 31, 126
- independent labor unions and, 32–4
- internal migration in China and, 67
- Labor Is Glorious* (song, Workers' World), 131–2
- migrant workers' dictionary, 133
- migrant workers' culture (*dagong wenhua*), 127
- museum of, 129–31
- suspicion of towards labor organizations, 44
- Workers' World new collective, 138
- Migrant Workers' Association (Zhejiang Province), 53
- mobilization, *see also* collective action; mobilizing without the masses
- censored entrepreneurialism and, 11
 - conventional, 3
 - disguised mobilization, 144
 - mobilization without the aid of formal organizations, 5
 - mobilizing with the masses, 124, 142, 153–4
 - unorthodox, 3
- mobilizing strategies, 37
- mobilizing structures, 13
- bloc recruitment and communication networks and, 13
 - collective action and, 13–14
 - informal networks in authoritarian settings and, 13
 - tactical innovations and, 13
- mobilizing with the masses, 124, 142, 153–4
- mobilizing without the masses, 3, 24, 49, *see also* atomized action; discursive action; micro-collection action
- active organizational involvement in facilitating popular contention and, 158–60
 - alternative discourse of rights based on citizenship and, 145–51
 - atomized action as tactic and, 20
 - as in between collective and individual contention, 3–4, 11–12, 18
 - as boundary-spanning contention, 11
 - citizenship consciousness raising and, 19
 - collective contention of labor organizations as mobilization *with* the masses, 153
 - competitive control and, 11, 25
 - contentious performances and, 18
 - discursive action as tactic of, 21
 - disguising organizational process behind individual or small group action and, 49, 111, 115, 117, 121
 - fragmented control and, 11, 25
 - freedom of information activists and, 156–7
 - inadvertent buttressing of state power by, 144
 - limiting scale of the organization to avoid repression, 157–8
 - long-term effect on popular contention and state power, 142
 - micro-collective action as tactic and, 20
 - motivational frames in, 4, 19, 90, 96–7
 - need for new tactics of, 156
 - in non-Chinese civil society organizations, 160
 - pedagogies of contention and, 18–21
 - as political compromise with state power, 143–5
 - prognostic frames in, 4, 19, 90, 96–7
 - resemblance to everyday resistance of, 4
 - rules and rights consciousness and, 151–3
 - short-term effect on popular contention and state power, 142
- motivational frames, 4, 19–20, 90, 96–7
- negative inducements, 108
- new citizenship (*xin gongmin* or *xin shimin*), 5, 8, 21, 125–6, 128, 146–7
- new industrial workers (*xin chanye gongren*), 133
- North American Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 13
- Notice on the Work of Strengthening Management of Grassroots Organizations*, 53
- one veto rule (*yipiao fojue*), 18, 54, 110
- Open Constitution Initiative (2009), 5
- oppositional speech acts, 125
- Panyu Center, 44–6
- participant observation, 48, 65, 97, 162–3, 00996165–8

- Pay It Forward (underground labor organization), 111–16, 118–21, 157
 fostering of collective consciousness by, 123
 volunteer network of, 123
 workers' ambivalent attitude towards, 122–3
 paying off of protesters, *see* protesters, paying off of
- Pearl River Delta labor organizations, 34
vs. Beijing labor organizations, 48
 competition for funding with Beijing organizations and, 46
 domestic labor scholars and, 47–8
 factory workers as clientele in, 42
 Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee (CIC) and, 40–1
 Hong Kong labor activists as founders and leaders of, 40–2, 48
 incubator effect in grassroots, 44–6
 Mainland Chinese activists as founders and leaders of, 39–40, 48
 peasant resistance, 109
 peasant workers, 133, 139, 145, 148
 pedagogies of contention, 3, 18–21, 103–5, 141, 145, 150, *see also* atomized action; contention; discursive action; micro-collective action; mobilizing without the masses
 atomized action and, 20, 106–11, 115, 00684121–4, 144, 147, 157, 168
 discursive action and, 21, 125–7, 138–40, 144, 147–8, 169
 micro-collective action and, 20, 145, 168
 of Solidarity in Action, 96
 performance threats, 90, 107–9, 111
 Perry, Elizabeth, 151
 Polish Solidarity Trade Union, 8
 political citizenship, 146, 148–50
 political ethnography, 164–6
 political opportunities, 11, 59, 62, 64–5, 68, 133
 political uncertainty, 63
 positionality, 166–7
 prognostic frames, 4, 19, 90, 96–7
 Protestant churches, 5, 8, 157–8
 protesters, paying off of, 28, 54–5, 124, 142–3
 public transcript, 124, 130, 151, 164–6
 Putin, Vladimir, 28
- Raindrops Worker Care Hotline (*Yudian Zai Xindong Laowugong Guanai Rexian*), 45
 regime resilience, 143
Regulations on Registration and Management of Social Organization (1998), 69
 relational repression, 143
 religious organizations, 5, 8, 70
 repression-mobilization nexus, 24
 Rev, Istavan, 15–16
 rights bargaining, 117–21, 144
 rules and rights consciousness, 151–3
 rural associations, 159
Rural Women Knowing It All (magazine), 38
 Russia, 28, 160
- Same Hope Home (*Tongxin Xiwang Jiayuan*), 43–4
 sampling biases, 167–9
 Scott, James, 14, 16
 Security Bureau (Guangdong Province), hard and soft repression of labor organizations by, 55–8
 senior citizen associations, 158
 Shenzhen Chunfeng Labor Disputes Services Center, 40, 45
 small government, big society (*xiaozhengfu, dashehui*), 67
 social citizenship, 19, 146–7, 150
 Social Engineering (labor organization in China) 74–86, 149
 social management (*shehui guanli*), 71
 social non-movements, 15, 18
 social services delivery, 8, 10–11, 66–7, 71, 74, 85
 social stability, 49, 52, 54, 117, 127, 138–9, 144, 157
 challenge to as tactic of atomized action, 110–11
 civil society organizations maintaining of, 73
 repression of organizations challenging, 54–5, 61–2
 state mandate to maintain, 54, 58, 62, 71, 79–80
 solidarity, 93, 104, 123
 micro-collective action and, 105
 Solidarity in Action (underground labor organization), 122, 150, *see also* underground labor organizations in China
 as case study of micro-collective action, 93–105

Index

193

- stability maintenance fund, 54, 143
 State Security Bureau, grassroots labor
 organizations and, 47
 state to society signals, 62–3
 state-society relations, 6, 70, 152
 strategies, 10–11, 25, 27, 50, 52, 55, 58, 60, 62,
 90, 99, 129, 144, 153, 155, 159, 166–7
 strikes, 150, 153
 in Honda factories in Guangdong Province
 (2010), 32–4
 at YueYuen shoe factory (Dongguan city,
 Guangdong Province), 46
 subalterns (*diceng*), 125
 suicide shows, 18–19, 117, 152, *see also*
 atomized action
 as tactic of atomized action, 111
 Sun Heng, 39, 43
 Sun Zhigang, 130
 Syria, 28
- tactical innovations, 141, *see also* atomized
 action; discursive action; micro-collective
 action; mobilizing without the masses
 flexible repression and, 89
 Tiananmen Democracy Movement (1989), 8,
 28, 96
 Tilly, Charles, 16, 18, 145
 Tong Lihua, 38
- underground labor organizations in China,
 111, *see also* labor organizations in
 China; Pay It Forward; Solidarity in
 Action; Workers' World
 censored entrepreneurialism of labor
 activists and, 62–5
 co-optation of by labor unions as control
 strategy, 58–61
 flash demonstrations by, 92
 fragmented control of, 10, 25, 50–1
 hard and soft repression of by local agencies
 in Guangdong Province, 55–8
 interpreting state to society signals and, 62–3
 local agencies interacting with (Guangdong
 Province), 56
 local fragmented control, 54–5
 local labor bureaus neglect of as control
 strategy in, 61–2
 location hopping by, 64
 mobilization under fragmented control
 and, 62–5
 repression of by the state, 52–4
 unfinished proletarianism, 126, 138, 146
- verbal threats, 90, 107–9
- Walder, Andrew, 31
 Wang Wu Li, 45
 weapons of the weak, 16, 18, 20
 vs. atomized action, 109
 as individual contention, 14
 power to effect social change from, 16
 Weber, Max, 28
 Wei Wei, 38
 Wen Jiabao, 33
 white-collar professionals, 38, 48
 Workers' Friends' Home (*Gongyou Zhibia*),
 39, 42–4
 Workers' World, 139, 148, 150, 152, *see also*
 discursive action; migrant workers
 collective identity of migrant workers as
 citizens, 138
 contestation of dominant narratives about
 migrant workers by, 131–2
 critics of cultural mobilization of, 138
 cultivation of a generation of young migrant
 leaders by, 139
 didactic dramas as tactic of, 132
 dissemination of counter-narrative to diverse
 audiences by, 132
 inadvertent buttressing of state power
 by, 144
 influence on policy-makers, 139
Labor Is Glorious (song), 131–2
 lack of state harassment *vs.*
 counterparts, 138
 migrant workers' museum of, 129–31
 migrant workers' dictionary and, 133
 performance and literary arts as tactic
 of, 131–2
 strategic use of discursive action
 by, 133
 worker's college founded by, 136–8
 Wu Junliang, 156
- Xi administration, repression of collective
 action of labor activists during,
 153–6
 Xie Lihua, 38
- Zeng Feiyang, 45
 Zhang Zhiru, 40
 Zhili Handicraft factory fire, 40
 Zhiqiang Service Center (*Zhiqiang Xingxi*
Fuwubu), 45
 Zhu Qiang, 45