

# 有限改革的政治意義： 中國大陸動員式選舉參與對其城市居民 參與意識的影響\*

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自 1978 年以降，對岸的經濟改革，可說一日千里，但政治層面的變化，卻似乎相對有限。近年所推動的城鄉基層選舉，也多由國家動員、黨政主導，但如此的選舉模式，能否產生任何影響，為未來的民主參與奠基？本研究即針對此問題，以上海 2003、2006 年兩次居委換屆選舉為研究個案，探討此類動員式選舉參與，對居民「政治功效意識」與「社群歸屬意識」所產生之效果，進而蠡測對岸政治發展的前景。根據作者田野調查發現，經過兩次動員式的基層直選後，凡屬高度參與的社區成員，其功效意識與社群意識均得到強化，低度參與的社區居民，兩層面的效果也有些微進展。就此觀之，中國大陸的民主治理，或許會是黨國體制「有限改革」的動員式選舉下，所可能獲致的非預期後果。

關鍵字：政治參與、基層治理、中國政治、選舉、居民委員會

# The Political Consequences of Limited Reforms: How Political Mobilization Reshapes the Pattern of Participation of Chinese Citizens

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## ABSTRACT

Among the countries undergoing market transitions, China is rather unique in bringing together market economy with authoritarian governance. Facing the challenges of socioeconomic transformation, the Chinese party-state responds them with a series of political reforms aiming at strengthening the legitimacy and capacity of the regime. In urban areas, direct elections have been initiated to choose the Residence Committee. Although these elections have been institutionalized, citizens' participation in these elections is still being "mobilized" by the party-state and therefore, the political consequences of these elections are considered as limited by most China scholars. This paper, after studying the 2003 and 2006 local-level elections in Shanghai city, however, points to a different direction. We find that the predominant "mobilizational partici-

pation” has considerably reshaped the sense of political efficacy and community consciousness of many Shanghainese, especially those participate deeply and more forcefully. In other words, judging from our field data, the participation experience itself, no matter voluntary or mobilizational, will surely make a difference. The attitudinal changes among Shanghai citizens thus should be considered as the unintended consequences of an authoritarian regime to use elections to consolidate its legitimacy and power.

**Key Words:** political participation, local governance, Chinese politics, elections, residence committee