

The Authoritarian Commons

Based on six-year fieldwork across China including over 200 in-depth interviews, this book provides an ethnographic account of how hundreds of millions of Chinese homeowners practice democracy in and beyond their condominium complexes. Using interviews, survey data, and a comprehensive examination of laws, policies, and judicial decisions, this book also examines how the party-state in China responds to the risks and benefits brought by neighborhood democratization. Moreover, this book provides a framework to analyze different approaches to the authoritarian dilemma facing neighborhood democratization, which may increase the regime's legitimacy and expose it to the challenge of independent organizations at the same time. Lastly, this book identifies conditions under which neighborhood democratization can succeed.

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The Authoritarian Commons

Neighborhood Democratization in Urban China

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To my family



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Acknowledgments

The initial spark for this book was a series of messages that my former classmates at Peking University (PKU) Law School posted in late 2017 on their WeChat accounts and in online groups. These former classmates were typical middle-class professionals: averse to most activism and politically reticent. Such traits are common among Chinese of my generation. Having been born in the mid 1980s, we grew up in the midst of China's economic boom and experienced an awakening of rights consciousness but also witnessed an increasingly constrained political environment in the post-1989 context. Thus, we learned to enjoy our growing economic freedoms while carefully avoiding any activity that might be regarded as a confrontational stance against the party-state. And thus, I was surprised to learn, in these online posts, that several of my former classmates were willing not only to establish homeowners' associations (HoAs) but also to take on local government officials in the process. Just for fun, I conducted individual calls with several of the classmates and was amazed by how much such a seemingly trivial matter – the establishment of HoAs – had occupied their attention. Six years later, with more than 200 interviews with homeowner activists, local government employees, and real estate management professionals and dozens of neighborhood visits under my belt, I have come to accept a very different view of Chinese citizens.

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Abbreviations

ACME average causal mediation effect

BBA Beijing Bar Association

BJHC Application Committee for Beijing Association of

Homeowners' Associations

CCP Chinese Communist Party
CCTV China Central Television
CtR cooperating to resist
DoJ Department of Justice

EIE environmental impact evaluation

GMAO grassroots mass autonomous organization

HoAs homeowners' associations HoCs homeowners' committees MCs management companies

MHC Ministry of Housing and Construction

MoC Ministry of Construction
MoCA Ministry of Civic Affairs
NGO nongovernmental organization

NIMBY not in my backyard

NPC National People's Congress

NPCSC National People's Congress Standing Committee

PCSC People's Congress Standing Committee

PRC People's Republic of China RCs residents' committees

RMB renminbi

SEZ special economic zone

SHDHC Shanghai Department of Housing and Construction

SoE state-owned enterprise SPC Supreme People's Court

SZHC Shenzhen Center of Promoting Transparent and

Harmonious Communities