

Playing by the Informal Rules

Growing protests in nondemocratic countries are often seen as signals of regime decline. China, however, has remained stable amid surging protests. *Playing by the Informal Rules* highlights the importance of informal norms in structuring state—protester interactions, mitigating conflict, and explaining regime resilience amid mounting unrest. Drawing on a nationwide dataset of protest and multisited ethnographic research, this book presents a bird's-eye view of Chinese contentious politics and illustrates the uneven application of informal norms across regions, social groups, and time. Through examining different types of protests and their distinct implications for regime stability, Li offers a novel theoretical framework suitable for monitoring the trajectory of political contention in China and beyond. Overall, this study sheds new light on contentious politics and authoritarian resilience and provides fresh perspectives on power, rules, legitimacy, and resistance in modern societies.

YAO LI is a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard University's Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation. She earned her PhD in Sociology at Johns Hopkins University and was a lecturer in the Center for East Asian Studies at the University of Kansas. She was named an Exemplary Diversity Scholar by the University of Michigan's National Center for Institutional Diversity in 2015.



Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University

The Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute of Columbia University were inaugurated in 1962 to bring to a wider public the results of significant new research on modern and contemporary East Asia.



Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics

General Editor

Doug McAdam Stanford University and Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences

Editors

Mark Beissinger Princeton University

Donatella della Porta Scuola Normale Superiore

Jack A. Goldstone George Mason University

Michael Hanagan Vassar College

Holly J. McCammon Vanderbilt University

David S. Meyer University of California, Irvine

Sarah Soule Stanford University

Suzanne Staggenborg University of Pittsburgh

Sidney Tarrow Cornell University

Charles Tilly (d. 2008) Columbia University

Elisabeth J. Wood Yale University

Deborah Yashar Princeton University

Rina Agarwala, Informal Labor, Formal Politics, and Dignified Discontent in India Ronald Aminzade, Race, Nation, and Citizenship in Post-Colonial Africa: The Case of Tanzania

Ronald Aminzade, Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics Javier Auyero, Routine Politics and Violence in Argentina: The Gray Zone of State Power

Phillip M. Ayoub, When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility

Amrita Basu, Violent Conjunctures in Democratic India

W. Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg, The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics

Nancy Bermeo and Deborah J. Yashar, Parties, Movements, and Democracy in the Developing World

Clifford Bob, The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics

Clifford Bob, The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism

Charles Brockett, Political Movements and Violence in Central America

Marisa von Bülow, Building Transnational Networks: Civil Society and the Politics of Trade in the Americas

Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries

Lars-Erik Cederman, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug, *Inequality*, *Grievances*, and Civil War

(continued after index)



Playing by the Informal Rules

Why the Chinese Regime Remains Stable despite Rising Protests

YAO LI

Harvard University





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108456654 DOI: 10.1017/9781108557054

© Yao Li 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019 First paperback edition 2021

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-108-47078-0 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-45665-4 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



To my parents, Yao Shuchun and Li Chensheng



Contents

Lis	t of Figures	page xi
Lis	t of Tables	xiii
Acknowledgments		XV
List of Abbreviations		xix
I	Introduction: Rising Protests and Regime Stability	I
2	Mapping the Space for Protest	27
3	Accommodating Informal Norms in Regime-Engaging Protests	47
4	Unequal Application of Accommodating Informal Norms: Inequality in Protest Space	87
5	Antagonistic Informal Norms in Regime-Threatening Protests	119
6	Conclusion	144
Appendix I: Data and Technical Details		155
Appendix II: List of Interviewees		171
References		177
Index		201

ix



Figures

I.I	Why accommodating informal norms?	page 12
1.2	A framework of regime-engaging and regime-threatening	
	protests	18
2.I	Police reactions: a meaningful space for protest in China	
	(N = 1,418)	36
2.2	Protest claims	37
2.3	Protest actions	38
2.4	Protest organization	38
2.5	Factors affecting police presence at protest events ($N = 1,418$)	40
2.6	Factors leading to police actions at protest events $(N = 908)$	41
2.7	Claims by minorities	43
2.8	Mapping the space for protest in China	44
3.1	Shining Hospital demonstration in front of the D City Hall	
	in 2011	54
3.2	A policeman videotapes the 2011 Shining Hospital	
	demonstration	58
4.I	The suspended incineration project in Apple Village	93
4.2	The incineration plant in Banana Village	93
4.3	The N City protesters demonstrate at the SEPA	99
4.4	An anti-incineration poster made by Banana Villagers	100
4.5	Banana Villagers sit-in in April	104
4.6	An S City protester displays anti-incineration banner in	
	the subway	106
	Banana Villagers clash with police on May 27	III
	A meeting between officials and Banana Villagers in April 2011	114
A 2.1	Violent protests over time $(N = 1,418)$	170

хi



Tables

4.1	Four anti-incineration protests	page 90
A 2.1	Police presence (=1) vs. absence	157
A 2.2	Policing actions	157
A 2.3	Police/thug presence (=1) vs. absence	157
A 2.4	Policing/thug actions	157
A 2.5	BLR models predicting police presence at protest events	
	in China, 2001–2012	160
A 2.6	MLR models predicting police reactions at protest events	
	in China, when police were present, 2001–2012	163
A 2.7	Comparing hypotheses with BLR and MLR results	165
A 2.8	Descriptive statistics and correlation for Table A 2.5	166
A 2.9	Descriptive statistics and correlation for Table A 2.6	167
A 2.10	BLR model predicting police presence (events reported	
	by both Boxun and other sources), $N = 1,110$	168
A 2.11	BLR model predicting police presence (only including	
	events reporting the number of participants), $N = 878$	169
A 2.12	BLR model predicting police presence (only including	
	social groups and protest claims), $N = 1,418$	169

xiii



Acknowledgments

This book started with a 2007 conversation with my mother's colleague, a retired doctor who was leading his colleagues in a fight against a government decision to privatize their hospital. At that point the struggle was close to victory. When the doctor described their protest experience, I was not only impressed by his eloquence, charisma, and wit, but also amazed at the protesters' ability to affect government decision-making and to push policy implementation in their favor. The first question that came to mind then was how they got there. The more I learned about this case, the more I was drawn into Chinese contentious politics and the more questions arose: What about other protest cases? How does the Chinese state handle protests in general? Are there regional differences? Does the state treat distinct social groups differently? What are the political implications of these protests? This book is the culmination of my efforts to answer these questions.

For their invaluable contributions to my work, I am grateful to many individuals. At Johns Hopkins, Joel Andreas, an incredibly devoted mentor, guided me at every turn and inspired me with his dedication, wisdom, and vision. I am deeply indebted to him for his insightful advice, valuable encouragement, and for reading countless drafts of this research project from its infancy. I am also thankful to Lingxin Hao, Erin Chung, Ho-fung Hung, Rina Agarwala, and William Rowe for their challenging questions and thoughtful feedback. Thanks also go to the late Giovanni Arrighi, Beverly Silver, Melvin Kohn, Stephan Plank, Kellee Tsai, and Michael Levien for providing wise counsel along the way.

In converting this research from a dissertation to a book, I benefited considerably from the tough questions and constructive suggestions of Tony Saich, Mary Gallagher, Steve Levitsky, Jessica Teets, Arne Westad, Elizabeth Perry, Edward Cunningham, Kaori Urayama, Manfred Elfstrom, Huirong Chen, Sara Newland, Chengpang Lee, Junpeng Li, and Yeling Tan, who read either the

χV



xvi Acknowledgments

entire manuscript or parts of it. I would especially like to acknowledge Tony Saich for his close reading of the manuscript, sage advice, and inspiring comments during my time as a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard. I thank the Ash Center for providing financial and logistical support of a book workshop that greatly strengthened the final product. J. Megan Greene, So-Min Cheong, and John James Kennedy's support during my time at the University of Kansas is much appreciated as well.

For helpful comments at various stages of the project, I thank Mildred Schwartz, Karyn J. Wang, Dana Moss, Patricia Bromley, Anne Thurston, Ray Madoff, Rogers Smith, Chan S. Suh, Paul Y. Chang, Melissa Forbis, Woody Powell, Wayne Santoro, Neil Diamant, Lu Zhang, Evan Schofer, Yan Long, Ling Han, and Juan Wang. I thank Sahan Savas Karatasli for his excellent advice regarding data coding, and Charlie Mitchell and Daniel Pasciuti for their invaluable comments on my quantitative chapter. I am grateful to Burak Gurel, Sika Koudou, Nazish Zafar, Anne-Marie Livingstone, Erdem Yoruk, Mike Reese, Minchang You, Jing Li, Rachel Core, and Ben Scully for their intellectual and emotional support and their encouragement of my research.

I am thankful for feedback from audiences at various seminars and workshops at Johns Hopkins University, Stanford University, Harvard University, the University of Kansas, the University of Pennsylvania, Columbia University, and Stony Brook University as well as at annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, the Eastern Sociological Society, the North American Chinese Sociologists Association, the Association for Asian Studies, the International Studies Association (ISA), the ISA Midwest, and the American Political Science Association. Financial support from the Ash Center at Harvard and from the Program in East Asian Studies, the Department of Sociology, and the Program in Comparative Sociology and International Development at Johns Hopkins are greatly appreciated.

Two anonymous reviewers at Cambridge University Press put amazing effort into reading and commenting on this manuscript. Their insight and astute suggestions undoubtedly have helped me better achieve my goals. I am indebted to my editor, Robert Dreesen, for his support and to the whole team at Cambridge University Press who help this project come to fruition. Special thanks to Doug McAdam for his supportive comments and for including this book in the Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics series. I am also grateful to editors at the Weatherhead East Asian Institute of Columbia University for including the book in their series. Randi Hacker's assistance in copy editing is much appreciated. Moreover, I thank Cambridge University Press for permission to reprint parts of my article, "A Zero-Sum Game? Repression and Protest in China," Government and Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics (September 7, 2017; doi:10.1017/gov.2017.24), in Chapter 2 of this book.

Most importantly, I want to express my gratitude to my interviewees for their willingness to share their stories and thoughts with me. Special thanks go



Acknowledgments xvii

to friends of non-governmental organizations in China, who provided generous help in my fieldwork (who must remain anonymous to protect their privacy). I enjoyed the experience of doing interviews together with Chin-chih Wang (in Beijing in January 2013), who was doing his doctoral field research on environmental protests at the same time.

Finally, I thank my family for their patience and support on the road to this project's completion. My husband, Wu Huixuan, read numerous drafts of this manuscript and is always keen to discuss my research and give me inspiration. His resourceful advice and upbeat attitude have helped ease the writing process and bring sunshine into my life. I am also indebted to my parents, Yao Shuchun and Li Chensheng, for giving me a loving family, encouraging my intellectual exploration, and always offering me wholehearted support. In particular, my mother has instilled in me the belief that "a girl can do anything a boy can do" since I was young, and her participation in the hospital struggle inspired this research in the first place. Thus, it is to Mom and Dad that this book is dedicated.



Abbreviations

BLR binary logistic regression

CAP contradiction among the people

contradiction between ourselves and the enemy **CBOE**

CCP Chinese Communist Party **CDP** China Democracy Party

D City Federation of Trade Unions DCFTU

D City Petition Bureau **DCPB** D City Traffic Bureau **DCTB**

MLR

ICPC Independent Chinese PEN Center

Law on Assemblies, Processions, and Demonstrations LAPD

multinomial logistic regression NGO non-governmental organizations NIABY not in anyone's backyard **NIMBY** not in my backyard **NPB** National Petition Bureau protest event analysis PEA **PRC** People's Republic of China

Public Security Administration Punishment Law **PSAPL**

PSB public security bureau

SEPA State Environmental Protection Administration

state-owned enterprise SOE WUC World Uyghur Congress

xix