

49. Stephen J. Collier and Andrew Lakoff, "On Regimes of Living," in *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*, ed. Aihwa Ong and Stephen J. Collier (Malden: Blackwell, 2005), 22–39.

50. This question was broached by Liu Xin in *The Otherness of Self* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

51. Ulrich Beck, "The Reinvention of Politics: Towards a Theory of Reflexive Modernization," in *Reflexive Modernization*, ed. Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 14–15.

Chapter I. Private Homes, Distinct Lifestyles

1. Li Zhang, "Forced from Home: Property Rights, Civic Activism, and the Politics of Relocation in China," *Urban Anthropology* 33, nos. 2–4 (2004): 247–81; Li Zhang, "Spatiality and Urban Citizenship in Late Socialist China," *Public Culture* 14, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 311–34; C. K. Lee, "Pathways of Labor Insurgency," in *Chinese Society: Change, Conflict, and Resistance*, ed. Elizabeth Perry and Mark Selden (London: Routledge, 2000), 41–61; Dorothy Solinger, *Contesting Citizenship in Urban China: Peasant Migrants, the State, and the Logic of the Market* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

2. The social stratum I describe here is new in the sense that it is a byproduct of the recent privatization of homeownership, which was largely absent from the early 1950s to the late 1980s. Furthermore, this social group is not a structural continuation of the middle class that existed before the communist takeover.

3. My fieldwork was carried out during the summers from 2000 to 2006 with a total of approximately fifteen months of field research. Over the course of these four years, I interviewed about forty homeowners and management staff in several different communities and maintained close ties with some of my informants. I also interviewed about ten developers and local officials involved in the construction of new communities. Much time was also spent on daily observation of community life in over ten housing compounds, with a particular focus on three of them.

4. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), 9.

5. I borrow this concept from Paul Willis even though it originally referred to a set of distinct, localized cultural practices and beliefs associated with working-class youth culture in a capitalist society he examined. See Paul Willis, *Learning To Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

6. Such anxieties and instability in middle-class cultural practices have been discussed by Barbara Ehrenreich, *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989); Katherine S. Newman, *Falling from Grace: Downward Mobility in the Age of Affluence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. and trans. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

7. Although Weber differentiates classes from status groups in that the former is largely defined in terms of production and the latter in terms of consumption, he also emphasizes that the two modes of group formation are closely linked through property ownership, which not only determines one's class situation but also serves as the primary basis for differences in lifestyle. See the analysis by Anthony Giddens, *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1981).

8. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*.

9. For a culturally oriented understanding of class making, see Mark Liechty, *Suitably Modern: Making Middle-Class Culture in a New Consumer Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); and Daniel Miller, "Consumption and Commodities," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 141–61.

10. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984). He treats "habitus" as a form of structuring structure, or those elements of culture that are anchored in and shape people's daily practices. Here I do not intend to engage in the argument about whether consumption ultimately leads to emancipation or exploitation. See Deborah Davis, "Urban Consumer Culture," *China Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (2005): 461–84; and Pun Ngai, "Subsumption or Consumption?" *Cultural Anthropology* 18, no. 4 (2003): 469–92. I simply want to emphasize the active role of consumption in shaping class and the often contradictory experiences it generates.

11. This is not to deny any social and economic differences that existed among urban Chinese under Mao. Yet the very living pattern based on *danwei* simply made it difficult for people with similar economic status to live together and cultivate a shared lifestyle, a habitus, and a sense of common identification as anything other than *danwei* comrades.

12. See Jean Baudrillard, "On Consumer Society," in *Rethinking the Subject: An Anthology of Contemporary European Social Thought*, ed. James D. Faubion (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), 193–203.

13. I thank Rebecca Karl for her critical comments on my theoretical treatment of class and status. Although we do not fully agree with each other on whether the use of *jiēceng* can capture or depoliticize what is going on in Chinese society today, her engaging comments pushed me to rethink this issue more carefully.

14. By "neoliberalism" I refer to the practices and thinking associated with the privatization of property and lifestyles and with the valorization of market forces, rather than to a Foucaultian notion of neoliberalism as a form of governmentality and self-governing.

15. See Xiaobo Lu and Elizabeth J. Perry, eds., *Danwei: The Changing Chinese Workplace in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1997); Martin Whyte and William L. Parish, *Urban Life in Contemporary China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

16. Shanghai presents an exception, for its residents tend to maintain a strong consciousness of spatial inequality, partly owing to the city's colonial experiences. See Tianshu Pan, "Neighborhood Shanghai: Community Building in Five Mile Bridge" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2002).

17. Deborah Davis, "When a House Becomes His Home," in *Popular China: Unofficial Culture in a Globalizing Society*, ed. Perry Link, Richard Madsen, and Paul Pickowicz (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), 231–50; Davis Fraser, "Inventing Oasis: Luxury Housing Advertisements in Reconfiguring Domestic Space in Shanghai," in *The Consumer Revolution in Urban China*, ed. Deborah Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 25–53.

18. The lower-income neighborhoods include mostly privatized *danwei* housing compounds and some newly developed, state-subsidized *xiaoqu* for teachers, other low-income families, and those who were forced out of the core city districts by recent urban renewal projects or commercial developments.

19. Most new commercially developed communities in China are now regulated by property management agencies and private security guards; they thus have little contact with residents'

committees (*juweihui*) and the local police. See Benjamin Read, "Revitalizing the State's Urban 'Nerve Tips,'" *China Quarterly* 163 (2000): 806-20; and Benjamin Read, "Democratizing the Neighborhood? New Private Housing and Home-Owner Self-Organization in Urban China," *China Journal* 49 (2003): 1-29.

20. David Goodman, "The New Middle Class," in *The Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms*, ed. Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 241-61.

21. See Ya Ping Wang and Alan Murie, "Commercial Housing Development in Urban China," *Urban Studies* 36, no. 9 (1999): 1475-94; Ya Ping Wang and Alan Murie, *Housing Policy and Practice in China* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); Xing Quan Zhang, *Privatization: A Study of Housing Policy in Urban China* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 1998).

22. This is called *yinxing shouru* (invisible income), which often far exceeds the salary offered by one's work unit. Yet it is nearly impossible to survey such incomes for two reasons: they tend to fluctuate over time, and people are unwilling to divulge exactly how much invisible income they earn and the means by which they obtain it.

23. Li Zhang, "Forced from Home: Property Rights, Civic Activism, and the Politics of Relocation in China," *Urban Anthropology* 33, nos. 2-4 (2004): 247-81.

24. This is very similar to the situation discussed by Teresa Caldeira, *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); and Setha M. Low, "The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear," *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 1 (2001): 45-58.

25. Howard W. French, "Chinese Children Learn Class, Minus the Struggle," *New York Times*, September 22, 2006.

26. Recent anthropological studies have also demonstrated the centrality of consumption, not just production, in understanding the formation and transformation of the working-class identity and lifestyle in the era of globalization and capitalist restructuring. See Carla Freeman, *High Tech and High Heels in the Global Economy: Women, Work, and Pink-Collar Identities in the Caribbean* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); and Mary Beth Mills, *Thai Women in the Global Labor Force: Consuming Desires, Contested Selves* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1999).

27. The increased importance of consumption in post-Mao social life is clearly demonstrated by a series of studies in Davis, *The Consumer Revolution*.

28. See arguments made by Anita Chan, "The Culture of Survival: Lives of Migrant Workers through the Prism of Private Letters," in Link, Madsen, and Pickowicz, *Popular China*, 163-88; Lee, "Pathways of Labor Insurgency," 41-61; Pun Ngai, *Made in China: Women Factory Workers in a Global Workplace* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

29. Benjamin Read is more optimistic about recently created homeowners' associations in China's new communities, seeing them as a possible force for democratizing the urban Chinese population. See Read, "Democratizing," 1-29. Yet my own research indicates that these associations are often short-sighted, parochial, and short-lived.

30. See Caldeira, *City of Walls*; also Low, "The Edge and the Center," 45-58; and Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992).

31. For example, Mike Davis describes this kind of conflict and tension in the United States as a fierce "new class war" at the level of the build environment. Davis, *City of Quartz*, 228.

Chapter 2. Property Rights and Homeowner Activism in New Neighborhoods

1. See C. B. MacPherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 194-262; and Edwin G. West, "Property Rights in the History of Economic Thought: From Locke to J. S. Mill," in *Property Rights: Cooperation, Conflict, and Law*, ed. Terry L. Anderson and Fred S. McChesney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 20-42.

2. Friedrich A. von Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), 103.

3. From a 1985 speech by John Moore quoted in Shirley Robin Letwin, *The Anatomy of Thatcherism* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1993), 102.

4. See, for example, Liu Junning, "Feng neng jin, yu neng jin, guowang buneng jin: zhengzhi lilun shiye de caichanquan yu renlei wenming" [The Wind and Rain May Come in, but the King May Not: Property Rights and Human Civilization in Political Philosophy], excerpted from a 1998 collection of essays, available at http://boxun.com/hero/liujn/18_1.shtml (accessed November 11, 2006).

5. Letwin, *Anatomy*, 105.

6. Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li's *Rightful Resistance in Rural China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) explores this topic in depth. See also Elizabeth J. Perry and Mark Selden, eds., *Chinese Society: Change, Conflict, and Resistance* (London: Routledge, 2000); and Peter Hays Gries and Stanley Rosen, eds., *State and Society in 21st-Century China* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004).

7. While scholarly analysis of this appears scant, it is reflected in news accounts such as the following: "Protesters Granted an Audience in Beijing: Shenyang Group Tell Officials Directly about Alleged Land Scam," *South China Morning Post*, August 29, 2003; "Three Held after Rally by Oil Well Investors," *South China Morning Post*, July 3, 2003; "Investors Besiege City Hall in Beijing," *South China Morning Post*, June 18, 2003; "Beijing Gets Cold Feet—and Freezes a Key Reform: To Placate Investors, It Cancels a Stock Issue in State Companies," *BusinessWeek*, July 15, 2002; "Demonstrators in China Test New Tolerance," *Wall Street Journal*, August 14, 1998.

8. Shai Oster, "For Chinese Consumers, a Superhero," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 25, 2000; Elisabeth Rosenthal, "Finding Fakes in China, and Fame and Fortune Too," *New York Times*, June 7, 1998.

9. The concept of corporatism as applied to the Chinese context is discussed in Bruce J. Dickson, "Cooptation and Corporatism in China: The Logic of Party Adaptation," *Political Science Quarterly* 115, no. 4 (2000-2001): 517-40; Jonathan Unger, "Bridges: Private Business, the Chinese Government, and the Rise of New Associations," *China Quarterly* 147 (1996): 795-819; Jonathan Unger and Anita Chan, "China, Corporatism, and the East Asian Model," *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 33 (1995): 29-53; and Margaret M. Pearson, "The Janus Face of Business Associations in China: Socialist Corporatism in Foreign Enterprises," *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 31 (1994): 25-46.

10. Useful starting points include Deborah S. Davis, "From Welfare Benefit to Capitalized Asset: The Re-commodification of Residential Space in Urban China," in *Housing and Social Change: East-West Perspectives*, ed. Ray Forrest and James Lee (London: Routledge, 2003); Ya Ping Wang and Alan Murie, *Housing Policy and Practice in China* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); Ya Ping Wang and Alan Murie, "Commercial Housing Development in Urban China," *Urban Studies* 36, no. 9 (1999): 1475-94; and Min Zhou and John R. Logan,