Analyzing the Characteristics of Policy Network in the Process of Community Governance in China: Take the Unit Community in Transition for Example

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Abstract
In recent years, the problem of community governance in transition has attracted more and more attention in academic circles. In China, a lot of problems and challenges have happened in the process of community governance, which have hindered social development and damage the power of residents, it is urgent to seek a way to solve these issues. Policy network theory and method offer new perspective and solution for the study of community governance, it may could effectively alleviate current community governance issues. Based on policy network analytical model, the paper discusses characteristics of policy network in the process of community governance from five basic dimensions which are actors, resources, relationships, rules, cognition, and then takes a unit community in transition in China as an example. Results show that main reasons for inefficient or invalid community policy network output are large difference between network actors' targets, unfair distribution of resources, mutual cognition deficiency and lacking of network managers and institutions. Therefore, constructing effective interactive mechanism of policy network is an effective way to protect rights and interests of residents and promote community governance.
Keywords: community governance, policy network model, relationship, interaction

Introduction

With the comprehensive deepening of reform, China's urban community construction is experiencing changes from traditional management model of the "unit system" and "street system" to the "community system" (He, 2003). Community governance advocated by "Community system" relies on a variety of network system including governmental organizations, NGOs, private organizations, residents' autonomous organizations and citizens (Xia, 2008). These actors collectively provide public service and manage community affairs. The community governance with multi-organizational cooperation in China has made some achievements in improving the quality of public service, enhancing the living standard of the residents and alleviating the conflict in communities and promoting the citizen participation. The community transition is in the initial stage of exploration in China when social management mechanism and social welfare level need to be improved, therefore there are many inevitable problems and challenges in the process of community governance. Such as problems of the wrong role orientation of community organization, insufficient awareness of the functions and the ability (Zhang and Xia, 2011), vacancy, offside and dislocation of administrative management (Lu and Chen, 2008); also including the problems about professional public services' supply and the diversity of community governance norms and coordination rules (He, 2009) and so on. All these issues reflects that the community disputes have occurred frequently and community construction and development is relatively slow.

Because of the inevitable need for construction of well developed social system in practice, the research of community governance has aroused wide concern in the academic field. The study involves the sociological theory, governance theory, social capital theory, conflict theory and so on. Scholars have made an effective exploration about the problem of social governance from many aspects, such as economic system transformation and social management system changes (Fan, 1997), the organizational strength and power relationship in the community governance network (Min, 2010), and community residents' participation and rights awareness (Zheng and Huang, 2012). In terms of the application of policy network theory in community governance, the academic circles have made some achievements, such as the "community mental health service network" in the United States (Milward and Provan, 1998). Chinese scholars learned from the mature experience in western countries, and combined with the current context to put forward the use of policy network theory to study the failure of community, and the policy network governance is defined as third kinds of effective governance model, which are different from the government failure and market failure (Ren, 2005).

Policy network analysis has characteristics of integrity, accuracy and objectivity, which provides a new perspective and method for the study of public governance. Therefore, the paper intends to construct an analytical model of policy network characteristics in the basic of five dimensions which are actor, resource, relation, rule and cognition. Taking a unit community in transition as an example to explore the main reason about inefficient or failure of community governance in China. And we hope to provide some ideas and methods for the community construction and community governance in transition in China.

1. Policy network theory and analytical model

1.1 Policy network theory and applicability

Heclo(1978) is considered to be the first scholar to use the policy network theory, he proposed the Theory of "Iron Triangle" (Helco, 1978)and promoted the policy network theory that has been developing rapidly. Policy network theory assumes different actors owns different resources. Resources' forms are variety, including authority, funding, legitimacy. In order to achieve their own goal, actors need to fight for the resources owned by other actors and maximize their benefits. Interaction has been formed in the process of fighting for resources and shapes the relationship among network actors, and the overall shape of these relationships is network structure. Policy network structure affect the interactional logic between network members and further affect the policy process and policy results (Borzel, 1998).

After 1990s, with the combination of policy network and governance theory, the governance of policy network has become a new form beyond the authority system and the market system. In the view of governance, policy network emphasizes the autonomy and encourages the government to mobilize all kinds of resources to form a self- management network of the stakeholders. In the process of self-management of the policy network, relation maintaining more rely on means of mutual trust, communication, mutual benefit and so on.

After more than ten years' exploration and construction, the community governance in China has gradually formed several typical models, such as "Shanghai model" (Ren and Zhang, 2003), "Shenyang model" (Ren and Zhang, 2003) and "Jianghan model" (Chen, 2000). "Shanghai model" emphasizes the role of the government in the network, and the core of the "Shenyang model" is community autonomy and the separation of procedure layer and executive layer. While "Jianghan model" is among the two, to explore the integrate interaction of the two mechanisms. From the perspective of network relations, the main differences between these models are the positioning of the community network center and interaction between community organizations, resulting in different network types and patterns of interaction. Policy network analyzes the form of community governance in the perspective of the different actors in the community, and follows are applications of the theory in the analysis of community governance:

First of all, there is governmental power in the community. At present, Chinese urban residential communities as the unit of national governance (Peng, 2006), and are forced to inject government authority inevitably. The Neighborhood committee (juweihui) responsible for the community management is in the form of affiliated sector of street, so it is more regarded as the governmental agency (He, 2003). On behalf of the state, neighborhood committees exercise their functions and powers, and jointly manage the community with other community organizations. Meanwhile, the policy network recognizes the central role of governmental organizations and emphasizes governmental organizations as the guide and network manager to ensure the legitimacy and promote the operation of network (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2000).

Secondly, the promotion of multiple participation in community governance in China provides the feasibility of policy network analysis. The organizations involved in community affairs have diverse characteristics, power and value, which composed of multiple game relations and are satisfied with the multi-actors analysis method of policy network.

Thirdly, the complex relationship network is the main content of the policy network research. China's social management promote grassroots autonomy and democracy, community organizations form the relationship based on equal and mutual assistance. As a "relational" society, there is a kind of complex policy network in the process of community governance (Hu and Shi, 2006). Policy implementation and community services providing more rely on the relationship between organizations and organizations with residents. Therefore, the establishment of good communication and cooperation with other organizations and residents has become the key to the operation of organizations. Main points of policy network theory and applicability as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Main points of policy network theory and applicability

Policy Network Theory	Originated from	Theory of "Iron Triangle" by Heclo (1978).
	Evolution	Policy network combine with governance theory after 1900s, which has become a new form.
	Hypothesis	Actors have different forms of resources and strive for resources to realize their interests and goals.
	Methods	Mutual trust, communication, mutual benefit and so on.
	Goals	Good interaction and realizing common goals.
Applicability in China		First, governmental power has been injected in the community. Secondly, advocacy of multiple participation. Thirdly, the complex relationship network is the main content of the policy network research.

1.2 Model construction of policy network characteristic analysis

The establishment of the policy network model could reflect the characteristics of the policy network, and the analysis of different network structures may create the conditions for public policy adoption and success in a field (Atkinson and Coleman, 1989). Different scholars put forward a variety of policy network models because of the different emphasis when analyzing. For example, Vanwarden(1992) establish an analytical model with seven dimensions which are the number and type of actors, network function, structure, system, behavior standard, power relations and actor strategy, Marsh and Rhodes (1992) using member characteristic, integration degree, resource and power allocation to construct analysis model.

At present, the community governance in China is composed by many organizations, which constitute the community governance network. The actors form different relationships following certain rules and cognition, and presenting dependent structural conditions. Interaction is a dynamic form that the actors depend on each other, and the resources and exchanges are the essence of the actor relationship. As a result, this paper will construct the policy network analysis model based on five basic dimensions which are actors, resources, relations, rules and cognition. The specific dimensions and related variables as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Characteristic Analysis Model of policy network

	Dimensions	Variables
Network characteristics	Actor	Number and nature
	Resource	Authority, fund, legitimacy, information and organization
	Relationship	Degree of dependence, interaction
	Rule	Behavioral norms, the position of the actors, organizational procedures, distribution of costs and benefits
	Cognition	Policy areas, objectives, other actors, interests

(1) Actor. Including the number and nature of the policy network actors. The number of actors determines the size and the complexity of the network. The actors' nature can be used as an independent variable to explain the basic characteristics of the network.

(2) Resource. Including many variables, such as the authority of the actors, funds, the legitimacy in participating the process of policy, and the network-related knowledge, information and organizational functions etc (Marsh and Rhodes, 1992). Resource occupation in the policy network determines the status of actors and influences network decisions and other actors' behavior. It is the cornerstone of the existence of network relationship and even the network.

(3) Relationship. The dimension of relationship reflects the degrees of interaction and represents the specific forms of dependence and interaction among actors. The characteristic of relationship is an important factor to analyze network's output and effect.

(4) Rule. Better interaction in the network should be run in a certain institutional environment. Rule, a generalized procedure in network, creates and changes the existing arrangements, and constraints the behavior of actor (Klijn, 1996).

(5) Cognition. This dimension is the basic condition for the effective interaction among actors, which is representing as the understanding and interpretation of the reality of the actors. In addition to follow the corresponding rules, the network interaction also demands basic cognition for policy areas, objectives, other actors, interests and so on.

## 2. Case studies: Policy Network Analysis

In China, with the advance of the housing system reform, the commercial community has been gradually extended. At the same time, most of the unit communities have gradually accepted market-oriented reform, turning into the unit community in transition. This kind of community originally administrated by the large-scale enterprise, the role of residents' living overlapped the role of production, and community service is treated as the welfare by the unit. Since the market reform, the community management system has changed, the market power has begun to enter while the power of enterprise gradually withdrawing, and residents' autonomy and participation has been promoted. However, the transition of the management system has some characteristics such as long transition time, inefficiency, many problems. Most unit communities in transition are difficult to get rid of the dependence on the unit in a short period of time and still retained the unit system background (Pu, 2009). Enterprises are facing with the embarrassing situation that they don't know whether or not to withdraw. Running in process of market management and the role of the organization with unclear responsibilities, which make the community governance facing multiple dilemmas, and seriously hinder the development of the community. Compared to the commercial community, the unit community in transition form more complex network because of diverse governance actors. Therefore, this paper analyzes the policy network characteristics in the process of governance, taking a unit community in transition in China as example. From the perspective of the relationship to explore the reason affecting the success, which not only provides a viable way to such communities, but offers a new idea for other types of community governance dilemmas.

2.1 Basic overview

KD community in Hefei, Anhui Province, is a residential quarter that belongs to KD enterprise, which is a state-owned enterprise. KD community was built in 2007, residential area is 277,570 square meters. By 2013, the occupancy rate reached 70% (data from the public information in community forum). The construction ideals of KD community are to operate in accordance with the market-oriented model management, and aim to get rid of the traditional unit control system, afterward achieve community autonomy. Therefore, KD community changed the traditional responsibility system and implemented social management. JT property management company was recruited in the bidding process hosted by KD unit office in 2007, and signed for 3 years. In addition, after the residents moved in, they held a meeting of all owners and established first owners' committee (residents' representative organization).

After 7 years of construction and development, they then signed two extensions of the agreement, owners' committee developed into their third session, the specific timeline as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Timeline of organizational change and development in KD community
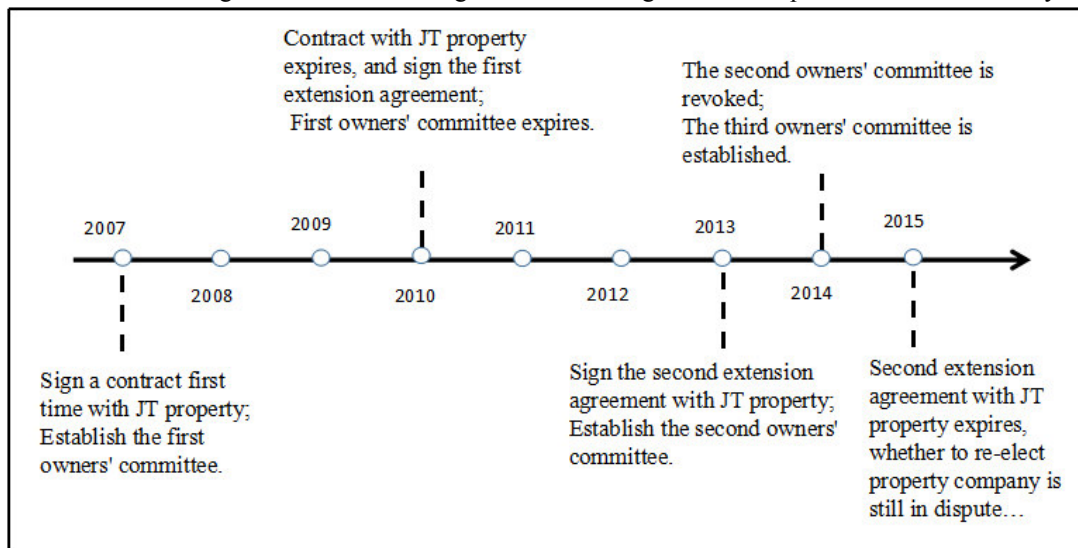
Second extension agreement with JT property was about to expire in May 2015, the voice of the residents to change the property company was rising. There were dozens of posts in KD community forum expressing dissatisfaction and encouraged other owners to jointly support the replacement of JT property. In early June, the third owners' committee posted a notice saying they would hold a owners' convention to vote "whether to re-elect the property services company". The convention held by the form of "solicit opinions in writing" and all the props used in the activity like paper ballots, ballot boxes were offered by the unit office. Votes process was under the supervision of C Neighborhood committees and the results would report to C Neighborhood committees and District Office for the record.

JT property served KD community for 7 years, there were two successful renewals during the period, why this time the voice of re-election has been so high? And why the owners' committee replaced so frequently? What are the problems in the process of KD community governance?

To answer the above questions, this paper argues that it's necessary to analyze the policy network characteristics of community governance process. The specific steps are as follows, first of all, conducting the analysis of actors and resources to understand the specific network environment. Secondly, using quantitative data to analyze the relationship between actors, measuring network density, central potential and centrality. Finally, analyzing policy network rules and cognitive characteristics through a controversial decision-making case that happened in the KD community.

2.2 Analysis of policy network characteristics of community governance

2.2.1 Analysis of actors and resources

Organizations involved in KD community's affairs management includes KD unit office, C Neighborhood committees, JT property, owners' committee and other social organizations. Policy network actors and resource analysis are as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Analysis of policy network actors and resources in KD community

Actors	Function	Resources			
		Authority	Fund	Legitimacy	Information and organization
KD unit office	Reconciling the relationship between organizations and residents	Entitled by the enterprise	Unit funding	On behalf of the unit	Master of personal information. Sophisticated organization management
C Neighborhood committees	Supervision, guidance and coordination to the community	Authorized by the government	Government funding, financing, donation	The provision of public services	Master of legal information. The organization has administration tendency
Owners' committee	On behalf of the residents' will and realizing and maintain the power of residents	Authorized by the election procedure	Property fee retention	Approved by the owner	Master of demands of the residents. Lacking of well-developed management mechanism
JT property	Providing professional services	Based on commercial contract and service level	Property charges, other service revenue	Satisfaction of the service object	Lagged information flow. Higher organization efficiency
Other social organizations	Providing public services	Depended on social competence	Funding and donation	Effectiveness of solving community affairs	Insufficient information. Low efficiency of organization and management mechanism

(1) The size of the network and actors' characters

From the perspective of actors, the size of network in a community is limited. These actors are subjects in community governance, providing products and services to meet the needs of the community through contracts, legal provisions, obligations and other forms. Meanwhile, the nature of actors are diverse, KD unit office is unit-owned, Neighborhood committees is government-owned, property is business-owned, other social organizations are NGO. Different actors often have different goals and interests, all kinds of powers in the community are intertwined, and formed more complex network environment and different relationship.

(2) Resource occupation

From the perspective of resource, KD unit office occupied the highest level of resources, mainly reflect in the aspects of legitimacy, information, funds mobilization; C Neighborhood committees rely on their own administration, occupying the leading position in the community network; Owners' committee resources are relatively few than others; JT property and other social organizations are independent, which rely on their own resources to run. Resource occupancy determines the status of actors in the network, KD unit office has been actively or passively involved in community affairs, becoming the center of community governance, and its behavior and decision-making to a certain extent affect the decision-making of other actors.

(3) organization function

Organization function is reflected in the organization's participation and quality of service. Through the interview with leader of C Neighborhood committee, participation of committees' in the process of community governance is obviously inadequate. Because special nature of KD community belonging to the unit, the neighborhood hasn't had too much right of intervention, and it will not initiatively take part in the community affairs. Secondly, because community's environmental hasn't improved, frequent replacement of security, frequent occurrence of stealing, residents gradually lose trust in JT property. Owners' committee is a representative organization elected by residents, due to frequent replacement and did not play the qualified communication and negotiation function in specific works, its role and ability failed to obtain the approval of

residents.
2.2.2 Relationship analysis
According to the specific interaction between actors, this paper selects six kinds of events to measure the relationship between the different organizations. Different events show different levels of relationship, we assign relationship value to each event to present the strength of the relationship. As shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Specific items and relationship value

No.	Specific events	Value	Note
1	We take the initiative to contact others	1	Inevitable procedure on the running of community
2	Attend the meeting together		
3	Complete the activity together	2	Organizations have a certain degree of mutual understanding, the need of spontaneous formation or active participation
4	Training members		
5	We transfer duties to others		
6	Appropriation of funds	4	Contract, cooperation, subsidiary, etc.

Through in-depth interview with the leader of C Neighborhood committee, and the collected data from community forum and community information, the matrix relationship between community organizations is drawn as shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Matrix relationship between community organizations

Community organizations	The unit office	Neighborhood committee	Owners' committee	Property	Other social organization
The unit office	—	8	6	1	1
Neighborhood committee	9	—	6	1	3
Owners' committee	6	6	—	6	0
Property	5	0	10	—	3
Other social organization	1	5	3	0	—

(1) Network density and central potential
Network density is the ratio of the actual number of relationships in the network and the possible relationship in theory. Network density reflects the link between network actors, the higher the density shows that the more network communication channels. Through the UCINET software to analyze the data, we could know that density of KD community is 0.8, which shows that the contact between different actors in a community is frequent.

Central potential measures the level of actors involved in the interaction, that is, to show which actors in the network are more closely linked. The range of the central potential value is 0 to 1, KD community network center potential value is 0.275, showing a low degree of community integration.

(2) Centrality analysis
The centrality of policy network is used to measure the extent of the actors in the network center. Showing as capabilities of resource control and interaction to other actors, including degree centrality, closeness centrality and betweenness centrality.(Table 6.)

Table 6. Network centrality analysis in KD community

Num	Degree Centrality		Closeness Centrality		Betweeness Centrality	
	Sort	Absolute Value	Sort	Absolute Value	Sort	Absolute Value
1	Owners' committee	62.50	The unit office	100.00	The unit office	19.44
2	The unit office	52.50	Owners' committee	100.00	Owners' committee	6.94
3	Neighborhood committee	52.50	Neighborhood committee	100.00	Neighborhood committee	6.94
4	property	40.00	property	87.50	property	0.00
5	Other social organization	22.50	Other social organization	87.50	Other social organization	0.00

Degree Centrality measures the communication ability of actors. In KD community, Owners'

Committee with highest degree shows that it has the most contact with other actors, followed by the unit office and Neighborhood committee. Other social organizations have the least connection with other actors. Due to their large amount of contact forms between actors, and different forms mean different degrees of contact. We also need closeness centrality and betweeness centrality to show how closely actors contact with others.

Closeness centrality measures the degree the actors that are controlled by other actors in the network.. The smaller the closeness centrality，the closer from intermediate position in network, and more easier to attain resource. The data showed that policy network actors' status are in two level differentiation, JT property and other social organizations' closeness are small, mean they have high independence. The activities of Neighborhood committees, Owners' committees and the unit office are more affected by others.

Betweeness Centrality measures the actors' ability to control resources. The greater the betweeness centrality, the higher the resource control ability actors have. From data analysis, the unit has the highest degree, it is a proof of the main control of community resources. The next two actors are Neighborhood committee and Owners' committee, they both have a certain ability to control. However, other social organizations and the property company did not control the resources of the community.

2.2.3 Analysis of rules and cognition

For a long time, heating costs dispute is an outstanding problem in the process of KD community governance, multi-organizations are involved in this decision-making. The heating of KD community was initially collected by JT property. In June 2013, first session committee responsible person posted at the Forum said more than about 1.4 million yuan heating was saved. As a result, most of residents asked JT property to refund the overcharged heating. But JT property announced financial conditions, identified the capital as due profit of the company and refused to return. After the dispute between the two sides increased, the Second Owners' committees entrusted by the General Assembly prosecuted JT property to the District People's court in July 2013. But in November, the case was suspended with the reason "the Second Owners' committees was dismissed by General Assembly and all owners of the community lose litigation subject qualification to ask the Property to refund." The letter was delivered to the court by the office of the street, commissioned by the unit.

With the suspension of proceeding, the heating dispute temporarily came to an end, but hasn't been fundamentally solved. The decision-making of each subject in the events is: (1) The Unit: Entrusted street agency to deliver the letter to suspend the proceeding; Took the way of private and suspended treatment to cope with the demands of the residents; Heating payment is no longer collected by JT property, but paid to a special account established by the Unit; Set up a special maintenance team to maintain the normal operation of the community; Organized the election of the third owners' committee. (2) Street office, neighborhood committee: met the demands and with the work of the unit. (3) The owners' committee: the second owners' committee was revoked, the third was quickly set up, and then it withdrew the case of heating. (4) JT property: continued to provide services, promised to return the owed heating costs, but has not been implemented yet. (5) Residents: had not held any form of residents' assembly and have little ideal about the event process.

Through above analysis of the event shows that, first of all, actors consider their own interests more in the decision-making process. KD enterprise is a well-known unit, with a certain reputation and status. It's reputation would be damaged if there would be a serious conflict or even proceedings in the subsidiary community. Therefore, in this decision-making process, the unit occupy the dominant position of the network through coercive means. The neighborhood committee and the street is affected by the superior department performance evaluation, and has the same purpose with the unit, so they took the means of cooperation with the unit to suspend litigation. Secondly, KD community decision-making process lack general procedures and actors' behavior are not constrained by institution. There was no legal procedure that supported the revoking of the second owners' committee. And the decision of JT Property continued to provide services for KD community that had not sought the consent of the General Assembly. Finally, insufficient cognition to other actors, interests and goals resulted in that the main bodies had it difficult to play their due network values. Inefficient and ineffective network interaction output made it difficult to meet demands and interests of residents.

3. Conclusion and Discussion

Policy network theory has been viewed as the third way of public governance, which is different from the administrative model and the market model. Policy network theory has practical significance to the transformation of modern governance patterns and the formulation of scientific decision-making and the realization of the public interests. Community is the place for the implementation of public policy, the development of community decision-making directly relates to the rights and interests of residents. Through the analysis of characteristics of a unit community in transition, the reason of influencing the process of community governance lies in the lack of a fair and rational policy network interaction mechanism. Specific performance in the following aspects:

First, objectives of policy network actors are very different. In KD community, the unit office, neighborhood committee, JT property and other actors have different goals and interests, the interactive process

is not starting from the whole community network to seek the same goal. The differences of target benefit form inconsistent network action, resulting in waste of resources and hindering the process of community governance.

Second, uneven distribution of resources. In KD community, the unit office has highest level of resources, owners' committee is at the lowest degree of possession, other social organizations have independent operating systems. Therefore, in the decision-making process, the owners' committee often become the sacrifice in the interests, the policy network is relatively unbalanced. Owners' committee is legal representative of residents' interests, to ensure resources and status of the owners' committee this is an important way to achieve the fairness of the network.

Third, lack of mutual recognition between actors. Lock of specific cognition to other actors, network rules, interests, goals and so on , greatly reduce the function of the network game. Cognition is the basic condition of interaction, therefore, be short of proper understanding of Internet nature will hinder the interaction.

Fourth, no reasonable institutional rules and network managers. Effective relationships and rules should be institutionalized to gradually increase the legitimacy and effectiveness of the network (Klijn, 1996). The management process of KD community lack of institutional constraints. With its own authority, the Unit ignoring interests of actors and rights of the residents, its behavior lack of legal basis. And network managers have an important intermediary role for the network, their role is to build the network, determine consistent network objectives, develop corresponding rules and change values of other actors (Agranoff, R., & McGuire, 2001). However, KD community lacks appropriate network managers to promote the improvement of the network.

Community governance process involves a variety of nature of actors, that forms a network governance. But the form of network governance is not a single linear, it is often shown as a multi-dimensional complexity. It is worth noting that, in reality, the case of KD community is not the single case. China's current community governance network has multi subjects, but they cannot maximize the performance of the network. Uncoordinated and unfair network interaction makes community governance relatively inefficient or ineffective. Therefore, the key to promote community governance and break through the dilemma of community governance is to construct an effective network interaction mechanism, including selection of network managers, forming a unified goal, determining the institutional rules, enhancing their cognitive ability and using resource interaction and resource dependence to form a positive policy output. Meanwhile, with legal means to make sure government departments, business organizations, social groups, citizens could participate in the decision-making process of the community, to ensure the fairness of the network, regulate the behavior of actors, and to safeguard legitimate rights and interests of community residents.

This article only carries on a thorough analysis to the unit community, future research will need to study more types of communities with policy network theory, such as commercial community, industrial community, cultural and educational community, shantytowns community and so on. And we also could carry out our researches from some specific aspects of community services, like volunteer services, medical service, labor employment service. Analyzing characteristics and problems of different communities from the perspective of policy and relationship, meanwhile, absorbing advanced experience from western countries, so as to form a systematic theoretical model based on domestic context.

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